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THE INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE CANON OF THE WESTERN CHURCH. III.¹

WE now turn to the question of the gradual diffusion and adoption of Jerome's translation and Canon in the Western world.

Among the other complaints which Rufinus made of Jerome was that of scattering broadcast his new Bible, in which the Canon and the text of the Hebrews of his day were substituted for the Old Testament which had been accepted by the Christians from the beginning of their history. His words are :—

'Ista vero quae nunc tu interpretaris, et per ecclesias et monasteria, per oppida et castella transmittis, quomodo suscipiemus, tanquam divina, an tanquam humana?' (*Invectiv.* ii 31 : Vallarsi, ii 664).

Jerome seems to have had correspondents in many countries in the West and, indeed, his translation, which was made piecemeal, seems to have been made at the instance of several such correspondents.

Thus the Pentateuch was translated at the instance of a certain Desiderius whom he speaks of in the prologue to that work in the words :—

'Desiderii mei desideratas accepi epistolas, qui quodam praesagio futurorum, cum Daniele sortitus est nomen, obsecrantis, ut translatum in Latinam linguam de Hebraeo sermone Pentateuchum nostrorum auribus traderem.'

It is possible that he was the Desiderius, a priest of the diocese of Comminges in Aquitaine, who, with a neighbour called Riparius, wrote a joint letter to Jerome, urging him to write a treatise against Vigilantius (*in Vigilant.* ii 121 b, in Migne's edition). He may also have been the same Desiderius who, with his sister, Serenilla,

¹ For the preceding articles see vol. x pp. 481 sqq., vol. xi pp. 321 sqq.

was living at Rome about A. D. 394, and was invited by Jerome to visit him at Jerusalem ; to whom also Jerome offered copies of his books, especially the *de Viris Illustribus* (see *Ep.* xlvi and Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography* i 818).

In the *Prologus Galeatus* Jerome tells us that he had been urged by Chromatius to translate the books of Chronicles from the Hebrew. Chromatius was bishop of Aquileia and a very influential person at the end of the fourth century. To him Jerome dedicated his commentary on Habakkuk. To the same Chromatius together with Heliodorus, bishop of Altino, who had jointly urged him to the work, he dedicated his translation of Tobit, in the preface to which he says, addressing them, 'Mirari non desino exactionis vestrae instantiam: exigitis enim ut librum Chaldaeo sermone conscriptum ad Latinum styllum traham.' They also wished him to publish some comments on Hosea and other minor prophets. To this request he replies in the preface to the Solomonic books:—

'Commentarios in Osee, Amos, Zachariam, Malachiam, quos poscitis, scripsissem si licuisset prae valetudine. Mittitis solatia sumptuum: notarios nostros et librarios sustentatis, ut vobis potissimum nostrum desudet ingenium. . . . Itaque longa aegrotatione fractus, ne penitus hoc anno reticerem et apud vos mutus essem, tridui opus nomini vestro consecravi, interpretationem videlicet trium Salomonis voluminum.'

The three works he refers to are Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles.

Jerome dedicated more than one of his prefaces jointly to Domnio and Rogatian. The former was a priest at Rome who was subsequently canonized. Of the latter I know nothing, and he is not mentioned in Smith's very full Christian biographical dictionary. To Domnio Jerome sent his notes on the Minor Prophets with a covering letter (see *Ep.* lvii to Pammachius). To him and Rogatian he addressed the prologue to the translation of Chronicles from the Greek, and the prologue to the translation of Esdras and Nehemiah from the Hebrew. In the latter we read:—

'Tertius annus est quod semper scribitis atque rescribitis, ut Esdrae librum et Esther vobis de Hebraeo transferam, quasi non habeatis Graeca et Latina volumina: aut quidquid illud est quod a nobis vertitur non statim ab omnibus conspuendum sit.'

The so-called Gallican Psalter was translated by Jerome from the Greek at the instance of Paula and Eustochium, and he dedicated his version of Job from the Greek and addressed the Preface to Esther to the same two ladies. They were devoted to Jerome and lived and travelled with him in the East and successively became heads of a convent. Eustochium was an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar and also learnt Hebrew. In his prologue to Esther he thus apostrophizes them :—

‘Vos autem, o Paula et Eustochium, quoniam et bibliothecas Hebraeorum studuistis intrare, et interpretum certamina comprobastis, tenentes Esther Hebraicum librum, per singula verba nostram translationem aspiciate.’

His edition of Isaiah was also dedicated to the same ladies, whom he addresses in the words :—

‘Quem quanto plus amatis, o Paula et Eustochium, tanto magis ab eo petite, ut pro obtreptione praesenti, qua me indesinenter aemulianiant, ipse mihi mercedem restituat in futuro : qui scit me ob hoc in peregrinae linguae eruditione sudasse, ne Iudaei de falsitate scripturarum ecclesiis eius diutius insultarent.’

To the same ladies apparently, although he does not mention them by name, he dedicates his preface to Jeremiah. Having said that he had not sent Baruch as well as Jeremiah, he continues :—

‘Pro his omnibus maledicta ab aemulis praestolantes, quibus me necesse est per singula opuscula respondere. Et hoc patior, quia vos me cogitis.’

In his preface to Daniel he says :—

‘Obsecro vos, o Paula et Eustochium, fundatis pro me ad Dominum preces, ut, quamdiu in hoc corpusculo sum scribam aliquid gratum vobis, utile Ecclesiae, dignum posteris.’

In his preface to the twelve lesser Prophets he says :—

‘Et quia longum est nunc de omnibus dicere, hoc tantum vos, o Paula et Eustochium, admonitas volo, unum librum esse duodecim prophetarum.’

The two famous ladies so much honoured by Jerome were taught Hebrew by him and sang the Psalter in that language. Burchard, in his description of the Holy Land, speaks of a church

dedicated under the names of the Blessed Paula and Eustochium. Jerome wrote their epitaph.

In his commentary on Isaiah Jerome speaks of a bishop Amabilis, who had asked him to send him his translation of the ten visions of that prophet from the Hebrew. He thus addresses him:—

‘Hucusque, papa Amabilis, columnen caritatis et nomen, ac mihi omnium quos terra genuit amantissime, per literas flagitabas, ut tibi decem Visiones, quae in Esaia obscuratissimae sunt, historica expositione dissererem, et omissis nostrorum Commentariis, qui varias opiniones secuti multa volumina condiderunt, Hebraicam panderem veritatem, meque retractantem, et molestissimum explanationis genus in tempus aliud differentem, saepissime commonebas’ (Vallarsi, iv 167).

Who this bishop was I do not know.¹ He is also omitted from Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. Again, Jerome elsewhere tells us that Sunnias and Fretela sent him a collection of passages in which the Greek and Latin texts did not agree and asked him to tell them what, according to the Hebrew, was the interpretation of the passages in question. He replied to them in a prolix and learned letter. They wrote from the borders of Thrace and Germany and were apostrophized by Jerome in these terms (*Ep.* cvi 1):—

‘Vere in vobis Apostolicus et Propheticus sermo completus est: “In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.” Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quaereret veritatem: et dormitantibus, immo contententibus Graecis, ipsa Germania Spiritus Sanctus eloquia scrutaretur? . . . Et in opere Psalterii iuxta digestionem schedulae vestrae, ubique inter Latinos Graecosque contentio est, quid magis Hebraeis conveniat significem’ (Vallarsi, i 635).

Lastly from Spain came letters from Lucinius of Baetica, asking Jerome for his version of the Bible from the Hebrew. Jerome replied (*Ep.* lxxi 5):—

‘Canonem Hebraicae veritatis, excepto Octateucho quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum. Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito’ (Vallarsi, i 432).

¹ ‘Nescio quo Pannoniae regionis episcopo,’ Vallarsi (iv introd.), who also compares *Ep.* lxxviii (A. D. 397).

Lucinius was a remarkable person, rich and pious, and a great student of the Scriptures, and in 397 he sent scribes specially to Bethlehem to copy Jerome's works. Thence they returned in the Lent of the following year, bringing with them their transcripts and the letter just quoted. It is plain from these facts that Jerome's translations were reproduced in large numbers, and, as we saw above, he expresses his gratitude to the bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, who had supplied him handsomely with means for paying his *notarii* and *librarii*. Among his friends were some very rich and, no doubt, generous men like the senator Pammachius. In regard to these *notarii* it is interesting to quote another passage from one of Jerome's letters, where he says:—

'Grandem Latini sermonis in ista provincia notariorum patimur penuriam; et idcirco praeceptis tuis parere non possumus.'

We may be sure that the learning and character of Jerome became known over the greater part of the Latin world during his lifetime, and that most serious students of the Bible living in the Latin-speaking countries must have tried to obtain copies of at least some of his works, and that they would be especially attracted by the vigorous and picturesque Latinity of his style. In this way the Hebrew Canon and the contents of the Hebrew text would become widely familiar.

The opposition and criticism which his translations met with, combined with the suspicion attached to one who had been a champion of Origen and was by nature timid, caused him to impose reticence and prudence on his correspondents. Thus, in his preface to Esdras and Nehemiah, he tells Domnio and Rogatian:—

'Omne quod scribimus, reprehendendum putant, et interdum contra se conscientia repugnante, publice lacerant quod occulte legunt . . . Itaque obsecro vos, mi Domnion et Rogatiane charissimi, ut privata lectione contenti, libros non efferatis in publicum, nec fastidiosus cibos ingeratis; vitetisque eorum supercilium, qui iudicare tantum de aliis, et ipsi facere nihil noverunt. Si qui autem fratrum sunt, quibus nostra non displicent, his tribuatis exemplar.'

The fate of Jerome's translations was twofold. In regard to the two versions which he made in his early days at Rome at

the instance of Damasus, the Gospels and the Psalms, they were received without question everywhere as a great improvement on the older Latin version, and, as we have seen, by no one more readily than by the sharp critic of his other works, St Augustine. They were, in fact, as we shall see, the only portion of Jerome's works which the Church of Africa ever received at all. It was in Africa that these two works were first cited as authoritative in a public polemic. This has been pointed out with admirable and characteristic force and clearness by Mr Burkitt, first in his paper on the Old Latin text and the Itala in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, and secondly in what seems to me a conclusive article in vol. xi of this JOURNAL. The only point in which I venture to differ from him is on the question of nomenclature. By 'Vulgata' Jerome himself, who repeatedly uses the word, always means the so-called Old Latin, and it is quite a late and misleading practice by which the term is applied to Jerome's own translation. By 'Itala', again, Augustine, who invented the term, meant Jerome's translation of the Gospels, and I doubt whether he ever applied it to the later translations.

Mr Burkitt has shewn that in his earlier works, namely the *de Sermone Domini in Monte*, published in 394, the *de Agone Christiano* (396) and the *contra Faustum*, of uncertain date, but much earlier than 405, Augustine always uses the Old Latin version of the Gospels, while in the works he published after the year 399, when he issued the *de Consensu*, and when he had approved of Jerome's new Gospels, he quotes from the latter in his various works (*J. T. S.* xi 449). It was to these new Gospels, called *novum opus* by Jerome and written at Rome, that Augustine appropriately gave the name of *Itala*. They were the only New Testament translations by Jerome accepted by Augustine and the African Church. This was admirably shewn by Mr Burkitt in his earlier memoir by a dissection of the *Acta contra Felicem*, in which the charges of Manichaeism were brought up at the Synod of Hippo in 494. It is just to quote Mr Burkitt in his own words. He says:—

'The statements of Felix about the coming of the Holy Spirit had been so unsatisfactory that S. Augustine determined to read to him the full Biblical account. Accordingly a codex of the Gospels was handed

to him and he read from it to Felix Lc xxiv 36-49. Having read these verses he gave back the book of the Gospels and was then handed a codex of the Acts, from which he read the whole of the first chapter and the first eleven verses of the second. What S. Augustine read out is given *in extenso* in our MSS of Aug. *contra Felicem*, and an examination of the two passages leads to the surprising result that the passage from S. Luke is pure Vulgate,¹ while that of the Acts is that of S. Cyprian—the very oldest form of the African version known to us. This very remarkable state of things cannot very well be the result of corruption in our MSS of Aug. *contra Felicem*, for had the Gospel passage been corrected wholesale to the Vulgate, it is difficult to see why the still longer passage from the Acts should have wholly escaped. We cannot therefore but conclude that the codex of the Gospels handed to S. Augustine was a Vulgate codex, and the codex of the Acts was an Old Latin codex containing an 'African' text—in other words that by 404 A.D. the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate, while in some other books of the Bible, such as the Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used' (*Texts and Studies* vol. iv pp. 57 sq.).

It is plain, therefore, that at this time, in regard to the Gospels, Augustine had adopted Jerome's version as the official text in his diocese. Perhaps this was also the case with the Psalter. In regard to Jerome's translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, Augustine continued to shew great opposition to it. Thus in *Ep.* cvi, written in 405, he tells us he had refused permission for Jerome's version to be used publicly in church, 'ne . . . magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi' (see on this Mr White's article on the Vulgate in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*). This, probably, led to the virtual exclusion of the translation in question from the African Church.

Rufinus died in Sicily in the year 410. It would appear from his polemics with Jerome that he had abandoned his earlier devotion to the Hebrew Canon. He had done this probably in response to the declaration of the African Councils on the subject and to the opinion held by the Roman see as indicated by the letter of St Innocent above quoted, which was written A. D. 405.

It was long generally supposed and widely believed that in the latter part of his life Augustine's views on the merits of Jerome's texts changed, and that he used them freely. This is quite a mistake, as has been pointed out by Kaulen, who says:—

¹ By 'Vulgate' Mr Burkitt means Jerome's version.

Man schloss dies aus dem sogenannten Sittenspiegel des hl. Augustinus einer Anweisung zum gottseligen Leben, die centorienartig aus ~~verschiedenen~~ Bibelstellen zusammengefügt ist. Bis zum Jahre 1852 war hiervon bloss ein Text bekannt, der die Bibelstellen aus der Uebersetzung oder der Revision des hl. Hieronymus enthielt, und so schien allerdings jene Meinung begründet. In dem angegebenen Jahre indessen veröffentlichte Angelo Mai aus einer uralten Handschrift einen andern Text, der nach allen Anzeigen das ächte und ursprüngliche Speculum Augustini bildet, und dieser ist durchaus der alten, unrevidirten *Itala* entnommen' (Kaulen *Gesch. der Vulgata*; see also *Nova Patrum Bibl.* vol. i p. ii pp. i-viii, 1-117, Rome 1852).

It is plain, therefore, that when St Augustine wrote the *Speculum* he maintained his earlier attitude, and while accepting the Gospels and the Psalter in Jerome's version rejected all his other translations, and *a fortiori* rejected his canon. This would otherwise be clear from the decision of the second Council of Carthage held in 419, which was attended by the Pope's representative Faustinus, bishop of Potentia. At this Council the decisions of the previous Councils of Hippo and Carthage of 394 and 397 in regard to the Canon were reaffirmed.

Jerome himself died on September 20, A.D. 420. In the *de Civitate Dei*, begun in 413 and finished in 426, and therefore some years after Jerome's death, Augustine speaks very plainly in regard to the issue between them. Thus he says:—

'Ex hac Septuaginta interpretatione etiam in Latinam linguam interpretatum est, quod ecclesiae Latinae tenent; quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris Hieronymus, homo doctissimus, et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Graeco sed ex Hebraeo in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converterit. Sed eius tam literatum laborem quamvis Iudaei fateantur esse veracem, septuaginta vero Interpretes in multis errasse contendunt: tamen ecclesiae Christi tot hominum auctoritati ab Eleazaro tunc pontifice ad hoc tantum opus electorum neminem iudicant praefendum: quia etsi non in eis unus apparuisset Spiritus sine dubitatione divinus, sed inter se verba interpretationis suae septuaginta docti more hominum contulissent, ut quod placuisset omnibus hoc maneret, nullus eis unus interpret debuit anteponi' (*de Civ. Dei* xviii 43).

Augustine, during his life and after his death, dominated the opinions of the African Church. As Kaulen says: 'Das ganze fünfte und sechste Jahrhundert hindurch erhielt sich in ihr (i. e. the whole African Church) die alte Itala, und zwar nicht bloss

beim kirchlichen Gebrauch, sondern auch im literarischen Verkehr' (*op. cit.* 191). Hody long ago pointed this out, quoting the African writers in proof of it; viz. Marius Mercator, a layman and a considerable writer, who was in Rome in 417-418, and apparently outlived the Council of Chalcedon; Cerealis Afer, bishop of Castellum in Numidia, who wrote a work *adv. Maximinum*, and flourished about the year 485; Victor Vitensis, who flourished in the latter half of the fifth century; and Facundus, bishop of Hermiana in the province of Byzacene, who died after 571.

The only exception that I can find to the consistent use of the earlier Latin version by the Latin Church of Africa is Licinianus of Carthage, who in two letters written in 584 uses Jerome. For Gen. ii 7 see Migne *P.L.* lxxii 693.

More remotely connected with our subject than the names previously cited, is Junilius, the famous scholar of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was always treated as an African bishop until Kihn, in *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Afrikanus als Exegeten* published in 1880, shewed that he was not even an ecclesiastic. He apparently died about 551. He fills an interesting place in the history of the Western Canon. In his quotations he follows the Old Latin. What makes his Biblical theory remarkable is the fact that he follows, in part at least, the Canon of his master Theodore of Mopsuestia. His list of books is contained in the *Instituta regularia divinae legis* lib. i cap. 2. The books are thus classified:—

OLD TESTAMENT.

Libri perfectae auctoritatis:

Historia:

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Iesu Nave, Iudicum, Ruth, Regn. i-iv.

Prophetia:

Psalmorum, Osee, Esaiae, Ioel, Amos, Abdiae, Ionae, Michaeae, Naum, Habacuc, Sophoniae, Hieremiae, Ezechiel, Daniel, Aggaei, Zachariae, Malachiae.¹

Proverbia:

Salomonis proverbiorum, Iesu filii Sirach.

¹ These books, says Dr Salmon, are arranged in what is evidently a chronological order and not in the order usually adopted.

Simplex doctrina :

Ecclesiastes.

Libri mediae auctoritatis, quos Plures ad Canonicos adiungunt :

Paralip. 2, Iob, Esdrae 1, Iudith, Hester, Maccab. 2. Hi libri non inter Canonicas Scripturas currunt, quoniam apud Hebraeos quoque super hac differentia recipiebantur sicut Hieronymus caeterique testantur.¹

Libri quos *quidam* ad Canonicos adiungunt :

Sapientia. Cantica Canticorum.²

NEW TESTAMENT.

Historia :

Libri perfectae auctoritatis :

Evang. iv, Act. Ap.

Simplex doctrina :

Pauli Ep. 14, Petri ad Gentes 1, Ioannis Ep. 1.

Libri mediae auctoritatis :

Iacobi Ep. Petri 2da³ } a quamplurimis caeteris adiunctae.
Iude, Ioannis 2 et 3 }

Apocalypsis, de qua apud Orientales admodum dubitatur.

The important fact in regard to the Canon just reported, which was doubtless of Syrian origin, is the note in which Junilius asserts that the two Books of Chronicles and Job were not accepted as canonical either by the Jews or by Jerome, which it is not possible to explain.

Having traced the history of the Canon in Africa during and after the time of Jerome, let us now turn to Gaul. There Jerome had several personal friends and correspondents and was widely known and esteemed ; but the main influence in spreading his text and teaching we cannot doubt was the famous monastery of Lerins. We can hardly doubt also that its general introduction into Gaul and its rapid adoption there were due to that very remarkable person Cassian, the father of Western monachism. He was born between A. D. 350 and 360, where, it is not certainly

¹ Neither Baruch nor Lamentations is mentioned in this list; they were doubtless included in Jeremiah. Tobit has also been excluded, doubtless by mistake, since it is quoted later on in the book.

² Dr Salmon notes that the low place assigned by Junilius to the Song of Solomon and the book of Job is in accordance with the estimate of these books formed by Theodore of Mopsuestia.

³ Junilius, says Salmon, quotes as Peter's the passage from his second epistle, which book he puts into the doubtful class.

known, but probably in the West, as his language was Latin; but he lived for some years with the anchorites of the Nitrian desert, and then at Bethlehem. In 405 he was at Constantinople, whence the same year he went to Rome. Here he probably stayed till 407, when he possibly paid another visit to the East and then went to Massilia in Southern Gaul, then famous for its culture, where he founded two monasteries, for men and women respectively, over one of which he apparently presided as abbot. Tillemont says that many monasteries owed their origin to him in that part of Gaul. He died when very old between 440 and 450 (Smith *Dictionary of Christian Biography* sub voce 'Cassianus'). He was the author of works on the monastic and eremitic life, and on the Nestorian heresy. His long career in the East, and notably in Palestine, no doubt made him familiar with the writings of his great contemporary Jerome, and we are not surprised to find him in his famous *Collationes* offering his commendation of Jerome's Biblical version. Thus he writes:—

'Si in sanctis suis non confidit, et in angelis suis reperit pravitatem (Job xv) sive *ut emendatio translatio* habet: Ecce inter sanctos eius nemo immutabilis, et coeli non sunt mundi in conspectu eius.'

In his quotations, however, Kaulen says he used the old translation, and he gives as a sample Proverbs xii 16 (Migne xlx 1041).

Among the monasteries, the foundation of which was due to Cassian, was that of Lerins, the first abbot of which was St Honoratus, who became bishop of Arles and died on January 14 or 15, 429. Hilary (401–449) succeeded Honoratus, both as abbot of Lerins and as bishop of Arles. A contemporary of his, Eucherius, was born at the end of the fourth century, went to Lerins in 410, became bishop of Lyons in 429, and died between 449 and 455. In his work entitled *Liber formularum spiritualis intelligentiae*, he cites the Psalms and the book of Job according to the Hebrew, and doubtless from Jerome. In his *Instructionum libri duo ad Salonium filium* i 1 (Migne P. L. 1775 B) we are told:—

'Etymologia, quae hic in Latino non sonat, in Hebraeo sermone servatur. Vir enim vocatur *is* et mulier *issa*. Quod animadvertitur pulcherrime recens custodisse *translatio* divina, dicens: Haec vocabitur virago quia ex viro sumpta est.'

Again:—

‘Quid est quod in annis Mathusalem quatuordecim anni per diligentem supputationem ultra diluvium deprehenduntur, cum octo tantum animae in arca fuisse referantur? Resp. Error in numero est: quippe cum in *Hebraeorum libris* ita legatur, ut intra diluvii tempus hic quatuordecim annorum numerus expleatur’ (*ib.* 777 A).

In the Psalms:—

‘Sciendum est tamen *melius* et secundum *Hebraeum verius* dici,’ &c. (*ib.* 791 D).

In book ii of the same work:—

‘Quorum nominum vocabula, ad haec quae obscuriora sunt in translatione veteri habentur. Haec vero quae lucidiora apparent, *novae translationis* textu continentur’ (Hody *De Bibliorum textibus originalibus* pp. 397 sq.).

Kaulen names among his quotations from Jerome’s translation in the *de Gubern. Dei*, Proverbs xi 22, Jer. xlv 22. Eucherius apparently used both versions indifferently. A more remarkable thing about him is that he not only followed Jerome’s text but also the Hebrew Canon. For in his *quaestiones* on the Old Testament, in *Instruction. i* 1, he treats only of the Pentateuch, Job, Kings, Micah, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Chronicles, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles: a list which, while it omits much besides, is yet significant in its omission of all the so-called Apocrypha.

Salonius, the son of Eucherius, born while the latter was still a layman, was the pupil of Salvian, under whom he was taught at Lerins. He is supposed to have died before 475 (see Dr Stokes in Smith’s *Dictionary of Christian Biography* iv 579). In his work entitled *Expositio mystica in Parabolas Salomonis et Ecclesiasten* he follows Jerome’s version in his quotations. Kaulen specially quotes Job xxvi 5 as a sample.

St Vincent of Lerins, who probably died about 450, wrote a very famous work entitled *Adversus profanas omnium novitates Haereticorum Commonitorium*. In this work, which was published in 434, Jerome’s translation is used (see Kaulen, followed by White in Hastings’s Dictionary). Kaulen mentions, as proving the fact, a quotation from Deuteronomy xiii 1 (Migne I 650). Dom

Chapman points out, however, that in the Gospels he uses a mixed text (see *Vulgate Gospels* 166–167).

Prosper of Aquitaine, who was born about 393, took up his residence at Marseilles about 426–429. There he became a monk and there he lived till the year 440, when he returned to Rome with Pope Leo the First and apparently died there some time after A.D. 463. He was a great admirer of Jerome, and, doubtless, of his works. Thus we find him writing in his Chronicle, sub an. 386 :—

‘Hoc tempore Hieronymus Presbyter in Bethleem toto iam mundo clarus habitabat, egregio ingenio et studio universali Ecclesiae serviens.’

While in his poem *de Ingratis*, as Hody (*op. cit.* p. 397) reminds us, he thus speaks of him :—

‘Tunc etiam Bethlei praeclari nominis hospes,
Hebraeo simul et Graio, Latioque venustus
Eloquio, morum exemplar, mundique magister
Hieronymus libris valde excellentibus hostem
Dissecuit.’

Kaulen gives a quotation from Job xix 25 (see Migne li 256) as an example of his use of Jerome’s version.

Arnobius, also a Gaulish prelate who flourished in the middle of the fifth century and wrote a commentary on the Psalms about the year 460, in commenting on the title of Psalm lxiv—

‘In finem Psalmus David Canticum Aggaei, Hieremiae et Ezechielis de verbo peregrinationis, et de populo transmigrationis, cum inciperent proficisci’—

claims that the three prophets’ names which do not occur in the Hebrew were added by Esdras, whom by implication he dates after the Seventy. He says :—

‘In Hebraeo non habet nec Hieremiam nec Aggaeum, nisi solum David. Sed Hesdra habens charitatem eorum, voluit eos memorare, asserens istum Psalmum David cecinisse eos in prophetationis suae initio.’

Thus again commenting on the title of Psalm cxi, which in the LXX is ‘Alleluia reversionis Aggaei et Zachariae’, he says :—

‘Vir Dei Hesdra propheta, cum recapitularet omnem Legem, Dei nutu quaedam adiunxit. Unde etiam Aggaeo et Zachariae istum titulum consecravit’ (Hody *op. cit.* pp. 397 sq.).

Some time during the fifth century there flourished at Arles a rhetorician named Julianus Pomerius, a Moor by birth. In the *de Vita contemplativa* he uses Jerome's text. Kaulen quotes Ezekiel xxxiv 1 ff from Migne lix 436 as a sample.

Claudianus Mamertus, a native of Gaul and brother of another Mamertus, archbishop of Vienne, with whom he has been confounded by Hody, was a famous literary personage of the fifth century. He lived at Vienne as a priest and was a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris, who on his death in 474 wrote his epitaph. In his work *de Statu Animae* he follows Jerome's version.

Faustus, known as Faustus Regiensis or Rhegensis, i. e. of Riez in Provence, was born at the close of the fourth century. He entered the monastery of Lerins about 426, where he became a great student of Scripture and where he was elected abbot in 432 or 433, and eventually he became bishop of Riez. About 481 he was banished from his see, apparently by the Arians, who had become supreme, and he lived on at least till A. D. 492. He also was a friend of Sidonius Apollinaris. He wrote a *Sermo ad Monachos*, in which, as in his work *de Libero Arbitrio*, he followed Jerome's version. For an example, see Migne lviii 812. Dom Chapman shews in regard to the Gospels that, while in the three Synoptics he used a mixed text, in St John he entirely follows the Old Latin.

Salvian of Marseilles, 400-481, is apostrophized by Hilary of Arles in 429 as *the most blessed man Salvianus the presbyter*, and in his old age he was called *Episcoporum magister*. According to Hody, in his work *de Gubernatione Dei*, he follows entirely, or almost entirely, Jerome's version. In his book *adversus Avaritiam* he follows the Old Latin. In his fourth epistle he uses *cucurbita* instead of *hedera*, in Jonah, as against Jerome.

Avitus, son of Hesychius, archbishop of Vienne, who was a person of senatorial rank, succeeded his father as archbishop in A. D. 490. He died on Feb. 5, A. D. 517. Several of his works are extant. M. Berger says of his Bible references:—

‘A l'exception du livre de Baruch et d'une seule citation d'Ésaïe [ii 3, 4 in *Ep.* xxii] les prophètes paraissent toujours cités par saint Avit d'après la Vulgate. Les livres des Rois et celui de Job, au contraire, ainsi que le Psautier, suivent l'ancienne version, tandis que le Pentateuque et les Proverbes sont cités alternativement d'après l'un et

l'autre texte. Dans la Genèse et dans les Proverbes, nous constatons des rapprochements remarquables avec un texte absolument gaulois, le livre anonyme cité, cents ans auparavant, par Prosper d'Aquitaine.'

In the New Testament, on the other hand, says M. Berger, there is not a single citation from the Vulgate (i. e. from Jerome's version). He explains this by the fact that the new version of the New Testament was not very superior to the old, and fewer changes had been made in it than in the Old Testament, with the result that the older translation remained longer in use.

Caesarius of Arles, 470-542, uses the new translation in his prayers and letters. Kaulen quotes samples, two in Job xl 6 and Numbers vi 23; see Migne lxxvii 1126.

St Germanus of Paris, who died in 576, uses the new version in his exposition of the Gallican Liturgy. Kaulen gives as a sample Numbers vi 23; see Migne lxxii 94.

Ennodius was of Gallic origin and born at Arles in 473 and died in 521. In his letters and smaller works he quotes from Jerome: an example from Isaiah li 7 is quoted by Kaulen (Migne lxiii 195).

Eleutherius was born at Tournai about the middle of the fifth century and died in 531 or 532. In his sermons he quotes Jerome's version. Kaulen refers to Isaiah ix 7 from Migne lxxv 92 as an example.

As to the Councils held in Gaul, we find, according to Hody, p. 401, that only the Itala is used in the Acts of that of Orange held in 529; while in the Council of Tours held in 567 Jerome's version is employed.

In regard to the Gallican Liturgy Kaulen says:—

'Die gallicanische Liturgie, von deren biblischen Bestandtheilen uns nur Handschriften aus dem 7. und 8. Jahrhundert vorliegen, zeigt die spätere Uebersetzung, jedoch in einer Gestalt, welche auf den gleichzeitigen Gebrauch der ältern schliessen lässt' (*op. cit.* 200; see also Mabillon *de Liturgia Gallicana* iii, Paris 1785, and *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* in Muratori *Mus. Ital.* i, and Migne lxxii).

If we turn to Spain the Synod of Seville held in 590 issued the new version. It had been employed there, however, some fifty years earlier by Justus of Urgel in a commentary on Canticles; see Migne lxxvii.

Both the old and the new Latin versions are found in the Mozarabic rite. In the Missal there are several lections of Epistles and Gospels from Jerome's version; the introits and offertories come from the old version. The psalter used was the *Psalterium Vetus*. Similarly in the Breviary, while the Psalter shews no signs of Jerome's handiwork, the case is different with the Canticles. As Kaulen says:—

‘Die gedachten *cantica* dagegen sind auffallender Weise dem spätern Texte des Alten wie des Neuen Testaments entnommen. Vermutlich ist ihre Zusammenstellung zu bequemerem Gebrauch erst später geschehen, als nur noch Exemplare der hieronymianischen Bibel in Umlauf waren; denn die nämlichen *cantica* sind da, wo sie den Officien an der zugehörigen Stelle eingerichtet stehen, meist nach dem Texte der Itala gegeben. Was sonst noch biblischen Ursprungs im Brevier ist, stammt ebenfalls aus der Itala’ (Kaulen, pp. 199 sq.).

It is plain, therefore, that during the sixth century and until the Arians dominated Southern Gaul, the Gaulish and Spanish churches very largely used Jerome's version of the Latin Bible.

We have very little evidence that Jerome's version was used in the fifth century in Italy. The only author known to me who quotes it is Sedulius, a poet who wrote in the middle of the century, and refers to Jerome in laudatory terms, and was himself afterwards praised by Pope Gelasius. He uses Jerome's version in his *Carmen Paschale*.

In Italy the use of Jerome's version spread slowly. In regard to the popes I will quote a paragraph from Kaulen, adding in each instance, in brackets, a specimen sample of the quotation. He says:—

‘Leo der Grosse (440–461) braucht zwar die Uebersetzung des hl. Hieronymus eben so oft, jedoch bedient er sich der Itala (Gen. xlix 10 from Migne liv 250). Auch der hl. Hilarus (461–468) citirt, wie es scheint, nach der erstern (Lev. xxi 13: Thiel *Epist. Rom. Pontiff.* 1867, p. 168), Felix III (483–492) (Gen. iv 7: Thiel *ib.* 269) und Gelasius I (492–496) (Jonah iii 4: Thiel *ib.* 306) nach der letztern. Anastasius II (496–497) führt das Alte Testament nach der Itala, das Neue nach der Revision des hl. Hieronymus an (1 Kings xvi 7; Romans xiv 13: Thiel *ib.* 617); Symmachus dagegen (498–514) gebraucht bloss die alte Uebersetzung (Ezech. xviii 20; Rom. xii 19: see Thiel *ib.* 614, 711) und auch von Hormisdas (514–523) ist dies das Wahrscheinlichere (Psalms cxxvi 1: Thiel *ib.* 878). Die Itala brauchen

ferner Bonifacius II (530–532) (Proverbs xix 14: Migne lxx 33), Johannes II (533–535) (Proverbs viii 15: Migne lxxvi 17) und Agapetus (535–536) (Proverbs xxi 13: Migne lxxvi 46). Vigilius citirt eine Stelle des Buches Exodus nach dem hl. Hieronymus (Ez. xxiv 14: Migne lxxix 59). Pelagius I aber (505–560) führt noch einmal eine Stelle aus den Sprichwörtern nach der Itala an (Proverbs xviii 3: Migne lxxix 413). Die folgenden Päpste Johannes III (560–573) (Gen. xxxi 38: Migne lxxii 16), Benedict I (574–578) (Gen. ii. 24: Migne lxxii 683) und Pelagius II (578–590) (Job xci 26: Migne lxxii 740) halten sich einzig an die hieronymianische Uebertragung' (Kaulen *op. cit.* 201 sq.).

In regard to the ritual books at this time Kaulen says:—

'Im Allgemeinen lässt sich bei ihnen die Beobachtung machen, dass die Lesestücke, welche die Gemeinde zumeist angingen, aus der hieronymianischen Uebersetzung stammen, während die vom Clerus zu verrichtenden Gebete, sowie die vom Chor vorzutragenden Gesangstücke auf dem herkömmlichen ältern Texte fussen' (*ib.* 199).

Again he says:—

'Der ambrosianische Ritus hat das, was aus den Psalmen stammt, nach dem *Psalterium Romanum*, die Lesestücke vom hl. Hieronymus, alles andere aus der Itala. Ueber die römische Liturgie lässt sich nicht so genau Aufschluss geben, weil die Lectionarien der fraglichen Zeit verloren gegangen sind¹ und die einzig uns erhaltenen Sacramentarien keine biblischen Bestandtheile haben. Nur die älteste Urkunde, das sogenannte *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, das aus dem Ende des fünften Jahrhunderts stammt, hat Bibelstellen nach der Itala angewandt.'

Kaulen cites in this behalf some quotations of Muratori, *de Rebus Liturgicis*, viz. Isaiah vii 14, Job xii 24, 2 Thess. iii 6, 1 Tim. iii 1 (Kaulen *op. cit.* 199–201).

In regard to individual Italians, John the Deacon, whose date is uncertain, in a letter printed by Migne uses Jerome's text: Kaulen cites Job xxvii 2–4 from Migne lix 402. Saint Faustinus in one of his homilies cites Jonah iii 4 (see Migne lix 409) from Jerome's version. It is not quite certain that this last writer was an Italian or lived in Italy.

The deacon Paschasius, who flourished at the beginning of the sixth century, in his work *de Spiritu Sancto*, uses Jerome's version. Kaulen quotes as an example Isaiah xlv 24 from Migne lxxii 12.

¹ Der sogen. *Comes* oder *Lectionarius Romanus* mag immerhin vom hl. Hieronymus herrühren, stammt aber in seiner jetzigen Gestalt aus späterer Uebearbeitung.

In quoting passages of Holy Scripture, such as those above given, from the various writers who flourished in Gaul, Spain, and Italy during the fifth and sixth centuries, we must not forget that what took place in regard to Augustine's *Speculum* already cited, no doubt took place elsewhere, and that the later and more popular version was substituted for the older one by the scribes, who copied out new texts, so that Jerome had a continual tendency to displace the old Vulgate. As Kaulen says: '... Die Stellen der Itala von den Abschreibern nicht selten nach der spätern Vulgata geändert worden sind' (*op. cit.* p. 193 note).

I have in this paper carried down the story to the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, the time when Cassiodorus introduced fresh elements into the story. The discussion of these must be reserved for another occasion.

H. H. HOWORTH.

DOCUMENTS

AN ARIAN SERMON FROM A MS IN THE
CHAPTER LIBRARY OF VERONA.

(MS LI foll. 133-136.)

THE following document is a first instalment of unpublished material from a sixth-century MS at Verona. Towards the close of a week's work, in May of the present year, at the Verona manuscripts of Canons, I wandered round the shelves of the Chapter Library, in company with the zealous and accomplished librarian, Don Antonio Spagnolo, turning over some of the more ancient MSS. We looked at the two wonderful Hilarys, one of them, if not perhaps both, of the fifth century, and finally concentrated attention on a MS of the sixth (perhaps late sixth) century, entitled 'Maximus of Turin', which was largely used in the Roman edition (1784) of the works of St Maximus.

It soon became clear that there was more than Maximus in the MS. Some earlier scholar had deciphered from the colophon on the last page words which at once caught my eye *CANONES NICENORUM*. Closer investigation revealed the fact that the last part of the MS consists of a version, not indeed of the Canons of Nicaea, but of the latter part of the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions and of the Apostolic Canons at the end of them. The version is quite unknown, and is the earliest witness to the text of either Constitutions or Canons; part of it at any rate I hope to publish in a later number of the JOURNAL.

Unfortunately the MS, like several others among the earlier Verona MSS, has suffered severely from damp. Towards the end not more, and sometimes much less, than a third of each page is legible with ease; and two mornings devoted to the task of decipherment were enough to convince me that I could not myself hope to complete all, or anything like all, the work without a far longer stay at Verona than I could possibly compass. So to my friend Don A. Spagnolo is due the whole credit for the patient and unstinted labour which has been necessary to recover these lost fragments of primitive antiquity: I should not like to estimate how many days and weeks it has occupied.

The work on the translations is not ready for publication: for after receiving the draft from Verona, I have had to go through it with the Greek text and to suggest supplements and (occasionally) corrections, to be verified by Don Spagnolo with the MS, and this process is not yet by any means complete. But the MS contains besides a considerable number of apparently unpublished sermons: and one of these, which

stands by itself and reveals when examined very definite and individual characteristics, is now put before the readers of the JOURNAL as a specimen of what the MS has to give.

No one can read through this document without seeing at once that it is Arian; for the 'heretics' to the preacher are those who say that 'the Father and the Son are equal' (2. 4, 6. 17), and 'how can the begotten be equal to the Unbegotten, the visible to the Invisible, the servant to his Master, the suppliant and advocate to his Superior?' And the Arian literature that has come down to us in perfect state is scanty indeed. For Latin Arianism we have the Sermons and the bit of Commentary on St Luke found by Mai at Milan; the notes appended to the Acts of the Council of Aquileia in the Chartres MS of Hilary, now Paris lat. 8907; the Arian Sermon printed in St Augustine's works vol. viii, and the long quotations from Maximin in the same volume; and of course the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum* of pseudo-Chrysostom. Brief as it is, our Sermon is a welcome addition.

But the sermon is not only Arian; it is, if I guess rightly, Arian of the earliest and most successful period of Latin Arianism, between 350 and 400, or even between 350 and 380.

(i) The MS which contains it was only written in the sixth century, perhaps at the end of the sixth century; but it is quite certain that a scribe of the Latin Church at Verona at that date—and most if not all of the early Verona MSS were written at and for Verona, not collected later from elsewhere—would not willingly have inserted an Arian sermon of the day. He has blindly copied what he found in some earlier, perhaps already ancient, MS.

(ii) I somewhat doubt if 'heretic' would have been used to denote the Catholics at a time when the Italian Church, and (so far as it still counted) the Roman Empire behind it, were committed to the Catholic side. Indeed one would doubt how far, apart from a Court chaplain or two, there was any Latin-speaking Arianism in Italy in the sixth century.

(iii) The particular *nuance* of Catholic theology against which the preacher inveighs, suggests a very early stage in the development of the controversy. The 'heretics' not only assert that Father and Son are equal, but that 'Father and Son and Holy Spirit are one person' (2. 2: 'unus,' not 'unum'); and again they disprove the inferiority of the Son by His session at the right hand of the Father, seeing that 'He who is at the right hand is the greater' 'qui est in dexteram, ipse est maior' (3. 9, 4. 16). Of these two formulae the former is more or less Sabellian, and suggests the generation when the orthodox opposition to Arianism was compromised by the doctrinal excesses of Marcellus and Apollinaris: while the use of the latter in the Catholic interest

again seems to reflect the thought of a time anterior to St Ambrose who takes the truer line that such expressions cannot be literally used of the Divine: *de Fide* II xii 102, 105 'Sedet ergo ad dexteram Patris Filius. dic nunc qui de saecularibus arbitraris aestimanda divina, num tibi videatur inferior qui ad dexteram sedet? num iniuria Patris, quia ad sinistram sedet? . . . ad dexteram quoque sedere nulla praelatio est, neque ad sinistram iniuria; divinitas enim gradum nescit, nec loco aliquo circumscribitur, nec temporibus definitur. angustis animis homines ista pensamus'.

(iv) The Biblical quotations appear to be quite independent of the Vulgate. The longest quotation, that from Acts ii 25 sqq., is unfortunately the one point where the text is so far gone as at the ends of the lines to defy restoration. But enough remains to shew a strong degree of agreement with Berger's Perpignan MS (*p*) against our other Old Latin MSS, e.g. in verse 26 (5. 14) 'delectatum' for 'laetatum', and in verse 33 (6. 1-3) 'dextera itaque . . . hoc donum quod'. 'Hoc donum' is further shared, it is interesting to note, with Ambrose and Maximin the Arian (Sabatier *ad loc.*). 'Palam' in verse 29 (5. 20) appears to be unique.

The manuscript is written in long lines across the page and in uncial characters. In the hopes of making the text more intelligible to readers I have added a limited amount of punctuation, and have distinguished Scriptural passages by the use of capitals, quotations from the 'heretics' by clarendon type, and conjectural restorations by italic. For the rest we have scrupulously followed the MS, and have reproduced its few abbreviations.

C. H. TURNER.

1.

fol. 133 a Dñs noster ih̄s xp̄s semet ipsum
 dixit esse MAGISTRUM ut discipuli
 eius praeter eum nullius crede
 rent uerbum. summum ergo dñm
 5 habentes auctorem et dñm xp̄m
 habentes doctorem et paracletu-
 s̄p̄m s̄c̄m habentes inluminatore-,
 quod AUDIERUNT ET UIDERUNT per to-
 tum orbem terrarum docere gen-
 10 tes non dubitauerunt, sicut scrib-
 tum est IN OMNEM TERRAM EXIIT SO-
 NUS EORUM ET PER OMNES FINES TER-
 RAE UERBA EORUM. sanam itaque
 doctrinam ab eis audientes, hoc cre-
 15 damus quod a uero magistro didi-
 cerunt; quia ideo populum gentiu-
 et iudeorum non occulte sed pa-
 lam docuerunt, ut nequaquam
 postmodum iniquorum heretico
 20 rum uanam perfidiam aliqui xp̄i
 anorum aduerteret ne cum eis
 anathema feriat, paulo apos-
 tolo ita monente et dicente SI Q̄IS
 UOBIS PRAEDICAUERIT PRAETER Q̄OD
 25 sancta scriptura continet ANATHE-

MA SIT.

2, 6. Matt. xxiii 10.

8. 1 Jo. i 3.

11. Ps. xviii (xix) 5.

23. Gal. i 8.

20. aliqui: nominative singular, see Neue-Wagener³ ii 476. 22. anathema: ablative, and therefore declined as a feminine noun of the first declension, for which the only reference given in Koffmane, *Geschichte des Kirchenlateins* p. 36, or in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, is Lucifer Calaritanus *de non conueniendo* § 2 (ed. Hartel, 6. 19) 'te atque tuos dignos esse anathema'.

2.

fol. 133 *b* dicunt enim male credentes here-
 tici **pater et filius et sp̄s sc̄s unus**
est, et iterum et iterum quando vo-
 lunt dicunt **pater et filius aequa-**
 5 **les sunt.** quod utique si **aequales**
 sunt, **unus** esse non possunt, q̄ia
 aequalitas socio comparatur. na-
unus unus est solus, et **unum**
 duo aut tres uel multi intellegun-
 10 tur. quomodo autem potest esse
aequalis genitus ingenito uisibi-
 lis inuisibili et minister precep-
 tori et suplex adque aduocatus
 superiori? suplicem deinde et hu-
 15 milem adque aduocatum prae-
 cum nostrarum non solum tuē
 eum fuisse dum inter homines
 ut d̄s et homo haberet conuer-
 sationem, uerum etiam et nunc
 20 quia iussus **sedet ad dexteram pa-**
tris, non nostro argumento do-
 cemur sed diuinis scripturis,
 quantum ualet exiguitas nostra,
 dō adiuuante docemus ; habentes
 25 interea paulum apostolum prae

3. et iterum : repeated in the MS by mistake. 9. au'tres MS.
 suplicem, for the more usual spelling supplex, supplicem.
 20. From the Baptismal (Apostles') Creed.

13, 14. suplex,
 16. tuē, i.e. tunc.

3.

fol. 134 a dicatorem et probatorem, ubi ad
 romanos de opera et uirtutem dī
 scribit SECUNDUM OPERATIONEM
 inquit POTENTIAE UIRTUTIS *eius*
 5 QUAM OPERATUS EST IN x̄pō SUSCI
 TANS EUM A MORTUIS ET CONSTITU
 ENS EUM IN DEXTERAM SUAM IN CAE
 LESTIBUS. et audet dicere hereti
 cus **qui est in dexteram, ipse est**
 10 **maior** ! cui ita respondendum
 est : ergo et aeclesia maior est
 x̄pō, quae non solum in hoc sae
 culo uerum etiam et in futuro
 ad dexteram habebitur filii, sicut
 15 dauid dicit ADSTITIT REGINA A DEX
 TRIS TUIS, cui etiam dicit AUDI *filia*
 ET UIDE ET INCLINA AUREM TUAM
 ET OBLIUISCERE POPULUM TUUM ET
 DOMUM PATRIS TUI, QUIA CONCUPI
 20 UIT REX SPECIEM TUAM, QUIA IPSE
 EST D̄S D̄S TUUS ET ADORABIS EUM.
 aduertendum est quoniam li
 cet IN DEXTERA habetur aeclesia
 interpellat tamen d̄m et d̄m SUU—
 25 x̄pm ; et filius licet **ad dexteram**

3. Eph. i 19, 20.

15. Ps. xlv (xlv) 10, 11.

1. ad romanos : a slip, for the quotation is actually from Ephesians. 2. uirtutem :
 for uirtute. 14. fili, both here and on the next page, l. 7 : I have hesitated
 whether to transcribe it as fili or filii.

4.

fol. 134 *b* patris habeatur tamen interpel
 lat pro nobis suum genitorem,
 sicut apostolus paulus dicit x̄ps q̄i
 EST IN DEXTERA Dī SEDENS QUI ET IN
 5 TERPELLAT PRO NOBIS. quod autem
 aeclesia etiam in futuro ad dex
 teram habebitur filii, in s̄co aeua—
 gelio ita docemur; TUNC DICIT in
 quid REX EIS QUI AD DEXTERAM EIUS
 10 SUNT UENITE BENEDICTI PATRIS
 MEI ACCIPITE REGNUM UOBIS PA
 RATUM AB ORIGINE MUNDI. audi
 ens ergo, ut supra dictum est, he
 reticus filium ad dexteram patris
 15 sedere, *si pertinaciter* dicit quia
qui est in dextera ipse est maior,
 quare non aduertit quia non
praesumpturae sedit, sed audi
 ens patrem sibi dicentem SEDE
 20 AD DEXTERAM MEAM? in hoc loco
 ita intellegendum est, quoniam
 post passionem et resurrectio
 nem suam in ipso statim trium
 fu requiem laboris in dextera—
 25 partem accepit: quod et aeclesia,

3. Rom. viii 34. 8. Matt. xxv 34. 19. Ps. cix (cx) 1.

7. filii: see preceding page, l. 14 note. 13. ut supra dictum est: see previous page, l. 8. 15. si: D. Spagnolo had suggested et, but that would leave the sentence without construction. 18. *praesumpturae*: the MS is not wholly legible, but my colleague has, I am sure, hit upon the right word, though Forcellini gives only one reference, Tertullian *adv. Marc.* iv 41 'Petrum praesumptorie aliquid elocutum'; Rönisch *Italia* p. 148 adds no other. 23. triumphu: for triumpho.

5.

fol. 135 r quare persecutionibus creuit et
martyris coronata sit ideo me
ruit au fide dñm ita dicentem VE
SITE BENEDICTI PATRIS MEI ACCIPITE

5 REGNUM VOBIS PARATUM AB ORIGI
NE MUNDI petrus quoque apos
tolus xpm dñi filium passum et a
dō patre suscitatum et in caelis
exaltatum iudaeis psalm

10 huiusmodi docet *testimon*
PROUTIDEBAM inquit dñm ANTE ME
SEMPER QUONIAM *ad dexteram mi*
HI EST NE CONMOUEAR PROPTEREA
DELECTATUM EST COR MEUM *et exul*

15 TAUT LINGUA MEA *insuper aulem*
ET CARO MEA REQUIESCIT IN *spe quo*
NIAM NON DERELINQUES *in inferno*
ANIMAM MEAM NEC DAUIS SC̄M
TUUM UIDERE *corruptionem. ac*

20 paulo post dicit *liceat MIHI PALA*—
DICERE AD UOS DE PATRIARCHA DAVID
QUONIAM DEFUNCTUS EST ET SEPUL
TUS EST et caro eius UIDIT CORRUP
TIONEM QUEM AUTEM D̄S EXCITA

25 UIT A MORTUIS NON UIDIT CORRUP

3. Matt. xxv 34. 11. Act. ii 25. 20. Act. ii 29. 23. Act. xiii 36.

1, 2. creuit . . . sit : uniformity demands either creuerit . . . sit, or creuit . . . est: but the reading is certain. 9-20. This page is the most difficult to decipher in the Sermon, but most of it being a quotation a good many of the shorter *lacunae* can be filled with reasonable certainty : lines 9 and 10 are the only ones where I have had to renounce placing complete supplements in the text. In l. 9 five letters intervene between 'iudae' and 'sal'.

6.

fol. 135^b PTIONEM. DEXTERA ITAQUE DĪ EXALTATUS

PROMISSIONE SP̄S SCĪ ACCEPTA A PATRE
EFFUDIT HOC DONUM QUOD UIDE-
TIS ET AUDITIS. NON ENIM DAUID AS-

5 CENDIT IN CAELUM, DICIT AUTEM
IPSE DAUID DIXIT DŃS DŃO MEO SE
DE AD DEXTERAM MEAM DONEC PO-
NAM INIMICOS TUOS SCABELLUM
PEDUM TUORUM. CERTISSIME ITA

10 QUE SCIAT OMNIS DOMUS ISRAHEL
QUONIAM DOMINUM MEUM
ET XPM DĒ FECIT. siue ergo ad dex-
teram habeat filius patrem in
passionem, siue ad dexteram

15 patris sit post resurrectionem,
uolentibus et nolentibus here-
ticis qui dicunt **pater et filius**
aequales sunt, audit tamen
patrem iubendo sibi dicentem

20 SEDE AD DEXTERAM MEAM. quo-
niam ergo CAELUM SEDIS EST xp̄i,
et TERRA EST SCABELLUM PEDUM
eius, iam omnis terra, id est om-
nes gentes seu heretici siue

25 iudaei, relicta uanitate

1. Act. ii 33. 21. Act. ii 34. 22. Act. vii 49 (Is. lxvi 1).

11. dominum : in full. meum : for eum. Nothing is visible after meum, but the line is not long enough (18 letters), and D. Spagnolo writes that there is room for eu- or any similar word. 16. uolentibus et nolentibus : 'whether they will it or no.' 21. sedis : for sedes, as often. 25. The line is short (21 letters), but the vellum after uanitate shews no sign of ink.

7.

fol. 136 a et falsitate adorent dñm in uera
 unitate, cognoscentes unum dñm
 inuisibilem patrem per unigeni-
 tum eius uisibilem filium et spm
 5 sc̃m paracletum non genitore-
 neque genitum sed doctorem
 et ducatozem et lumen anima-
 rum nostrarum, et dent gloria-
 et honorem dō patri omnipote-
 10 ti per unigenitum eius filium
 in spū scō nunc et per omnia
 saecula saeculorum. amen.

7. ducatozem: 'ducator' in the Latin Irenaeus I xv 2 'nomine eis facto ducatore
 ad Patrem ueritatis', II xviii 7 'caeci caecis ducatoribus utentes', and in Tertullian
adu. Iudaeos 13 'manifestum est quod ciuitas simul eo tempore exterminari deberet,
 cum ducator eius in ea pati haberet'.

A. SPAGNOLO.

C. H. TURNER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE ODES OF SOLOMON AND THE *PISTIS SOPHIA*.

Of the forty-two Odes of Solomon published first by Dr Rendel Harris,¹ five (I, V, VI, XXII, XXV) are preserved more or less completely in the *Pistis Sophia*,² and Ode I is found only in that work. Dr Harris uses the Latin version of Schwartz-Petermann³ and of Woide-Münter-Schmidt⁴ for the text of the odes proper, and that of the former for the Gnostic hymns and commentaries which are associated with the odes in the *Pistis Sophia*. Schmidt's⁵ able and modern translation has been used but sparingly.⁶ Harnack-Flemming⁷ give a new

¹ *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge 1909.

² *Pistis Sophia, Opus gnosticum . . . descripsit et latine vertit M. G. Schwartz* edidit J. H. Petermann, Berolini 1851. (Codex Askew: British Museum Or. 5114.) The Odes therein contained: Fr. Münter *Odae gnosticae Salomoni tributae*, Havniae 1812. Noticed by Woide: *Appendix ad editionem N. T. graeci*, Oxford 1799. In Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. vii, 1891, pp. 37 ff, is a revised Latin version from Woide-Münter by C. Schmidt. L. Ideler *Psalterium copticae*, Berlin 1837, in an appendix, gives the Odes (after Woide!) with curious differences in text from that of Schwartz-Petermann. Harnack *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. vii, 1891, has given the whole book an elaborate investigation.

The *Pistis Sophia* is a gnostic work which is extant in Coptic only. It is generally believed (Harnack-Flemming, p. 12) to represent a Greek text at least as old as the middle of the third century A.D. Jesus, after His ascension, is made to teach His disciples certain mysteries of a gnostic character. Among other things He relates the story of the sufferings of Pistis Sophia, a spirit whom He encountered between the worlds, unable to rise and assailed by 'emanations of the self-willed', who addressed Him with hymns of repentance. Jesus relates these hymns to His disciples and asks for an interpretation, which is furnished by quoting a Davidic Psalm or one of the Odes of Solomon, of which the Gnostic hymn is an equivalent. These hymns are called by Dr Harris 'Targums', and the explanations sometimes appended, in which the correspondence is carefully pointed out, he has called 'Detailed Commentaries'.

³ C. Schmidt *Die koptisch-gnostischen Schriften* vol. i, in *Die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrh.*, Leipzig 1905.

⁴ On p. 94 Dr Harris has given a version of Ode I which is unknown to me. Cf. my branches were planted in me.

⁵ A. Harnack and J. Flemming *Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1910 (*Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. xxxv). As it is not always clear which of the writers is responsible for a given statement, we cite the work in the form HF (Harnack-Flemming). The 'Commentaries' on Odes XXII and XXV are omitted entirely. On p. 16 the 'Commentary' of Peter is mistaken for a 'Targum' of the woman (Pistis) Sophia. P. 17 the Targum to

German translation of the Syriac text by Flemming and a revised translation of the Coptic material by Schmidt, the whole being edited by Harnack with a valuable discussion (pp. 12-23) of the relationship between the Coptic and the Syriac versions.

In the present article I have brought together materials that have accumulated during a study of the Syriac Odes and of the corresponding portions of the *Pistis Sophia*.¹ For convenience the two versions are translated closely—even baldly—and placed side by side. The divergences are indicated by italics. Little textual emendation has been attempted; but I have tried by careful translation to bring the two versions into harmony as far as possible. Also I have compared with these two versions the other Coptic material, and noted the relationships existing between the texts as they stand. It is evident that much work remains to be done in amending the Syriac text; but the problem of the literary and textual relationship is fundamental, and must precede emendation.

Harnack (see p. 29 n. 5) takes the general position that differences between the Syriac and the Coptic texts of the Odes are to be traced to different recensions of the Greek original, since both the superversions are presumably accurate translations. Schulthess (see note 1) would explain them as errors of the Syriac and the Coptic translators of identical texts in Greek. Gunkel (see note 1) with much greater insight suggests: (a) errors in the transmission of the Syriac text; (b) errors of the Syriac and the Coptic translators in failing to understand the original Greek text; (c) our own errors in failing to understand the Syriac text as it is, through insufficient knowledge of the context (p. 294). A

Ode VI (uttered not by Sophia but by Jesus) is not inaptly called an *Einleitung*. P. 18 l. 19, 'Targum' is used wrongly for 'Commentary'.

¹ The stream of publication on the Odes is rising. For one writing from the western shore of the Ocean the delays incident on publication abroad are likely to lead to duplication of effort and ignorance of the latest word of others. There remains but one way: to submit as soon as one can, what one has, and to claim indulgence for the rest. I have seen (Jan. 1911):—

W. E. Barnes *An Ancient Christian Hymn Book* in the *Expositor*, 1910, pp. 52 ff.

J. H. Bernard *The Odes of Solomon* in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1910, pp. 1 ff.

H. Gunkel *Die Oden Salomos* in *Zeitschrift für die NT Wissenschaft*, 1910, pp. 291 ff.

F. Schulthess *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Oden Salomos*, *ibid.*, pp. 241 ff.

F. Spitta *Zum Verständnis der Oden Salomos*, *ibid.*, pp. 193 ff and 259 ff.

W. Staerk *Kritische Bemerkungen zu den Oden Salomos* in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1910, pp. 289 ff.

R. H. Strachan *The Newly Discovered Odes of Solomon* in *Expository Times*, 1910, pp. 7 ff.

A. Ungnad and W. Staerk *Die Oden Salomos*, 1910.

J. Wellhausen in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1910, pp. 429 ff.

Th. Zahn *Die Oden Salomos* in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1910, pp. 667 ff.

number of emendations of the Syriac text have been suggested, especially by Schulthess and Gunkel (Gressmann). With scripts like the Syriac and Arabic it is easy to manipulate a text with almost any desired result, e.g. Schulthess finds **قلبي** in **قلبي** (Estrangelo of course), and Gressmann (Gunkel) finds it in **وحتبي** (Ode VI, v. 9, Gunkel, p. 297). With a few exceptions these have not been here reproduced; but the omission to reproduce them does not mean that I reject them in every case.

An example of what may be accomplished by any moderately ingenious person may be given for Ode XXII:—Verse 2 a: Arabic **جَبَّ** and **جَبَّ**; verse 2 b: **عَرَبَ** and **عَرَبَ**; verse 6: **طَيْفَ لِي** and **طَيْفَ لِي**; verse 12: **مُلْكُ** and **مُلْكُ**—or for that matter German *Reichtum* and *Reich*!

Ode I is preserved only in the *Pistis Sophia*. It is quoted inadvertently and mistakenly for the original of Ode V, verses 10–12 (see below in its place), and therefore is accompanied by no ‘Targum’ or ‘Commentary’. It may be dismissed with a translation.

With Odes V, VI, XXII, XXV, the problem begins.

Odes V, XXII, XXV are each accompanied by a Gnostic hymn (metanoia hymn) uttered—as the *Pistis Sophia* presents them—by the woman (Pistis) Sophia, and interpreted, in each case through one of the companions of Jesus, by the quotation of the Ode itself in its simple form. That it is the intention of the *Pistis Sophia* to quote a non-Gnostic or orthodox Ode and not a Gnostic version of the same is evident from the fact that the Davidic Psalms are treated in the same way,¹ and quoted without any attempt to gnosticize them.²

Ode VI has a similar Gnostic hymn, but uttered by Jesus, instead of Sophia.³ It probably belongs to a different class from the others.

Odes VI, XXII, and XXV have, in addition to the Gnostic hymns just described, each a detailed Commentary, in which the text of the Gnostic hymns is shewn, piece by piece, to correspond with the quoted Ode. Both the Gnostic hymns and the text of the Odes are generally quoted exactly; but alterations may occur in either; the Odes may be quoted with better, worse, or indifferent readings; and the Gnostic hymns may be paraphrased so as to equate them better with the Odes.

¹ According to Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1891, vol. vii p. 34) nine Davidic Psalms are quoted complete, fourteen are abbreviated, and only one has omissions besides being abbreviated.

² The lack of a considerable portion of an Ode at the beginning or end does not argue that the part was unknown to the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, but merely that a part only of the same was necessary to his purpose of explaining a Gnostic hymn of definite limits.

³ See Ode VI note 4 below.

It is safe to say that the Commentaries represent that part of the *Pistis Sophia* which is most essential ; not being taken in from outside, but written by its author. The same is doubtless true of the Gnostic hymn of Ode VI.¹

Ode V, possibly in seven instances, certainly in five, displays the remarkable phenomenon of the agreement of the Syriac Ode with the Coptic Gnostic hymn, and the divergence of both from the Coptic Ode. Since we can hardly suppose that the Syriac text of the Odes, or its Greek ancestor, was influenced by the *Pistis Sophia*, we are compelled to believe that the Syriac through its ancestor was influenced by those very Gnostic hymns which are now in the *Pistis Sophia*, and that these were at an early date in circulation apart from that book and wholly independent of it, forming a collection of Gnostic hymns parallel to the orthodox Odes, from which they were derived. In Odes XXV and VI (*) this phenomenon is wanting ; it is most conspicuous in Ode V. There is nothing improbable in the notion that the Gnostic hymns as well as the orthodox Odes are older than the *Pistis Sophia*. Before Dr Harris's discovery of the Syriac text, the Odes were also supposed to have been composed to suit the purposes of the writer of the *Pistis Sophia*. We must suppose that these two sets of hymns were woven into a book, with the addition of stage setting and narrative, but especially with the composition of the harmonizing detailed Commentaries.

For several reasons it is likely that the *Pistis Sophia* was composed in Greek and translated into Coptic as a whole. For one thing Gnosticism was not popular among the native Egyptian population, as is seen from the rarity of Coptic manuscripts of such works. For another, the Copts were chiefly engaged up to the Council of Chalcedon (451) in translating Greek books, and the *Pistis Sophia* was in this period. About 350 the Upper Egyptian Bible seems to have been finished, and doubtless also Greek Gnostic works were translated at this time. After 451 the Coptic Church separated from the Greek Church and ceased to be interested in translating Greek works, and it was only after that date that the Church became national in its aims and otherwise. But there are some three or four instances which seem to show either that the Ode in Coptic has been adjusted to the Commentary in Coptic, after the *Pistis Sophia* has become a Coptic popular book ; or else that the Commentator is using a Coptic text and writing a Coptic Commentary.

Now it sometimes appears that the Commentator is using a different text from the one now found in the *Pistis Sophia* : a text agreeing exactly with that of the Syriac Odes ; or else that the Coptic Odes

¹ See also V. 200, 201, 202.

were changed after the Commentary had been written. Of this there are three instances.

The four Odes possessing a Gnostic hymn—VI should perhaps not be counted—yield in all 17-19 instances in which the Syriac has diverged from the type, doubtless original, still presented by the Coptic Ode and the Gnostic hymn. But Ode XXII verse 12 shews corruption of the Ode by the hymn, after combination.

The three Odes possessing a Commentary yield 20 instances in which the Syriac has deviated from the form still preserved by the Coptic Odes and the Commentaries. But in some cases the agreement of the latter two against the former may be due to the harmonization alluded to above (p. 32 ll. 35 ff).

Combining the last two paragraphs, there are 37-39 instances in which the reading of the Coptic Odes is confirmed elsewhere in the *Pistis Sophia* as against the Syriac.

At times the Syriac Odes have a rather less simple reading than the Coptic Odes,¹ which is scarcely what one would expect; for the writer of a Gnostic Commentary on orthodox Odes would scarcely pare them down to extreme plainness before proceeding to fit them to extravagant Gnostic hymns. In 6-10 instances the Syriac is shewn to be under the influence of Gnostic hymns that have come down to us in the *Pistis Sophia*; and these are not outweighed by the 17-19 instances in which the opposite is true (Coptic Odes agreeing with Gnostic hymns against the Syriac), for such agreement is to be expected. As it is hard to conceive motives for the deliberate simplification of originally more ornate odes by the writer of the *Pistis Sophia*, it seems likely that where the Coptic Ode is simpler than the Syriac it is also the more original. And if the Syriac version is shewn, even in a few instances, to be secondary to the Coptic Odes, and at the same time to be influenced by extant Gnostic hymns, we cannot be sure that the whole Syriac collection has not been influenced, through its ancestors, by Gnostic hymns now lost. In that case the original Odes may have been much simpler; and there is no assurance that this or that mystical turn of expression has not been introduced later. Unfortunately the limitations of the material for comparison prevent a solution of the question.

¹ See especially Odes V and VI.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS.

1. refers from.
 2. Brockelmann *Lexicon Syriacum*, Berlin 1895.
 3. the Coptic text of the Odes proper, as found in the *Pistis Sophia*.
 4. the detailed Commentaries of the *Pistis Sophia*.
 5. the Greek archetype of both versions of the Odes.
 6. Harnack *Über das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia*.
 7. Harnack and J. Flemming *Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalm-Buch*.
 8. Harnack *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*.
 9. Idelet *Psautierum Coptice*.
 10. Moulton *Grammar of New Testament Greek* vol. i, 1908.
 11. The Coptic book *Pistis Sophia*.
 12. Harnack and Idelet *Psalms of Solomon*.
 13. the Greek text of the Odes.
 14. Harnack *The Gnostisch-gnostischen Schriften*.
 15. Harnack and Idelet *Pistis Sophia, Opus Gnosticum*.
 16. the text of Latin translation.
 17. the Coptic hymns, as found in the *Pistis Sophia*.
 18. the Latin version of Wrede-Münter-Schmidt.

ODE I.

C.¹

1. The Lord is upon my head like a wreath, and I shall not depart
 2. *from*
 3. The Wreath of Truth² has been plaited³ for me, and it has made
 4. *me*
 5. I am like a dry wreath which does not sprout: nay, but
 6. *thou* hast made⁴ my head⁵ and thou hast sprouted upon me.
 7. I am full and perfect; full of thy healing.

8. *It was copied in by mistake for vv. 10-12 of*
 9. *the*

10. *cannot be rendered by the 3rd plural active but only by the 3rd*
 11. *in which it is regularly used. Otherwise it has no subject. The*
 12. *the verb is made identical with the wreath, the verb*
 13. *is made identical with the wreath, the verb*

14. *the 1st perfect in Coptic has been rendered by*
 15. *the 1st perfect in English. The 1st perfect in Coptic is used to render both the perfect*
 16. *the 1st perfect in English. The 1st perfect in Coptic is used to render both the perfect*
 17. *the 1st perfect in English. The 1st perfect in Coptic is used to render both the perfect*
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 98. *the 1st perfect in English. The 1st perfect in Coptic is used to render both the perfect*
 99. *the 1st perfect in English. The 1st perfect in Coptic is used to render both the perfect*
 100. *the 1st perfect in English. The 1st perfect in Coptic is used to render both the perfect*

ODE V.

C.

S.

1. I will confess thee, O Lord,
*for thou art my God.*¹

2. Forsake me not, O Lord,²
for thou art my hope (ἐλπίς).

3. Thou hast given me⁴ thy
*iudgement*⁵ for nothing; and I
*have been delivered through thee.*⁶

4. May⁷ they *fall down*⁸ who
persecute me, and do thou not let
them see me.

5. May a cloud of smoke cover
their eyes, and a mist of air (ἀήρ)
bring darkness upon them.

6. And do not let them see the
daylight, that they may not seize
me.

7. May their counsel *be power-
less*⁹; and may what they have
counselled come *upon them*.¹⁰

1. I will confess thee, O Lord,
*because I love thee.*¹

2. Forsakeme not, O Most High,²
for thou art my hope.

3. For nothing have I received
thy goodness⁵; and I *live thereby.*⁶

4. May⁷ my persecutors *come*⁸
and may they not see me.

5. May a cloud of darkness fall
upon their eyes, and an air (ἀήρ)
of darkness bring darkness upon
them.

6. And let there not be light
for them to see, that they may not
seize me.

7. May their counsel *become a
tumour*⁹; and may what they have
cunningly devised return *upon their
heads*.¹⁰

¹ T: *for I have wished to come to thee: for thou art my Saviour.* C > < S > < T (!).

² T: *Light of the Height.* C > < S = T.

³ SwP: 𐤒𐤍𐤌 for 𐤒𐤍.

⁴ SwP: 𐤏𐤁𐤓 for 𐤏𐤁𐤓.

⁵ T: *light*; a Gnostic substitution for an indeterminable word, as in the following cases, indicated as 'silent'. C > < S > < T. C seems to be right.

⁶ T: *thou hast delivered me.* C = T > < S. But S shows his characteristic way of rendering of the idea *to be delivered by to live* in Ode VI, v. 17, and the divergence may be attributed to that. T: *thou.* C = T > < S.

⁷ The optative is demanded by C (𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤌 𐤒𐤍) and admitted by S (𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤌), as in the following verses.

⁸ T: *may they fall down*; but later: *and do not let them come to the places which are beyond the heaven, to cause them to see me.* T = C partly, and in part T = S. It is S and not C that is influenced by T; for it is the second half of T that is secondary, and incidental. C > < S = T.

⁹ S: 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤌 which = *tumour* (Br p. 242: ἀπόστημα ἀφλέγμαντον). *He* translates *thick darkness*. HF compares it with 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤌 *thickness*, and suggests *Stumpsinn*. As a textual corruption in Syriac, Greek, or Coptic, the divergence is not apparent. C seems to give a good reading. T: *let it not succeed*, which may be the source of the reading of S, which would need to be rendered: *a blind tumour—that swells but comes to nothing.* C > < S = T (!).

¹⁰ C may also be translated *upon their heads* (𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤌 𐤏𐤁𐤓𐤌).

8. They meditated a plan, and it was not realized by them ; *and they were overcome although they were powerful*¹¹ ; and what they evilly (κακῶς) devised descended upon them.¹²

9. My hope (ἐλπίς) is in the Lord, and I shall not fear ; *for thou art my God, my Saviour (σωτήρ)*.¹³

10.¹⁴

8. For they meditated a plan, and it was not realized by them ;¹¹ ; they deliberated evilly, and were found to be empty.¹²

9. For my hope is in the Lord, and I shall not fear ; and *because the Lord is my salvation I shall not fear*.¹³

10. And He is as a wreath on my head ; and I shall not tremble.

¹¹ Verse 8 b is chiasmically parallel to 8 a ; and 8 c to 8 b ; whilst 8 a and 8 c are directly parallel. Again : verses 8 a and 8 c are parallel to 7 a and 7 b. It might seem then that 8 b has been inserted by C. But the omission of such by S is much more easily explained : namely, on the ground that the disturbing member (correspondence to 7 a and 7 b ; and double chiasm) was easily omitted in transmission. T omits the member 8 b ; but this cannot surely be regarded as having influenced S. But see the following note. C > < S = T ? Verse 8 seems to be historical, rather than general or indefinite.

¹² S has merely made 8 c exactly parallel to 8 a, while C has made it parallel to 7 b. The reason for the change in S is that it had lost the second member 8 b. C appears to be the original form. T : *they were not able* is again on the side of S as against C. C > < S = T.

¹³ There are three points of difference : (1) C : *thou art my God* ; S : *the Lord*. (2) C : *my Saviour* ; S : *my salvation*. (3) C has a causal clause going with what precedes ; S has a parallel two-membered sentence. T : *Because I believed (πιστεύειν) in the Light, I shall not fear ; and the Light is my Saviour, and I shall not fear*. T supports S in points (1) and (3). T = C in point (2). C > < S = T twice and C = T > < S once.

¹⁴ Verses 10-12 are wanting in C. As Hs has shewn (p. 20), the writer of PS when he had finished copying the Gnostic Hymn (T) corresponding to vv. 10-12 of Ode V, turned to his copy of the Odes to copy out these verses ; but his eye was caught by Ode I of our collection (the 17th in his book of Psalms and Odes) which has a similar beginning (cf. *supra* Ode I note 1). In this way Ode I was accidentally preserved to us, and Ode V, verses 10-12, lost. But the T of vv. 10-12 is of course preserved. It is to be noted that the T falls into two sections at v. 10, with an interlude, which will explain how the slip came about. It would seem from this, that the author of PS had before him both the T and the C ; for though conceivable, it is unlikely that he first used C for making his T, and then forgot so far as to copy in another Ode than the one which he had just paraphrased. He is not composing Gnostic Hymns from Odes, but harmonizing the one set of existing hymns with the other. In fact it may be that at his time he was unable to tell what Ode corresponded to his Hymn, and his error is one of ignorance rather than of oversight. Although v. 9 furnishes a natural ending, and the thought turns at this point to the figure of the Wreath, vv. 10-12 were probably originally in the copy of the Odes used by the writer of PS, and are not an addition of S.

In view of the omission of vv. 10-12 in C no comparison with S can be made ;

Even if everything should be shaken, I shall stand firm.

11.

11. And if the visible world should perish, I shall not die;

12.

12. For the Lord is with me, and I with Him. Hallelujah!

ODE VI.

C.

S.

1-6.¹

1-6.¹

7. A stream (ἀπόρροια)² issued forth; it became a great, broad river.³

7. For a stream² issued forth; and it became a great, broad river.³

8. It carried away all things, and it turned toward the Temple.⁴

8. For it flooded everything, and broke up, and carried to the Temple.⁴

but reconstruction of C from T can be attempted:—

10. The Lord has been a wreath unto my head, and I shall not depart from Him; and if all things are shaken, yet shall I not shake.

11. And if all things perish, yet shall I not perish.

12. For the Lord is with me, and I myself am with the Lord.

¹ These verses are wanting in C and are thus beyond the present discussion. Their motif is: *the Spirit of the Lord which takes possession of one; Grace, the knowledge of which is to be made known.* With v. 7 is introduced the motif of the stream of God's Grace which pours out irresistibly over the world. The two parts may have been separate odes or fragments, and the Coptic Odes may have lacked the first part. But the omission is explained if we suppose that PS did not care to quote more of the Ode than was represented in his Gnostic Hymn.

² ἀπόρροια need have no further mystical significance than the *ἔκστασις* of S (cf. HF p. 32). But *Sapientia Salomonis* 7²⁸ (cited by HF) is on the borderland of 'emanations'.

³ C: ἵερο need not refer to the Nile. But if so taken, in connexion with the following expressions (dams, water-restrainers), one need not conclude that the hymn is Egyptian (Har p. 43). Cf. e. g. Amos 8⁸, 9⁵.

S: *ῥίωμα* (misprint?), which Hs translates *river*, can only mean *light*. *ῥίωμα* is right. It is so difficult to decide what part is narrative part and what general or indefinite that I have left it narrative throughout vv. 1-11. The case is clearer in vv. 12-end (cf. Hs and HF).

⁴ C: *carried away all things* = S: *flooded everything and broke up*. This is probably the fullness of S in translation noticeable elsewhere. C: *and it turned toward the Temple* = S: *and carried to the Temple* (everything). T: ? *vid. infra*. Com, which appears for the first time in this ode, has *and brought them to the Temple*; i. e. it substitutes ἀκροῦ for the ἀκροῦς in its quotation from C. Here S is confirmed by Com. Gunkel (pp. 297-298) holds that the reading of C is correct, and explains S by translating it back into Greek *παρήνευκε τὸν ναόν*, in which he seems to have support from the context. C > S = Com. Both Com and S make the same mistranslation. Com does not quote a Coptic text of C. Since Com could not conceivably influence S, it must be assumed that Com has translated *παρήνευκε* of C in

9. It could not be restrained by means of *firm*⁵ (dams) and built places; nor (οὐδέ) could the arts (τέχναι) restrain it, of those who restrain the waters.^{6a}

10. It was carried over the whole earth; and it *seized*⁶ all things. *Dwellers upon the dry sands drank*.⁷

11. Their thirst⁸ was relieved⁹ and quenched, as the drink was given them from the Most High.

12. Blessed (μακάριοι)¹⁰ are the ministers (διδάκονοι) of that drink:

9. And the *impediments of the children of men*⁵ were not able to restrain it; nor the arts of those who restrain waters.

10. *For it went over the face of the whole earth; and it filled*⁶ everything. *And all the thirsty upon the earth were given to drink*.⁷

11. And thirst⁸ was relieved⁹ and quenched, for from the Most High the draught was given.

12. Blessed then are the ministers of that drink, who *are in-*

its quotation so as to interpret the more easily *T*: $\alpha\gamma\omega \pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\gamma\iota \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\mu \pi\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\pi$ (if indeed that is the proper parallel) and that they might take the light-forces. *Com* cannot have influenced *S*, for that would be equivalent to saying that *PS* had influenced *S*. *T* of Ode VI is not uttered, like the others, by *Sophia*, but by *Jesus*. It is doubtful therefore whether it belongs at all to the same class of presumably independent Gnostic Hymns as the others represented by *T*. *HS* calls it, like the others, a Gnostic Targum (p. 25). *HF* have noticed the difference and indicated it as the introduction to the Ode (p. 17), but have made the mistake of taking *Peter's Com* for *T* and calling it the 'Targum of the (woman) Pistis Sophia' (p. 16). Apparently no Gnostic Hymns existed for this Ode. The presence of this speech of *Jesus* is the one serious obstacle to the theory of the independence of the Gnostic Hymns. The Gnostic devotee can identify himself with *Sophia* in his hymns, but could hardly employ a hymn in the first person, uttered by *Jesus*. On the other hand this *T* is very different in character from the others, and does not appear to attempt even to paraphrase the Ode.

⁵ *C*: $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\rho\pi\alpha$ (firmnesses) seems to have the sense of $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu \epsilon\gamma\omicron\rho\pi\alpha$ (fortifications, cf. the following parallel $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu \epsilon\gamma\kappa\iota\tau$ built places). *Sm* amends $\pi\pi \pi\epsilon\pi\omega\rho\pi\alpha$ to $\pi\sigma\iota \pi\epsilon\pi\omega\rho\pi\alpha$ in accordance with *Com*, and thus obtains a closer parallel to *S* 'Nicht konnten ihn fassen Dämme und Bauten.' *S*: $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu$ (impediments; not restrainers: *HS*). The text of *C* is supported by *Com*. *C* = *Com* >> *S*.

S: of the children of men. *C* and *Com* give no hint of it. *C* >> *S* >> *Com*. Gunkel (Gressman) p. 297 amends $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu \epsilon\gamma\kappa\iota\tau$ to $\pi\epsilon\pi\omega\mu$.

^{5a} Reading with *Sm* instead of $\pi\mu\omicron\omicron\sigma\gamma, \pi\mu\mu\omicron\sigma\gamma$.

⁶ *S*: filled is paralleled by *Com*: filled, giving rise to the same dilemma as in note 4 *supra*. *C* is entirely different. *T* is silent; unless we regard as evidence: $\alpha\gamma\omega \alpha\gamma\alpha\iota \omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\pi \tau\eta\rho\eta \pi\sigma\iota \pi\omega\mu \alpha \pi\tau\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\gamma\lambda\eta$, and the *sōma* of her *ēla* took all light, in which reference is made to the stream of light which *Gabriel* and *Michael* brought into the 'body of the matter' of the woman *Sophia*. The reading 'filled' is here implied, and *C* >> *S* = *Com*, *C* >> *S* = *T* (!).

⁷ *C* = *Com* >> *S*.

⁸ *C* = *Com* >> *S*.

⁹ literally: loosened.

¹⁰ *SwP*: $\pi\epsilon$ = $\pi\epsilon\pi$.

those to whom *has been intrusted* trusted with *His*¹¹ water.
the water of the Lord.¹¹

13. They have restored lips that were parching; *those*¹² who were exhausted¹³ *have received joy of heart*.

14. They have seized^{13a} expiring¹⁴ souls (ψυχαί) that they might not die.

15. They have set up members¹⁵ (μέλη) which were fallen.

16. They have strengthened their *freedom* (παρρησία)¹⁷ and have given light to their eyes.

13. They have assuaged the dry lips, and the *will*¹² that had fainted¹³ *they have raised up*.

14. And souls that were near departing¹⁴ they have caught back^{13a} from death.

15. And the members which were fallen they have *straightened*¹⁶ and set up.

16. They have given strength to their *coming*¹⁷ and light to their eyes.

¹¹ *Com* : to whom has been entrusted the stream of light (or of the Light: meaning of the Lord). Taking the rendering *stream of light*, *Com* supports *S* (1). Taking the other rendering, *Com* = *C*. The latter has more in its favour; for the *stream of light* is regularly written ταπορροια ποροειν in the *Com*, and not ταπορροια αποροειν with the article as here. *C* = *Com* > < *S*.

¹² *C* = *Com* > < *S*.

¹³ literally : loosened.

^{13a} That *Sm*'s emendation of ἀγαμαρτε to ἀγτανρο is wrong is now shewn by *S* : οἶνω. It is an excellent example of 'better sense' emendation, overturned by an unexpected fact. Cf. above p. 35 n. 9.

¹⁴ *C* and *S* are good equivalents. To be sure, *C* : εγπορξε απτηγ can refer to the subject (ministers understood) or the object (souls). Schmidt's corrected translation in *HF* : indem sie den Hauch schickten (= what ?) is noncommittal. πορξε = βάλλειν ἐπὶ (Jo. 8⁵⁹) ; λιθάζω (10³²) ; ρίπτειν (Mt. 27⁶) ; αποστρέφειν (26⁵²) ; ἐμβάλλειν (Sir. 28⁹). πεχαιατογ is the only instance in Peyron's *Lex.* of (venenum) inicere. *S* also demands that we translate πορξε as throw out, expire, agreeing with the object. Verse 15 points in the same direction; and *T* : ταῖ ἐπεσπατακο πε, this one being about to perish, leaves no room for doubt. *Com* quotes *C* exactly, but explains πορξε as inicere, for he paraphrases : when they had injected (πτερογπορξε . . . ερογν e . . .) the lights. This is the source, doubtless, of *WMS* : halitum immittentes (otherwise *SwP* translation : cientes halitum) and of *Sm* : indem sie den Hauch hineinstiessen. It seems unnecessary to amend postulated αποπέμω to αποπνέω with *HF* (pp. 32-33). But πορξε was obscure to *Com*.

¹⁵ *SwP* : ρε = ρειν.

¹⁶ *C* = *Com* > < *S*.

¹⁷ *HS* (p. 7) suggests that *S* goes back to παρρησία, but *C* to παρρησία, and conjectures παρίσει αὐτῶν or παραλύσει αὐτῶν. *HF* prefers the latter, but it can hardly be explained textually. As it stands, παρρησία (= *S*) is without sense. παρρησία was almost certainly in the Greek underlying *C* and makes possible but difficult sense. παρίσει (indifference) recommends itself best perhaps. *Com* quotes *C* without substantial change and equates it with *T* : and they became again as they had been at first. *C* = *Com* > < *S*.

17. For all of them¹⁸ have recognized *themselves*¹⁸ in the Lord; and have saved *themselves*¹⁹ by water of eternal life.

17. For every one¹⁸ has recognized *them*¹⁸ in the Lord; and [all] hath lived¹⁹ by living eternal water. *Hallelujah.*²⁰

ODE XXII.

C.¹

S.

1. He who brought me down from² the exalted places above² and⁴

1. He who brought me down from the height³ and⁴ brought me

¹⁸ The subject refers to ministers or patients. In *S* the object is not reflexive; in *C* it may be so (αἰχοῦσι). That it is to be taken reflexively is shewn by *T*: αἰχοῦν περηνῇ, they have recognized each other. *Com* quotes *C* and equates it with *T*. *C* = *T* > < *S* and *C* = *Com* > < *S*. αὐτοῦς (for ἀλλήλους) has been read αὐτοῦς by *S* and mistranslated (αἰκ). *C* leaves it doubtful, and *T* reads it correctly. The ministers and their patients have recognized each other in the Lord.

¹⁹ *S*'s mannerism; cf. Ode V, verse 3, note 6.

²⁰ Characteristic of *S*.

¹ This Ode is preceded by a regular Gnostic Hymn of Sophia, and followed by a *Com* of Matthew.

I see no reason for regarding verses 1-2 as written especially to occupy a place in the *PS* (*RJ* p. 161); nor do I see why they need refer to pre-existence (*HF* p. 52), or to the Messiah or Jesus. This is a song, in Jewish strain, of one who has been oppressed, but who has at last found deliverance through God's help. 'Descending from the heights', and 'rising from the depths', are figures of speech merely. The 'removing of those who were in the midst' refers to the victory over the once present and dominant enemy. Yet it does look like Gnostic phrasing.

The Ode changes rapidly from the narrative part to the general, using the 1st perfect for both in *C*, and the perfect in *S*. Each reader will feel differently about the choice to be made in each case; but I have tried to distinguish between the two.

² The MS has ἐπεστ ἔν, but *SwP* indicates a marginal MS correction inserting ἐβόλ, and this is confirmed by *T* and *Com*.

³ If *above* is not original, and it seems not to be so, it has been introduced from *T* or *Com*. *T*: ἐτῆνκαῖντε. *Com*: ἐτῆνκαῖντε. *C*: τσα πνε. (*Sm*) read: ἐτσαπνε instead of *SwP*'s ῆκαπνε beyond the heaven. But both *C* and *S* may be translations of Greek: ἐκ τῶν ὑψίστων τῶν ἀνω: ἐβόλ ἔν πῦρ ἐτσοε ἐτσαπνε; κωοῖα ρ.

⁴ Greek: καὶ αὐτός; the weak αὐτός was rendered in *S* and *C* by the verb with a latent subject, preceded by the copula. But it is evident that *and* introduces the principal clause: *He who . . . eum He*. *Com*: ἀγω οἱ; and on the other hand, which in a different way produces the needed contrast.

⁵ *G* seems to have had: ἀνῆγαγέν με ἐκ or ἐξήγαγέν με ἐκ. The former is represented in *S*. *C* writes ἀγῖτ ἐρραῖ ἔν, which should mean: *he brought me out of*. ἐρραῖ (= up, and = down) + ἔν ordinarily = out of. *T*: ἐρραῖ ε . . . which means down to (not up to, as the context shews). *Com* quotes *C* exactly. The confusion could not have arisen in Greek (ἐκ, εἰς, ἀνά, κατά). It need not be thought that *T* is labouring to elucidate *C*'s Coptic ἐρραῖ ἔν, or that therefore *T*

brought me out of ^b the places up from ^b the depth.^b
which are in the under firmament.^b

2. He who removed^{6a} those⁷ who were in the midst, even He⁸ has given me⁹ knowledge concerning them.¹⁰

3. He who scattered my enemies
and my adversaries (ἀντιδίκους) :

4. He who gave me authority ¹¹
over bonds to loose them :

up from ⁵ the depth.⁶

2. *He who collected ^{6a} the things⁷ that were in the midst, even He ⁸ has cast me down.¹⁰*

3. He who scattered my enemies
and my adversaries :

4. He who gave me authority over bonds that I might loose them :

was made from a Coptic Ode, containing an unintelligible expression ; *T* chooses to make both members of the verse parallel, and to introduce the contrast needed in an additional clause following : (*He who brought me down from . . . and brought me down to . . .*) and on the other hand thou hast saved me from the places below, through thy commandment.

* G may have been ἐκ τῶν βαθύων τῶν κάτω, whence both C: εγραῖ ἔπ̄ ἀμα εἰπλον ἀπеснт, and S: κδδωδ ρ.

The sense of the two verses must have been: *He who brought me down from the heights above, even He has brought me up out of the depths below*: ὁ καταγαγών με ἐκ τῶν ὑψίστων τῶν ὄνω, καὶ αὐτὸς με ἀνήγαγεν ἐκ τῶν βαθύων τῶν κάτω.

In conclusion: *C* and *S* as well as *T* and *Com* point to a common Greek text. *And he* is wrongly rendered by both. *Brought out* may be more original than *brought up*; or perhaps *C* is to be translated *brought up*.

* C (ΠΕΠΤΑΥΟΥ ΠΙΝΑΥ) T and Com (in quoting C) all have removed. Com, in its explanation, has (instead of T's text): ἀντρεσ ωντῆ εἰθολ: thou hast caused it to be cleansed. S: **μανη ασο.** HF (p. 53) rejects C as less intelligible than S. C = T > S.

¹ C: ΠΝΕΤ—may refer to persons; but S: **ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲧⲉⲛ** does not, and is made directly parallel to **ⲛⲁⲩⲉⲧⲉⲛ** of verse 1 b. T curiously agrees with S. T: *thou didst remove the ὕλη which were in my light-forces, and I saw them.* These ὕλη are impersonal and Gnostic, and consciously so; in S the touch of T is retained, but without understanding. C is ambiguous; but verse 3 shews that human enemies are thought of. I find nothing 'Gnostic' in C; no reference in verse 1 to pre-existence or the Messiah (HF p. 52), or in verse 2, to the Earth as between Heaven and the Underworld (HF p. 53). 'Former defeats (v. 1 a) have been turned to victory (v. 1 b). Those who were formerly an ever-present oppression in our midst He has removed (v. 2 a); and He has taught me how to vanquish them (v. 2 b).' So taken, v. 2 a is parallel to v. 3; and v. 2 b to v. 4. C > < S = T?

¹ = G: καὶ αὐτός.

⁹ C: ἀγτσαῖοσ εἰσοσ is corrected by Com: ἀγτσαῖοι εἰσοσ; it is merely a textual error in C (-ῖοσ from following εἰσοσ).

¹⁰ *T: and I saw them* confirms *C*, as does *Com.* $C = T > S$, cf. p. 31 l. 11. *HS* suggests **𐤊𐤍𐤁** for **𐤊𐤍𐤁**.

¹¹ C should have ἀγῶ (καὶ αὐτός) indicated by the context; verse 5 b is the principal clause. S read καὶ αὐτός. S has gone over to the second person under

5. He who smote (παράσσειν) with my hands the serpent having seven heads :

[Even] *He*¹¹ has established me over its root, that I may wipe out its seed (σπέρμα).

6. *And thou*¹² wast with me¹³ helping me; in every place thy name surrounded me.¹⁴

7. Thy right hand has brought to ruin the poison of the slanderer¹⁵; thy hand has levelled the way of thy faithful ones (πιστοί).¹⁶

8. Thou hast redeemed¹⁷ them from the graves (τάφοι), and removed them from the midst of the corpses.¹⁷

9. Thou hast taken dead bones; thou hast covered them with a body (σῶμα);

10. And those who were motionless: thou didst give to them energy (ἐνέργεια) of life.¹⁸

11. Thy way has [ever] been without corruption; and thy person¹⁹ also. Thou didst bring

the influence of *T*(?) or perhaps of verse 6. *C* > < *S* = *T*(?). *S* is hardly correct, for v. 5 b goes with the preceding, and v. 6 makes a new beginning.

¹² *S* is better than *C*. No copula is needed at the beginning of a division.

¹³ *C* = *T* > < *S*.

¹⁴ *C*: ἀγκυτε ερῶ; so also *T* and *Com* (quotation and interpretation). *S*:

C is unquestionably the original, for it makes v. 6 b parallel to v. 6 a and *S* gives inferior sense. Schulthess, p. 252, emends:

¹⁵ *T* gives no light. *Com* quotes *C* and equates it with *T*. *C* = *Com* > < *S*.

¹⁶ Why should a figure derived from the Return of the Exiles be anything more than a mere literary allusion?

¹⁷ *T* gives no clue. *Com* quotes *C* and gives an interpretation not derived from *T*. But even this does not explain *S*. *C* = *Com* > < *S*. Freedom of translation will explain sufficiently.

¹⁸ See above note.

¹⁹ *C*: joining on to preceding: ἀτεκνὴν ὕωνε ποτ' αὐτὰ ττατο; *S*: joining to preceding:

5. He who overthrew with my hands the serpent having seven heads :

*And thou*¹¹ hast established me over its roots to destroy its seed.

6. *Thou*¹² wast there¹³ and didst help me; and in every place thy name was blessed by me.¹⁴

7. Thy right hand has brought to ruin his evil poison¹⁵; and thy hand has levelled the way for those who believe in thee.¹⁶

8. *And thou* hast chosen¹⁷ them from the graves, and separated them from the dead.¹⁷

9. Thou hast taken dead bones and covered them with bodies.

10. And they were motionless; and thou didst give aid for life.¹⁸

11. Thy way is without corruption, and thy person (πρόσωπον).¹⁹ Thou didst bring thy world to

thy world (*αἰών*) to destruction that all of them²⁰ might be dissolved and be renewed,

12. and that *thy light*²¹ might be a foundation for them all.²² Thou hast built thy *wealth*²³ upon them,²⁴ and they²⁵ have become a holy,²⁶ dwelling place.

destruction, that everything might be dissolved and renewed,

12. and that the foundation for everything might be *thy rock*.²¹ And upon it²⁴ thou hast built thy kingdom,²³ and thou²⁵ hast been the dwelling place of the saints.²⁶ Hallelujah.²⁷

ODE XXV.

C.

S.

1. I have been delivered from the¹ bonds; I have fled to thee, O Lord.²

1. I have been delivered from my¹ bonds; and unto thee, my God² have I fled.

ἡγίον θεόν). To take ἀγὼ *ἡγ* as καὶ δέ (*SwP*) is impossible. *ἡγ*

continues the negation of *ἡγ*ττττττττττ, and joins *περὶ* to the foregoing *ἡγ*πε as a second subject. In perfect harmony with this is *S*. Indeed the supposedly feminine verb *θεῖν* cannot possibly be construed with *ἡγ*ττττττττττ

which is masculine (as noted by *HF* p. 53, on *Hs* p. 118). Both *εἶ* and *εἶ* stand for *πρόσωπον*, which means *person* as well as *face*; but *HF* (p. 53): “und dein Antlitz” ist unverständlich.’ *θεῖν* is 2nd person singular and begins a new sentence.

²⁰ i. e.: all things and all persons.

²¹ *T* has corrupted *C* (after combination in the *PS*?) and *S* is right. *C* = *T* > < *S*.

²² See note 20.

²³ *C*: *ἡγ*ττττττττττ may possibly, though not probably, have arisen by textual corruption in Coptic from *ἡγ*ττττττττττ: *kingdom*, which is the reading of *S*. *T* is silent. This would compel the assumption that the *PS* was composed in Coptic, or later strangely harmonized, for *Com* in quoting *C* gives the same word. It is by no means certain that *kingdom* is the original word in this place (so *HF* p. 54, cf. Ode 41¹⁰, 9⁴, 11⁹, 14 who admit that *S* is smoother, but *C* perhaps correct). *C* = *Com* > < *S*.

²⁴ *C* > < *S* = *Com*. *T* is silent. *C* has plainly been corrupted in transmission under the influence of *them all* (notes 20 and 22); but the building is to be done not on the things of the *αἰών* but upon the rock (*light*). *S* is right.

²⁵ *T* is silent. *Com* has: *it*. *C*: *they* (for the reason given in the preceding note). *S* stands alone: *thou*. *Com* seems to be right. *C* > < *Com* > < *S*.

²⁶ *T* is silent. *C* = *Com* > < *S*. *G*: κατοίκησιν ἀγίων and . . . ἀγίων respectively.

²⁷ Regular in *S* and absent in *C*, *T*, and *Com*.

¹ *C* = *T* > < *S* and *C* = *Com* > < *S*. Perhaps ἡγ for κῆγ; or merely the latitude of the translator. Probably *C-T-Com* are correct.

² = *G*: κύριε.

2. For thou hast become *for me* [as] a right hand, delivering me and helping me.³

3. Thou hast restrained (κωλύειν) those who contend against me ;

4. And they have not shewn themselves,⁴ because thy person⁵ was⁶ with me, delivering me through⁷ thy grace (χάρις).

5. I have been despised in the eyes⁸ of many ; and they have cast me out ; I have been like lead in their eyes.⁹

6. Strength has come¹⁰ to me through thee, helping me.¹¹

7. For though hast set lamps at my right and at my left, in order that¹² no side of me should be without light.

8. Thou hast covered¹³ (σκεπάζειν)

2. For thou hast become *my* right hand of salvation and my helper.³

3. Thou hast restrained those who rise up against me ;

4. And I shall not see him any more⁴ ; because thy person (πρόσωπον)⁵ was⁶ with me, which delivered me through thy grace.

5. But I have been despised and repudiated in the eyes of many ; and I have been in their eyes like lead.

6. And strength came¹⁰ to me from thee, and help.¹¹

7. A lamp hast thou set at my right and at my left, and¹² there shall be nothing in me without light.

8. And I have been covered¹³

³ C: **xe akwone naí porpam** = not 'bist . . . gewesen' &c., but 'bist geworden' (Schmidt in *HF*; also *SwP* and *WMS*). C: **ekporxē pmoī aḡw ekporxē pmoī aḡw ekfptoot** in both *SwP* and *Ideler*: dittography in MS. *HF* finds S: **κωλύειν μου** corrupt and suggests **κωλύειν** (κω).

κωλύειν μου. The emendation is unnecessary and **κωλύειν μου** does not mean 'als mein Retter' (*HF* p. 58). C and S are in practical agreement.

⁴ In the tense $C = T > < S$ and $C = Com > < S$. If the enemies are potential and the passage is categorical rather than narrative, which seems to be the case, then C is correct; but see note 6. S is certainly narrative, for besides the future tense *any more*, he used *him* instead of the indefinite *them* (C). He believes the allusion to be to some particular enemy.

⁵ C: **ρο** = *ρόσωπον*.

⁶ C: **περε . . . ὑποον**, imperfect tense. S has **ὄν κωον**.

⁷ C: **ῥη** = *through*.

⁸ C: **ἡπεμτο εἶολ ἡ . . .**

⁹ **ἡπεγῆτο εἶολ**.

¹⁰ C: **ακωωone** ; S: **κωονα**.

¹¹ $C = T > < S$ and $C = Com > < S$.

¹² S: **κω**. $C = T > < S$ and $C = Com > < S$.

¹³ S: **δωωδῆκα** ; C and *Com*: **ακσκεπαζε pmoī** ; but T: **ακρωῆς εἶολ εκωῖ**, its Coptic equivalent. G had: **σκεπάζειν**. In using the passive construction S is unique. $C = T > < S$ and $C = Com > < S$.

me under the garment¹⁴ of thy grace¹⁵; and I have risen above the garments of skin.

9. It is thy right hand that has raised me up; and thou hast removed sickness from me.

10. I have become strengthened through *thy* truth, and holy through thy justice (δικαιοσύνη); those that contend against me have turned back.¹⁸

11. And I have become justified through *thy*²¹ goodness (χρηστός); for *thy*²¹ rest endures for ever and ever.

with the garment¹⁴ of thy spirit¹⁶; and thou hast removed from me¹⁶ the garments of skin.¹⁷

9. For thy right hand has raised me up, and thou hast caused sickness to pass away from me.

10. And I have become strong through *the* truth, and holy through thy justice; and all those that [contend] against me fear me.¹⁸

11. And I have become admirable¹⁹ through the name of the Lord²⁰; and I have become justified through His²¹ goodness, and His²¹ rest is for ever and ever. *Halleluja*.²²

¹⁴ S: ܠܬܚܬܐܢܐ; C: ܕܐ ܬܐܝܬܗܥ; Com: ܕܥܢ ܬܐܝܬܗܥ. G had: σκέπασμα. That the reference is to covering with clothing is evident from verse 8 b. and this idea is conveyed in σκεπάσειν—σκέπασμα,—these are the current equivalents underlying the Syriac and Coptic words quoted; rather than *textisti me sub umbra* (WMS), *Du hast mich beschattet mit dem Schirm* . . . (Sm).

¹⁵ Schmidt in HF (p. 58) suggests that ܡܝܬܐܢܐ (thy πνεῦμα) was miswritten as ܡܝܬܐܢܐ (thy grace). But Com also has ܡܝܬܐܢܐ (T is silent) which would argue that Com was actually composed from C in Coptic, or afterwards corrected to errors that had arisen in C during the transmission of the whole book PS.

¹⁶ S: ܠܬܚܬܐܢܐ HF: 'und er hat weggenommen.'

¹⁷ S: ܠܬܚܬܐܢܐ HS (p. 124): 'my raiment of skin.'

¹⁸ C = Com > S.

¹⁹ HS amends S: ܠܬܚܬܐܢܐ to ܠܬܚܬܐܢܐ. The corruption arose under the influence of the following ܠܬܚܬܐܢܐ. HF retains the reading of the MS.

²⁰ This extra half-verse 11 a in S, an expansion of 11 b, is unique. C = T > S and C = Com > S.

²¹ C = Com > S and C = T > S.

²² Characteristic of S.

TABULATION.

	V	VI	XXII	XXV	
—	1 & 1!	0	0	0	$C > < S > < T$.
—	No Com	1	2	0	$C > < S > < Com$.
—	5 & 2!	1!	1 & 1!	0	$C > < S = T$.
—	No Com	2	1	0	$C > < S = Com$.
—	3	2	7	7	$C = T > < S$.
—	No Com	8	4	8	$C = Com > < S$.
—	No Com	2	1!	1	Com shows error of C.

W. H. WORRELL.

THE POETRY OF THE GREEK BOOK OF PROVERBS.

THE late Dr Blass stigmatized as a waste of time the search for verses and fragments of verse in the New Testament.¹ He admitted, however, that in this respect one book stood apart from the rest—the Epistle to the Hebrews. There not only did he note (in xii 13 ff) a faultless hexameter, followed almost immediately by two faultless trimeters, but (a far more essential matter) he discovered running through the Epistle ‘a carefully executed mutual assimilation of the beginnings and endings of sentences and clauses’. The general tendency is for the *στίχοι* to run in couplets, the concluding (and sometimes the opening) syllables of the second line having the same scansion as the corresponding syllables in the previous line. In the attention paid to the balance of final syllables the system is a sort of approach to rhyme.

In the Greek Old Testament two books must be exempted from the general stricture above mentioned. I have previously pointed out in this JOURNAL² that the couplet system is illustrated, perhaps even more strikingly than in Hebrews, in the Book of Wisdom. In the Greek version of the book of Proverbs that rhythmical device is not, so far as my observations have gone, represented to any appreciable extent. On the other hand, the number of complete or fragmentary hexameters and iambic lines in that book is far too numerous to be the result of accident. My attention was first

¹ *Gramm. of N. T. Greek* p. 297.² vi 232.

drawn to this many years ago by my friend the late Dr Redpath. He did not, however, I believe, place his observations on record, nor, to my knowledge, has the subject been handled by others. It may, therefore, be worth while setting out the evidence *in extenso*. The matter clearly has a rather important bearing on the reconstruction of the text of the 'LXX', which in this book has suffered a good deal of contamination.¹ One instance will suffice to illustrate the sort of critical problem which arises. The 'faultless hexameter' which Blass found in Hebrews (xii 13) is a quotation from Proverbs (iv 26):—

καὶ τροχίᾳς ὀρθὰς ποιήσατε² τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν.

But in the MSS of Proverbs³ the line is different, and, unless it can be classed as anapaestic, unmetrical:—

ὀρθὰς τροχίᾳς ποίει σοὶς ποσίν.

Which of the two texts is the older?

It is not surprising that this particular book of the Greek Bible should be the one conspicuous instance of an attempt at metrical arrangement. Verse was the natural vehicle for proverbs. The metrical form helped to impress these household sayings on the memory. The grammarian Hephaestion, who wrote a manual on Greek metres, tells us⁴ that the metres employed for proverbs were the hexameter, the iambic, and the *versus paroemiacus*. A glance at the oldest collection which has come down to us (that of Zenobius, who lived under Hadrian⁵) will verify the statement. These metres are all largely represented in the Greek book of Proverbs. That Hellenistic Jews produced paraphrases of Scripture in Greek verse is well known. We have an instance of a hexameter collection of γνῶμαι extending to upwards of 200 lines, largely based on O. T. language, written in the Ptolemaic age by a Jew who sought to pass off his work as that of a much older composer of apophthegms, Phocylides of Miletus.⁶ We have a specimen shewing how a Jewish writer of the same period handled a Biblical subject in iambics in the considerable fragments preserved in Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of the tragedy entitled 'the Exodus' (ἡ Ἐξαγωγή), written by the Alexandrian Ezekiel.⁷

¹ See Lagarde's *Anmerkungen zur gr. Üb. der Proverbien* (Leipzig 1863) *passim*. I am indebted to Professor Burkitt for the loan of this valuable book, now unobtainable. The British Museum does not possess a copy.

² ποίετε N*P 17, W.-H.¹²¹.

³ Holmes and Parsons cite Thdt. iii 627 for the N.T. form, but Theodoret is merely quoting from Hebrews.

⁴ Teubner text p. 26.

⁵ Ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin in *Paroemiographi Graeci*, 2 vols., Göttingen 1839.

⁶ I have used the text of ps.-Phocylides contained in Bergk's *Portae Lyrici Graeci* (1866) pt. ii p. 456. Cf. Schürer *H. J. P.* div. ii vol. iii 313.

⁷ Schürer *ib.* 225, Swete *Introd. to O. T. in Greek* 369 ff.

The majority of the fragments of verse collected below require no alteration or transposition of words to give them a poetical form. But it may be regarded as certain that in the course of transmission of the text scribes have obliterated the rhythm in other passages which now read like prose. The commonest error exhibited by the copyist of Greek poetry consists in 'arranging [the words] according to the order which they would have in prose; according to their grammatical construction',¹ in bringing together article and substantive, adjective and substantive, giving particles an early position in the sentence, and so on. If this happened in transcribing what was known to be poetry, still more liable to similar corruption would be the text of a work mainly in prose with an underlying poetical element which has hitherto generally eluded detection. Transposition of the MS order is therefore, under certain conditions, quite a legitimate procedure in the reconstruction of the original text. Lagarde, who as a rule does not seem to have noticed the versification in Proverbs, remarks on ix 11 *πολὴν ζήσεις χρόνον*: 'den sicher beabsichtigten jambischen tonfall vernichtet 103 πολλοὺς χρόνους ζήσεις.'² Apart from transposition, I have not often indulged in the precarious task of conjectural emendation, which, I believe, is rarely called for. In what follows () denote a conjectural addition or correction, () unmetrical words standing in a metrical context, / that words have been transposed. Figures below the words indicate the order in which they stand in the MSS.

..

HEXAMETERS

Complete or nearly complete hexameters.

The complete hexameters are few and rugged, though not rougher than many in pseudo-Phocylides or the old Greek proverb-writers. A high standard of versification would indeed be surprising. Greater regard seems to be paid to accent than to quantity. In particular, *ω* and *η* may be treated as short vowels. These licences are not peculiar to the translator, but are shared by him with other writers of this species of verse.

(1) ii 15 ὦν αἱ τρίβοι σκολιαὶ καὶ καμπύλαι αἱ τροχαὶ αὐτῶν.

¹ I quote from the late Dr Walter Headlam's learned and copiously illustrated article 'On Transposition of Words in MSS' in the *Class. Review* xvi 243 ff. 'The order of the words,' he writes, 'is the very thing which [the Scholiasts] most often think requires elucidation; there is no form of note in scholia so common as τὸ ἐξῆς οὕτως, "the consecution is as follows".'

² On xvi 28 he writes: 'dass λαμπτήρα δόλου πυρσεύει κακοῖς nach einem tragiker klinge, fühlte Jäger.' I have not had access to Jäger's eighteenth-century work.

- (2) iii 13 (μακάριος ἄνθρωπος)
(ὅς) εὗρεν σοφίαν καὶ θνητὸς ὃς εἶδε¹ φρόνησιν.
(3) xxv 25 ὥσπερ ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ψυχῇ διψῶσῃ προσήνές,
οὕτως ἀγγελία² ἀγαθὴ ἢ γῆς μακρόθεν (ἤκει).

יָדָהּ עַל הַיָּדָהּ מִיָּדָהּ Cold water to a thirsty soul.

So runs the original of the first line of this couplet, and the point to note is that it has no equivalent for ὥσπερ and προσήνές, which seem clearly to be inserted merely to round off the verse. For the short η in διψῶσῃ (which is actually written διψῶσι in cod. 297) we may compare

Ps.-Phoc. 197 . . . μηδ' ἐμπέσῃ ἄνδιχα νείκος,

and, for $\bar{a} = \bar{a}$ in the same position, the proverb (= our 'At Rome do as Rome does') in

Zenob. i 24 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλοιον τελέθειν καὶ χώρῃ ἐπεσθαι.

(4) xxvii 1 οὐ γὰρ γινώσκεις τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα

would be complete were τί replaced by ὁ τι. The line has previously occurred (with οἶδας for γινώσκεις) in iii 28, and finds a close parallel in

Ps.-Phoc. 116 οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τί μεταύριον ἢ τί μεθ' ὥραν.

Then we find lines just falling short of completeness by a syllable or two at the beginning. Here is practically a complete hexameter preceded by the end of an iambic line :—

- (5) ii 16 f νιέ, μή σε καταλάβῃ κακὴ
βουλὴ, ἡ 'πολιπούσα³ διδασκαλίαν νεότητος.
(6) vi 21 (ἄφ)αψαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σῇ ψυχῇ διὰ παντός.

The δέ is an insertion, *metri gratia*, as in the parallel passage

iii 3 ἄφαιψαι δ' αὐτὰς ἐπὶ σῷ τραχήλῳ.

This last appears to be an example of what I call 'Heads and tails' (see below).

- (7) xv 6 (πολλή,) οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς ὁλόριζοι ἐκ γῆς ἀπολοῦνται.
(8) xix 4 . . . ἔννοι' ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτὴν (ἐγγιεί).

Transposition, with in some cases a slight alteration, of words produces the following further instances.

- (9) vi 11 a ἡ δ' ἔνδεια δρομεὺς κακὸς ὥσπερ ἀπαντομολήσει.

3 2 1

¹ (εἶδεν MSS.

² Or ἀγγελία (δ').

³ ἀπολιπούσα should be read with N &c., not, *pace* Lagarde, ἀπολείπουσα of B &c. The tendency of correctors was to alter the o forms of the second aor. which were becoming obsolete; cod. A constantly alters -έλιπον to -λείπον, *Gramm. of O. T. in Greek* p. 234.

- (10) vi 27 ἀποθήσει
 τ πῦρ τις ἐν(ι) κόλπῳ τὰ δὲ ἱμάτι' οὐ κατακαύσει ;
 2 I
 τ (11) vii 9 ἥνικ' ἂν ἤσυχία καὶ νυκτερινὸς ζόφος ἔσται.
 2 I

So the Armenian Version according to Holmes and Parsons: the Greek MSS end the line with νυκτερινή καὶ γνοφώδης. For further verses in this dramatic episode see below.

- τ (12) viii 8 πάντα δικαιοσύνης μέτα ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου,
 3 2 I
 οὐδὲν ἐν(ι) σκολιὸν (τούτοις οὐ) στραγγαλιῶδες.
 τ (13) ix 18 a ἀλλ' ἀποπήδησον,¹ μηδ' (αὖ) τὸ σὸν ὄμμα² πρὸς αὐτήν
 τ στήσης³· ἀλλότριον γὰρ ὕδωρ οὕτως διαβήσῃ.
 5 2 4 I 3
 τ (14) xiv 4 οὐ δὲ γενήματα πολλὰ (τύχη), φανερά⁴ βοὸς ἰσχύς.
 2 I
 τ (15) xxi 14 φειδόμενος δώρων ἰσχυρὸν θυμὸν ἐγείρει.
 2 I 5 3 4

Heads and tails: hexameters incomplete in the middle.

In these instances the στίχος, designedly as it seems, begins and ends like a hexameter. The middle of the hexameter is unrepresented. Sometimes the hexametrical extremities are united, and there are no intervening words. Thus:—

- (16) iv 17 οἶδε γὰρ σιτοῦνται σῖτ' ἀσεβείας.
 (17) xxv 3 οὐρανὸς ὑψηλός, γῆ δὲ βαθεῖα.

In the former of these instances the pronoun has no equivalent in the Hebrew, being apparently inserted, just as it is in (18) below, *metri gratia*. The latter instance finds an echo in Job xi 8, where the A text appends to ὑψηλὸς ὁ [om. ὁ B^C] οὐρανὸς the words γῆ δὲ βαθία (*sic*). These metrical tags were easily remembered, and have a way of repeating themselves.

At other times the hexametrical extremities are separated by unmetrical words intervening. Thus:—

- (18) i 5 τῶνδε γὰρ (ἀκούσας σοφὸς) σοφώτερος ἔσται.

The first two words, unrepresented in the Hebrew, recall (16) above; the last two similarly end a στίχος in ix 9, cf. σοφὸς ἔσται x 4a. The whole line was probably, in view of his laxity in the matter of long and short vowels, intended by the writer as a rough hexameter.

¹ μη χρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ may be a gloss on ἀποπήδησον.

² ὄνομα B^N is an obvious error (cf. xxiii 5).

³ So 109; ἐπιστήσης (cett.) may have come from xxiii 5.

⁴ No Heb. equivalent. The word is inserted *metri gratia*, as is e.g. ἀνδράσι in x 10, which easily falls into verse: (δύμασιν) ἐννεύων συνάγει (τοῖς) ἀνδράσι λύπας.

- (19) xiii 12 κρείσσον¹ ἐναρχομένοις (βοηθῶν καρδία τοῦ ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ) εἰς ἐλπίδ' ἄγοντος.
 (20) xxiii 20 μὴ ἴσθι οἰνοπότης, (μηδὲ ἐκτείνου συμβολαῖς,) κρεῶν ἀγορασμοῖς.

Lagarde has shewn that συμβολαῖς is a duplicate rendering of the words translated by οἰνοπότης; the line may therefore once have been a complete hexameter.

- (21) xxix 1 κρείσσον¹ ἀνὴρ (ἐλέγχων) ἀνδρὸς σκληροτραχήλου, ἑξαπίνης γὰρ (φλεγόμενον αὐτοῦ) οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσους.²
 (22) xxix 42 σινδόνας (ἐποίησεν καὶ ἀπέδοτο), περιζώματα τοῖς Χανα ναίοις.

Hexameter endings: versus paroemiaci.

The instances of hexameter endings are very numerous. I will place in the forefront those consisting of the second half of a hexameter, the portion following the caesura. This half of the hexameter is metrically equivalent to the line which in anapaestic metre is known as the *versus paroemiacus*, the 'proverb verse'. The proverb verse seems, in fact, in its origin to have been an incomplete hexameter, and to have had no connexion with the anapaestic system. It is notorious that the paroemiac in Greek tragedy rarely, if ever, contains a proverbial saying. Greek proverbs, on the other hand, if metrical (as a large proportion of them are), are written in one or other of the two most familiar metres, hexameters and iambics; anapaests are unrepresented, unless the 'paroemiac' is to be regarded as such. We find proverbs consisting of complete hexameters or complete iambics; the more pithy of them are, however, compressed into a few words forming the beginning or the end of either of these lines. In the circumstances it is reasonable to regard the 'paroemiac', which is very common, as the latter half of a hexameter. The name was taken over as the designation of the concluding line in the anapaestic stanza, the scansion of which accidentally coincided with that of the semi-hexameter of the proverb-maker. This may be common knowledge, but I have failed to find any authoritative statement on the subject. In the Greek version of Proverbs there is a similar large use of hexameter endings and beginnings, but an almost complete absence of any approach to anapaestic rhythm. I have therefore classed the paroemiacs under hexameters. The translator in his fondness for this form of ending is certainly conscious that it had inherited a name which marked it as *par excellence* the most suitable

¹ κρείσσον MSS, except 103 in (19). In (21) the word may be inserted *metri gratia*.

² The ι in ἴσθαι may be short in late poetry (L. and S.). Cf. the conjunction of ἑξαπίνης (a form more suitable for hexameters than the usual LXX ἑξάπινα or ἑξαίφνης) and ἀνίας in vi 15.

medium for a writer of maxims.¹ The fact that one phrase has for him become stereotyped, recurring as a sort of refrain in four passages, puts out of the question the possibility of undesigned coincidence.

- (23) x 3 ζῶν δ' ἀσεβῶν ἀνατρέψει.
 x 28 } ἐλπίς δ' ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείται.
 xi 23 }
 xv 6 καρποὶ δ' ἀσεβῶν ἀπολούνται.

In ii 22 ὁδοὶ δ' ἀσεβῶν ἐκ γῆς ὀλοῦνται probably the text is at fault (read ἀπολούνται). Cf. Job viii 13 ἐλπίς γὰρ ἀσεβοῦς ἀπολείται (ἀλείται A). Other examples of this ending are:—

- (24) i 26 = 27 ἔρχεται ἔμιν³ ὀλεθρος.
 (25) iv 27 b αὐτὸς δ' ὀρθὰς ποιήσει τὰς τροχιάς σου.

The last instance, practically a complete line, recalls the hexameter form of iv 26 as cited by the *auctor ad Hebraeos* (xii 13). The Greek version of Proverbs has, besides τροχία, an alternative word for '(cart-) track' (ἵππος), namely ἄξων. This is not necessarily an indication of a plurality of translators. The choice of words made it possible to keep the hexameter rhythm when τροχία was useless for the purpose:—

- ii 18 παρὰ (τῷ) ἄδῃ⁴ τοὺς ἄξωνας αὐτῆς.
 (26) vi 10 (ὀλίγον μὲν) ὑπνοῖς, ὀλίγον δὲ κάθῃσαι.⁵

The refrain is repeated with a slight variation in

- xxiv 48 ὀλίγον νυστάζω, ὀλίγον δὲ καθυπνῶ,

and is followed in both passages by an imperfect senarius.

- (27) x 11 πηγὴ ζωῆς ἐν χειρὶ δικαίου.
 (28) xi 20 προσδεκτοὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι.

Πάντες is inserted *metri gratia*; we should follow codd. 109, 147, 157 in rejecting ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν at the end of the line as a Hexaplaric gloss. The refrain recurs in

- xxii 11 δεκτοὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἄμωμοι· | χεῖλεσι ποιμαίνει βασιλεὺς.
 (29) xxiv 14 ἐλπίς σ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει.
 (30) xxiv 35 τὴν δ' ἑξοδὸν⁶ οὐκ ἀπένυψεν.

¹ Hephæstion (*loc. cit.*) objects to the name because it was not the exclusive metre for proverbs; his Scholiast defends it.

² Insert δέ with A 68, 103, 106, 109, &c.

³ For accent see Monro *Homeric Grammar* p. 86.

⁴ μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν is a doublet; Lagarde considers παρὰ τῷ ἄδῃ to be the older rendering.

⁵ μικρὸν δὲ νυστάζεις is a doublet, omitted by V (= '23'), 109 and the Armenian VS.

⁶ αὐτοῦ is doubtless a later insertion.

(31) xxv 22 ὁ δὲ Κύριος ἀνταποδώσει.¹

(32) xxvii 27 τὴν ζωὴν σῶν θεράποντων.

To these instances we should probably add

(33) xiv 9 ὀφλήσουσιν² καθαρισμόν.³

The following are examples of semi-hexameters (3 feet), just falling short of the full *versus pharoetiacus*.

(34) vi 8 c τιμήσασα προήχθη.

(35) vi 18 (ἐπι)σπεύδοντες κακοποιεῖν.

(36) x 6 καλύψει πένθος ἄωρον.

(37) xi 16 γυνὴ μισοῦσα δίκαια.

(38) xi 22 γυναικὶ κακόφρονι κάλλος.

(39) xiv 10 οὐκ ἐπιμίγνται ὕβρει.

(40) xxii 29 παρεστάναι ἀνδράσι νωθοῖς.

(41) xxiv 50 οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασαν αὐτήν.

(42) xxiv 54 (καὶ) ὁδοὺς ὄψεως ἐπὶ πέτρας
(καὶ τρίβους) νηὸς ποντοπορεύσης
(καὶ ὁδοὺς ἀνδρὸς) ἐν νεότητι.

Here the translator's apparent intention is to set out, as it were, in tabular form the 'three things which are too wonderful for me', by giving each of them a separate hexameter ending; there are 'yea four', but the fourth has defied his efforts. In the middle half-line concerning the ship 'in the heart of the sea' (ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς θαλάσσης) we have a Homeric reminiscence:—

Od. xi 11 τῆς δὲ πανημερίης τέταθ' ἰστία ποντοπορεύσης.

(43) xxvii 19 ὁμοία πρόσωπα προσώποις (cf. verse 17).

The foregoing instances amply suffice to establish that the hexameter endings at the close of the στίχοι are the result of design. If all the examples falling short of three feet were added, the total would be brought well up to a hundred. At the risk of wearying the reader and for completeness I will add those which I have noted amounting to at least two feet. The following are between two and three feet:—

(44) vi 8 a ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστίν.

(47) ix 3 κρατῆρα λέγουσα.⁴

(45) vi 24 γυναικὸς ὑπάνδρου.

(48) x 3 οὐ λιμοκτονήσει . . .

(46) viii 21 ἀγαπῶσιν ὑπαρξιν.

(49) x 4 πενία ἄνδρα ταπεινοί.

¹ The added words σοι ἀγαθά may be due to a scribe's unwillingness to leave the direct and indirect object unexpressed; ἀγαθά has no Heb. equivalent and is omitted in cod. V.

² So cod. 149; ὀφειλήσουσιν cett.

³ Also xiv 21 ἐλεῶν (δὲ, om. 295) πτωχοὺς μακαριστός. Μακαριστός is written *metri causa* at the end of a στίχος (xvi 20, xxix 18), μακάριος (the usual LXX word) in an earlier position.

⁴ The last word inserted *metri gratia*: cf. i 11.

- (50) xiii 20 σοφοῖς σοφὸς ἔσται¹. (56) xviii 13 λόγον πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι.
 (51) xiv 12 } εἰς πυθμένα ἄδου. (57) xxii 21 ἀγαθὴν ὑπακούειν.²
 = xvi 25 } (58) xxiii 27 ἀλλότριος οἶκος.
 (52) xiv 23 ἔνεστι περισσόν. (59) xxiv 64 ὁ καλῶς διαβαίνει.
 (53) xiv 32 (ὁ)σώτῃτι δίκαιος. (60) xxiv 77 καὶ κρίνε δικάως.³
 (54) { xv 10 ὑπὸ τῶν παριόντων. (61) xxv 18 τόξευμ' ἀκιδωτόν.
 { cf. ix 15 τοὺς παριόντας. (62) xxviii 28 στένουσι δίκαιοι.⁴
 (55) { xvi 7 ποιῶν τὰ δίκαια. (63) xxix 45 σοφοῖς νομοθέσμως.
 { cf. xxi 7 πράσσειν τὰ δίκαια.

The following are two feet only:—

- (64) iv 12 οὐ κοπιάσεις. (73) { xix 13 (ὁδ)ὼν ἀπολείται.
 ? (65) iv 24 μακρὰν ἀπώσαι. (74) { xxiii 28 (συντόμ)ως ἀπολεί-
 (66) vii 26 οὐς πεφόνευκεν. ται.
 (67) viii 1 σοὶ ὑπακούσῃ. (75) xxviii 8 καὶ πλεονασμῶν.
 (68) xiv 15 εἰς μετάνοιαν. ? (76) xxix 7 νοῦς ἐπιγνώμων.
 (69) xvi 12 (ἐτοιμάζε)ται θρόνος (77) xxix 29 οὐκ ἀπορήσει.
 ἄρχῃς.⁵ (78) xxix 33 ταῖς θεραπαίναις.
 (70) { xix 7 ἄφρονι τρυφή. (79) xxix 46 ἦνεσεν αὐτήν.
 (71) { xxvi 1 ἄφρονι τιμῇ.
 (72) { xxvi 8 ἄφρονι δόξαν.

Hexameter beginnings.

These are far less numerous than the endings. The στίχος opens with the first half of a hexameter in i 10 (omitting νίε), v 16, 20 μὴ πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίαν, vi 4^b, 20, 25^a, xi 29^b, xxiii 2^a, xxviii 12^b.

Consecutive hexameters.

The dramatic scene of the seduction of the young man by the harlot abounds in fragments of poetry. After what looks like a senarius in the earlier part of her address

- 1 vii 15 τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον (ἐκ)ποθοῦς' εὐρηκά σε
 2 3 4 1

there follow fragments of several consecutive hexameters:—

- 16 ἀμφιτάποις δ' ἔστρωκα τοῖς ἀπ' Ἑγύπτου,⁶
 17 (καὶ δ') ἔρραγκα⁷ κρόκῳ τὸν δ' οἶκόν μου κινναμώμῳ.⁸

¹ σοφὸς ἔσθ of B, which Lagarde adopts, is an accommodation of the text to the M. T. For συμπορευόμενος (2^a) we should read συρρεμβόμενος with 68, 109, 147, &c.: cf. vii 12 βέμβεται. ² Perhaps a paroemiac: γνῶσιν (τ') δγ. ὑπ.

³ A paroemiac, if with N we read διάκρινε.

⁴ The next line, without ἐκείνων (cf. cod. V), is a rough hexameter.

⁵ The last word inserted *metri gratia*: cf. i 11.

⁶ Αἰγύπτου MSS. One hesitates to fill the blank with κλίτην μου from the previous line. ⁷ διέρραγκα (ἔρραγκα Chrys.) τὴν κοίτην μου MSS.

⁸ κινναμώμῳ MSS. For the spelling see L. and S.

- 18 ἔλθ',¹ ἀπολαύσωμεν φιλίας ἕως ὀρθρ(ος ἵκηται),²
 δεῦρο³ (ἐνκῦ)λισθῶμεν ἔρωτι.
 19 ἀνὴρ οὐ(δέ) πάρεστιν,⁴ ὁδὸν μακρὰν πεπόρευται.

The result of her blandishments (21 f) is described in iambic rhythm (see ex. (23) below). For further examples of consecutive fragments of hexameters see (3) and (28) above.

IAMBICS

Complete or nearly complete iambic lines.

A fair number of complete lines are to be found in the received text as it stands. The number may be very largely increased by minor additions or alterations, or by transposition of words on the principle stated above.

- (1) xii 26 } ἀμαρτάνοντας⁵ καταδιώζεται κακά.
= xiii 21 }
(2) xiv 16 σοφὸς φοβηθεὶς ἐξέκλινεν ἀπὸ κακοῦ.
(3) xiv 24 στέφανος σοφῶν πανοῦργος, ἡ δὲ διατριβή . . .
(4) xvi 22 πηγὴ ζ(ό)ης⁶ ἔννοια τοῖς κεκτημένοις.
(5) xx i ἀκόλαστον οἶνος καὶ⁷ ὑβριστικὸν μέθη.
(6) xxii 24 μὴ ἴσθι ἐταῖρος ἀνδρὶ θυμῷδε, φίλῳ . . .
(7) xxvi i δρόσος ἐν ἀμῆτῳ χῶσπερ ὑετὸς ἐν θέρει . .
(8) xxvi 26 ἀμαρτίας εὐγνωστος⁸ ἐν συνεδροῖς.
(9) xxvii 13 ὑβριστὴς ὅστις τἀλλότρια λυμαίνεται.

For η treated as a short vowel compare hexameter (3) above and the secular proverbs quoted later in this paper. The iambic endings to the lines preceding the last instance (. . . *ἑπονειδίστους λόγους*, . . . *ἀπεκρύβη*, . . . *παρῆλθε γάρ*) should be noted.

A very slight alteration or addition completes the line in the following passages :—

- (10) xi 12 μυκτηρί(σ)ει πολίτας ἐνδεῆς φρενῶν.

MSS *μυκτηρίζει*, which should perhaps stand : *ī* and *ĩ*, *ā* and *ǣ* are used indiscriminately in this species of poetry. These iambic fragments

¹ + real MSS.

² ἕως ὀρθρου MSS.

¹ So 109: δεῦρο δὲ V, perhaps rightly: δεῦρο καὶ the rest.

¹ οὐ γὰρ πάρ. ὁ ἀν. μου ἐν οἴκῳ MSS. Omit the δὲ after περ. with 68, 109, &c.

⁶ The & in the first passage is omitted by the cursives 68, 103, 106, 109, &c.

⁶ The constant form in the Tragedians; ζωῆς MSS.

⁷ The want of elision is allowed in these apophthegms : cf. *Οὐκ ἔστι πενίας οὐδὲ ἐν μαιῶν παῖσιν*, Menander *Γυνῆμαι Μονόστιχοι* 436 ap. Meineke *Frag. Comic. Græc.* iv p. 352.

¹ Not in the Heb. : inserted apparently *metri gratia*. Cf. (17) below.

often come in clusters. Note the metrical endings to the preceding *στίχοι*: . . . κατώρθωσεν πόλις, . . . ἀσεβῶν κατεσκάφη, and in the next verse

ἀνὴρ δὲ γλῶσσος (ἀποκαλύπτει) βουλὰς ἐν συνεδρίῳ,¹

and, with transposition,

πνοῇ δὲ πιστὸς πράγματ' (ἐγ)κρύπτει . . .

The convenient phrase ἐνδεὴς φρενῶν recurs at the end of a *στίχος* in vii 7, xii 11, xv 21, xviii 2, xxiv 45. The verb in (10) suggests that the same hand is at work in the next instance:—

(11) xii 8 (ὁ) ἡνωθροκάριος δὲ μυκτηρίζεται.

Traces of iambics underlie the lines immediately following (in v. 10 ἀνελεήμονα should be pronounced or written ἀνηλεήμονα, for which there is authority), and then, by transposition of one word, we have

(12) xii 11 a οἶνων ὅς ἐστιν ἡδὺς ἐν διατριβαῖς. Cf. (3).

(13) xiii 10 (ἀνὴρ) κακὸς μεθ' ὕβρεως πράσσει κακά,

the next line ending . . . ἐπιγνώμονες σοφοί.

(14) xxiv 45 (χῶς) ἄμπελὼν ἀνθρωπος ἐνδεὴς φρενῶν.

Transposition of words, with minor alterations, produces a large number of instances, extending sometimes to several consecutive lines. I feel convinced that a good deal of transposition has taken place in the MSS on the principle stated in Dr W. Headlam's paper. I do not lay stress on any further emendations suggested, and think it may be lost labour to attempt to complete the verses. It seems unquestionable that the translator consciously imparted an *iambic ring* to portions of his version, but the impression produced is that he was content with a partial approximation to poetry, and did not always trouble to produce finished lines. We must, however, allow for the possibility that his work is based on an older poetical source. I will revert to this later.

† (15) i 3 (δέξασθαι) στροφὰς λόγων τε καὶ λύσεις αἰνιγμάτων.

2 3 1

The last three words are added in a group of cursives (68, 109, 147, &c.). Their source is presumably Wis. viii 8 (unless there is an older source behind both passages), but that would not absolutely preclude their having stood in the original text of the Greek Proverbs, which is, I believe, the later book of the two.

† (16) i 23 πνοῇς (δὲ) ῥῆσιν (τῆς) ἐμῆς προήσομαι.

(17) iii 15 εὐγνώστός ἐστι πᾶσιν ἐγγίζουσιν (οἱ).⁴

¹ ἐν συνεδρίῳ a free rendering, *metri gratia*. The large use of συνέδριον in this book is noteworthy.

² The addition is perhaps unnecessary. For an iambic proverb lacking the initial syllable cf. Ζεὺς κατεῖδε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας, *Paroem. Graeci* i p. 87.

³ MSS καὶ ὥσπερ.

⁴ MSS πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐγγίζουσιν αὐτῇ. Cf. (8) above.

- † (18) iii 34 ὑπερηφάνοισιν ἀντιτάσσεται (θεός).¹
 † (19) iv 3 ff καὶ γὰρ υἱὸς ᾗν² ὑπήκοος πατρὶ
 † κἀν (τῷ) προσώπῳ μητρὸς (ἡγαπημένος).³
 † ἔλεγόν (τε) κἀδίδασκον οἱ (γονεῖς)· λόγος
 † ἡμέτερος εἰς σὴν καρδίαν ἐριδέτω·
 † (τὰς) ἐντολὰς φύλασσε, μὴ (ᾗ) πιλανθάνου).⁴
 † (20) iv 27 f ὁδοῦ κακῆς δὲ (τὸν) σὸν ἀπόστρεψον πόδα·
 ὁδοὺς γὰρ ἐκ (τῶν) δεξιῶν οἶδεν θεός,
 (δι)εστραμμένα δὲ εἰσιν ἐξ⁵ ἀριστερῶν.
 (21) v 20 f . . . ἀγκάλαις τῆς μὴ ἰδίας·
 † ἐνώπιον γὰρ εἰσιν ὀφθαλμῶν θεοῦ . . .
 (22) vi 13 f . . . σημαίνει⁶ ποδί,
 † . . . διδάσκει⁸ δακτύλων ἐννεύμασιν,
 (δι)εστραμμένη δὲ⁷ καρδιά τεκταίνεται
 . . . συνίστησιν πόλει.
 † (23) vii 21 πολλῇ δ' ἀπεπλάνησε (τόνδ')⁸ ὁμιλία,
 † ἀπὸ χειλέων βρόχοισι(τ') τ' ἐξώκειλέ (νιν).⁹
 † ἐπηκολούθησεν δὲ κεφωθεῖς . . .

Cf. on this passage what is said above under *Consecutive hexameters*.

- † (24) ix 18 b . . . ἀπὸ πηγῆς μὴ πῆγης ἀλλοτρίας,
 18 c . . . ἵνα πολὺν ζήσης χρόνον
 † ζωῆς δ' ἔτη σοι προστεθήσεται¹⁰ . . .
 (25) x 27 φόβος (θεοῦ τοι)¹¹ προστίθῃσιν ἡμέρας.
 † (26) xxv 6 μὴδ' ἐν δυναστῶν (τοῖς) τόποις ὑφίστασο.
 (27) xxv 10 a (χάρις καὶ φιλία) ἐλευθεροῦ·
 † (τήρει)¹² σεαυτῷ μὴ¹³ πονεῖδιστος γένῃ,
 † ἀλλ' (ᾗ) φύλαξον εὐσυναλλάκτως ὁδοὺς.

No transposition or emendation is made in the remaining instances. The following are examples of what I have called *Heads and tails*.

- (28) viii 5 νοήσατ' ἄκακοι πανουργίαν.
 (29) x 18 οἱ δ' ἐκφέροντες (λοιδορίας) ἀφρονέστατοι.¹⁴
 (30) xiii 1 υἱὸς πανοῦργος ὑπήκοος πατρὶ.
 (31) xxix 27 βδέλυγμα δ' ἀνόμω κατευθύνουσ' ὁδός.

¹ MSS Κύριος, M.T. מֶלֶךְ, ὁ θεός in the N.T. citations. The translator presumably read מֶלֶךְ, which he constantly renders by θεός; see an art. by Dr Redpath in *J. T. S.* vii 608. ² MSS ἐγενόμην. ³ MSS ἀγαπώμενος.

⁴ As in iii 1. MSS here have μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ.

⁵ So R: or read αὶ ἐξ with the rest of the MSS.

⁷ Insert δὲ with NA V, 68, &c.

⁸ MSS αὐτόν.

⁹ MSS αὐτόν. ¹⁰ So codd. 109, 147, 157, 254, 260 for προστεθῇ; cf. ix 11.

¹¹ MSS Κυρίου: see note on (18) above.

¹² MSS ἀς τήρησον.

¹³ MSS ἵνα μὴ.

¹⁴ Perhaps intended for a rough line.

Iambic endings.

An initial foot or more is wanted in—

- (32) i 21 . . . ἐπ' ἄκρων¹ τειχέων κηρύσσεται.
 (33) iii 22 a . . . ἐπιμέλεια τοῖς σοῖς ὁστέοις.
 (34) v 10 . . . ἄλλότριοι σῆς ἰσχύος.
 (35) xvii 16 (ἵνα τί) ὑπῆρξε χρηματ' ἄφρονι ;
 (36) xviii 3 . . . εἰς βάθος κακῶν, καταφρονεῖ.
 (37) xx 4 . . . ὀκνηρὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνεται.
 (38) xxii 29 . . . βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι.
 (39) xxvii 22 . . . ἄφρον' ἐν μέσῳ συνεδρίῳ.²
 (40) xxviii 18 . . . πορευόμενος ἐμπλακῆσεται.

The following consist of the latter half of the line, the $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet following the caesura, and are therefore comparable to the paroemiacs. I place first three recurrent instances, one of which is important.

- (41) vi 29³ }
 xvi 6 } . . . οὐκ ἀθωωθήσεται.⁴
 xvii 5 }
 (42) xi 21 } . . . χειρὶ⁵ χεῖρας ἐμβάλων . . .
 xvi 6 }
 (43) xx 21, 24 } . . . ταμεῖα (οἱ εἰς ταμεῖα) κοιλίας.
 cf. xxvi 22 v. l. }
 ? (44) i 11 . . . κοινῶνησον αἵματος.
 (45) ii 14 . . . ἐπὶ διαστροφῇ κακῇ.
 (46) vi 23 . . . λύχνος ἐντολῇ νόμου.
 (47) ix 12 . . . μόνος ἂν ἀντλήσεις κακά.
 (48) xv 7 . . . ἀφρόνων οὐκ ἀσφαλεῖς.
 (49) xvi 18 . . . (πρὸ δὲ) πτώματος κακοφροσύνη.⁶
 (50) xxiv 6 . . . καρδίας βουλευτικῆς.
 (51) xxiv 64 . . . εὐόδως πορεύεται.
 (52) xxvi 11 a } . . . ἐπάγουσ' ἁμαρτίαν.
 = Sir. iv 21 }

The phrase in example (43) εἰς ταμεῖα κοιλίας has an important bearing on the date of the translation. The shorter form ταμεῖον is unattested in the papyri before the first century A. D.; the correct ταμεῖον is invariable in the third century B. C., and occurs once in the second. For the first century B. C. evidence is wanting; that is the earliest date at which

¹ Omit δὲ with V, 252.

² συνεδρίου BN &c.

³ With the words immediately preceding we get another complete line : γυναῖκ' ὑπανδρον, οὐκ ἀθωωθήσεται.

⁴ An alternative rendering, possibly by another hand, is οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται, xi 21, xix 2, 6, xxviii 20.

⁵ The δὲ in the second passage is omitted by nine cursives (68, 106, 149, &c.).

⁶ Following a 'head and tail': πρὸ συντριβῆς (μὲν) ἡγείται ὕβρις.

ταμίων is likely to have been written.¹ Ταμ(ε)ία in these passages has the support of BN and of some cursives which elsewhere prove themselves trustworthy.² The metre also favours the text. If the reading is right, it goes to confirm the inference, which I have elsewhere drawn from another orthographical detail,³ that the Greek version of Proverbs is not older than 100 B.C. This instance further suggests that the translator himself is responsible for the partial versification, and that he is not culling excerpts from an older collection entirely in verse.

It would be tedious and is unnecessary to catalogue the examples of στίχοι with an iambic ending of 3 feet and under, which would bring the total number of lines and fragments in this metre well over 100.

Iambic openings of lines, like hexameter openings, are fewer than endings. Among other instances we have:—

(53) vii 11 ἀνεπτερωμένη δέ (ἐστιν) κᾶσωτος . . .

(54) viii 30 καθ' ἡμέραν δ' εὐφραίνομην . . .

(55) ix 16 ὃς ἐστιν ὑμῶν ἀφρονέστατος . . .

cf. (56) xxiv 25 ἀφρονέστατος γάρ εἰμι . . .

(57) xiv 1 σοφαὶ γυναῖκες ᾤκο(δόμησαν οἴκους).

(58) xxiv 67 ἐὰν πρόη σεαυτὸν (εἰς εὐφροσύνην).⁴

(59) xxvi 19 ὅταν δὲ φωραθῶσιν . . .⁵

Consecutive lines. To those produced by transposition, &c., quoted above we may add these fragments:—

(60) v 4 . . . ἡκονημένον | μᾶλλον μαχαίρας διστόμον . . .

(61) xix 4 f . . . οὐ σωθήσεται. | ὁ κτώμενος φρόνησιν . . .

In both the hexameter and the iambic portions one small grammatical point—the use or omission of the article before a possessive pronoun or before an adjective used substantively⁶—is governed by metrical considerations. Contrast the following:—

Hexameters.

ix 18 a τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν. ii 10 εἰς σὴν⁷ διάνοιαν.

xxv 2 καὶ μὴ τὰ σὰ χεῖλη. vi 21 ἐπὶ σῇ ψυχῇ διὰ παντός.

xxvii 27 τὴν ζωὴν σὼν θεραπεύοντων.

¹ *Gramm. of O. T. in Greek* i 63 ff.

² In passage (1) 157, in (2) 109, 157, 295, in (3) 147, 149, 157, 159, 295.

³ *Gramm. of O. T.* i 61. Οὐδεὶς is used throughout the book to the exclusion of αὐθεὶς, which was almost universal in the Ptolemaic age until about 130 B.C., when it began to go out of fashion.

⁴ So AN V, 68, 106, 109, 147, &c. Their text, as producing an approximate (or rather, since ο and ω are used interchangeably, a complete) senarius, is preferable to ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ of B &c.

⁵ So A 68, 106, 149, &c. ; ὁραθῶσιν of B &c. is obviously inferior.

⁶ Note, too, the omission of the article in Hex. (17) above. ⁷ τὴν male B.

xvi 7, xxi 7 ποιῆν (πράστειν) τὰ xi 16 γυνὴ μισοῦσα δίκαια.
δίκαια.

Iambics.

iii 22 a ἐπιμέλεια τοῖς σοῖς ὁστέοις. iv 4 εἰς σὴν καρδίαν.
v 10 ἀλλότριοι σῆς ἰσχύος.

The position of the dependent personal pronoun before or after its governing word is, in the hexameters, affected by the same considerations; evidence in the iambic portions is wanting. Contrast:—

viii 1 σοι ὑπακούσῃ. xxi 21 προβαλλομένοις σοι.
xxiv 14 ἐλπίς σ' οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει. viii 8 τοῦ στόματός μου.
xxii 28 οἱ πατέρες σου.
xxiv 49 ἡ πενία σου.

Final αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, &c., are very useful in hexameter endings:—

e. g. ii 18 τοὺς ἄξονας αὐτῆς, vii 11 οἱ πόδες αὐτῆς, xxv 5 θρόνος αὐτοῦ,
xxvi 10 ἔκστασις αὐτῶν.

What explanation are we to give of the phenomena? Were the half-verses ever complete? Are they the *disiecta membra* of an original work or works written entirely in verse? The late Dr Redpath, if I remember right, was inclined to adopt some such view, though I do not think that he had formulated any definite theory. One hypothesis may, I think, at once be set aside, namely that the version which has come down to us was ever wholly in verse. Large portions of it are unmetrical, and the text of some of these prosaic portions is attested in the earliest known citations from the Greek Proverbs in the pages of Philo and the N. T. It is difficult to suppose that the translation, which we have seen reason for thinking was not made before 100 B. C., had within about a century after its production undergone such radical change. And if the bulk of the version was in prose, it is improbable that the translator (like Dante in *La Vita Nuova*) on occasions *altogether* abandoned prose for poetry, interspersing large patches of the latter in two different metres; that he attempted with varying success to impart a poetical colouring to the whole seems more natural.

Another possible explanation has more to recommend it. It might be thought that our translator made use of an older verse translation or paraphrase of select passages from the book of Proverbs, or perhaps rather two translations, one in hexameters, the other in iambics, and that he incorporated phrases from one and the other in turn. Some warrant for a belief in the existence of a lost collection of proverbs, partly Biblical, partly unscriptural, written in iambic metre, has been found in a passage in the N. T. I refer to the allusion to the uncleanly habits of the dog and the sow in 2 Pet. ii 22 *συμβέβηκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς*

παροιμίας Κῳων ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἐξέραμα, καὶ Ὑς λουσαμένη εἰς κύλισμὸν (v. l. κύλισμα) βορβόρου. The reference to the dog seems clearly derived from Prov. xxvi 11, though not from the LXX, which has here a quite different and purely prosaic rendering: ὥσπερ κύων ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔμετον καὶ μισητὸς γένηται. The sow has no equivalent in the Hebrew or Greek book of Proverbs; its origin has with much probability been traced to a parable in the Story of Ahikar about a pig which went to the bath with people of quality and on coming out went and rolled in a muddy ditch.¹ It has often been pointed out² that the pair of proverbs in 2 Pet. runs easily into iambic trimeters:—

ἐπ' ἴδιον ἐξέραμ' ἐπιστρέψας κύων
 λελουμένη δ' ὕς ἐς κύλισμα βορβόρου.

Here then, it might be thought, is a relic of a lost iambic collection of miscellaneous proverbs, in which the Biblical dog was associated with the unbiblical sow, just as in Proverbs LXX the canonical parable of the ant is reinforced by that of the bee (vi 8 a). Again, we have to account for Blass's 'faultless hexameter' (not from LXX) in Heb. xii 13 :

καὶ τροχίᾳς ὀρθὰς ποιήσατε τοῖς ποσὶν ὑμῶν,

which might be regarded as a survival from a lost hexameter collection. But the *auctor ad Hebraeos* has just before (xii 5) quoted two verses from Proverbs LXX *verbatim*, and it is therefore probable that he is quoting from it again, only more freely. The hexameter is produced by conversion of the singular verb (which in the O. T. occurs in the address to 'my son') into the plural, and by transposition of two words. The plural is necessary to the N. T. writer in order to adapt the citation both to his readers and to the immediately preceding citation from Isaiah. That he threw the line, unconsciously perhaps, into hexameter form is in keeping with his proclivity for rhythm. A 'tendency to fall into iambic rhythm' has likewise been noted as a 'feature of the style of 2 Peter',³ together with a preference for grandiose language. The iambic ring⁴ of 2 Pet. ii 22 and the rare words ἐξέραμα and κύλισμα may therefore be explained without recourse to the hypothesis of a lost collection of proverbs in iambic metre made by a Jew of Alexandria. Such a collection *may* very well have existed; but the point to be

¹ *The Story of Ahikar*, ed. Conybeare, Rendel Harris, and Mrs. Lewis (Camb. Univ. Press 1898) lxv f. As Rendel Harris points out, the story of the pig 'going to the bath' explains and justifies the middle voice (λουσαμένη) in 2 Pet.

² See in particular the interesting remarks of Dr Bigg in his introduction to the Ep. in the *Int. Crit. Comm.* 227 f.

³ Bigg in *I. C. C.* 227.

⁴ This, as was pointed out to me by the Rev. E. D. Stone, extends to the introductory words which with a slight change might be written τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐξέβη παροιμίας; but obviously this introduction could not have formed part of the hypothetical poem.

emphasized is that the theory of a lost poem or poems lying at the back of the Greek book of Proverbs does not help to account for the phenomena which it presents.

For (1) internal evidence proves that *the hexameter and the iambic fragments* in Proverbs LXX are the production of a single hand. The two metres have a common vocabulary and the same phrases recur in both. Compare the hexameter endings—

x 11 . . . *πηγή ζωῆς ἐν χειρὶ δικαίου*
 xix 4 . . . *ἔννοι' ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτήν*

with the iambic line—

xvi 22 *πηγή ὁδοῦς ἔννοια τοῖς κεκτημένοις.*

**Ἐννοια* occurs twelve times in this book, but only once again in the 'LXX' proper. Compare again :—

Hex. xxii 29 . . . *παρεστάναι ἀνδράσι νωθοῖς*
Iamb. xii 8 . . . *νωθοκαρδῖος δὲ μυκτηρίζεται.*

Νωθοκαρδῖος is a ἄπ. λεγ.; *νωθρός* occurs only twice again, in Sirach. Again :—

? *Hex.* xxix 7 . . . *νοῦς ἐπιγνώμων*
 ? *Iamb.* xiii 10 . . . *ἐπιγνώμονες σοφοί.*

The adjective (4 exx.) with the substantive *ἐπιγνωμοσύνη* is peculiar in LXX to this book. Again :—

† *Hex.* xxix 23 *τοὺς δὲ ταπεινόφρονας δόξῃ (θεὸς αὐτὸς) ἐρεῖδει*
 † *Iamb.* iv 4 . . . *εἰς σὴν καρδίαν ἐρειδέτω.*

**Ἐρεῖδειν* occurs nine times in Proverbs, only once elsewhere in LXX.

The same conclusion is suggested by another line of reasoning. The hexameter fragments not infrequently come in clusters, and the iambs similarly tend to fall into groups in consecutive *στίχοι*. Were this invariable, it would lend some support to the theory that the translator worked with two older poetical collections before him, using first one and then the other. But not seldom we find a fragmentary hexameter and a fragmentary senarius in the parallel members of one and the same Hebrew verse. This again suggests that a single hand is responsible for the two metres; a piecing together of distinct sources within a single sentence is highly improbable. Thus we have :—

v 20 f (*H.*) *μὴ πολλὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἄλλοτρίαν, (μὴδὲ συνέρχου)*
 (*I.*) *ἀγκάλαις τῆς μὴ ἰδίας.*

† *ἐνώπιον γάρ εἰσιν ὀφθαλμῶν θεοῦ . . .*

xxii 29 (*I.*) . . . *βασιλεῦσι δεῖ παρεστάναι,*
 (*H.*) *(καὶ μὴ) παρεστάναι ἀνδράσι νωθοῖς.*

xxiv 48 (*H.*) . . . *ὀλίγον νυστάζω, ὀλίγον δὲ καθυπνῶ,*
 (*I.*) *ὀλίγον δ' ἐναγκαλίζομαι χερσὶν (στήθῃ).¹*

¹ The first η is probably, as elsewhere, treated as a short vowel.

xxiv 64 (I.) (τρία δέ ἐστιν ἄ) εὐόδως πορεύεται,
(H.) (καὶ τέταρτον) ὃ καλῶς διαβαίνει.

Parallel instances of the collocation of the two metres in the balancing clauses of a sentence occur in the collections of Greek secular proverbs. Thus :—

(H.) οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχὺς ἵππος ἀοιδῶ,
(I.) ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων χρηστὸν οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοις.¹

Is it then possible that the translator had before him, not two poems, but a single collection written in the two metres? No; internal evidence suggests further (2) that *the hand responsible for the metrical portions is that of the translator of the whole (or the bulk) of the book*. For the characteristic vocabulary of the metrical portions reappears in passages which are, and probably always have been, unmetrical. An examination of the use made throughout the book of such words as ἐρείδειν, σκολιός, τεκταίνειν, ὑπαρξίς will illustrate this. Again, in numerous passages with a metrical ring which is obviously intentional it would be difficult or impossible to complete the broken lines. For instance, the three consecutive hexameter endings in xxiv 54 serve a definite purpose (see above on Hex. (42)), but it is extremely improbable that the lines were ever spun out to their full length. The book, as we have it, doubtless contains many later glosses and accretions, but the versification is fairly evenly distributed over the whole of it, so that it is probable that the bulk of our text goes back to the original version. The versification, it should be added, extends to those portions which are peculiar to the Greek text.

We are driven therefore to the conclusion that the translator, sporadically, in places where he could readily do so without departing too widely from his original, imparted a metrical colouring to his work. He was mainly concerned to give the στίχοι a metrical ending; more rarely he gave them a metrical opening; on occasions he wrote a complete line or couplet; in passages where the string of detached proverbs was replaced by a connected and dramatic narrative, such as that of 'the strange woman' (chap. vii), there may originally have been several consecutive lines of poetry.

His procedure in fact seems closely to resemble that of the old Greek proverb-writers. We can trace in the *Paroemiographi Graeci* the stages in the growth of the metrical proverb: first the purely prosaic maxims, then the rugged jingles aping poetry, the faulty or faultless half of a hexameter or senarius, usually the latter half (i. e. the paroemiac or the portion of the senarius following the caesura), and last, the complete line or couplet, not always immaculate. For the purpose of com-

¹ Zenobii Cent. vi 22 ap. *Paroem. Graeci* i p. 167.

parison I have roughly analysed the proverbs in the oldest collection preserved, the six 'centuries' of Zenobius. Zenobius quotes in all 552 proverbs, of which at least 160 are metrical and perhaps 380-390 unmetrical; some of the approximations to metre may have been overlooked. The metrical proverbs may be divided as follows:—

<i>Hexameters.</i>		<i>Iambics.</i>	
Perfect (or approximately)	21	Perfect (or approximately)	48
Endings. Paroemiacs (perfect) ¹	10	Endings. Over 3½ feet ⁴	4
Paroemiacs (approx.)	10	3½ feet ⁵ (or approx.) ⁶	15
Between 3 and 2 feet ²	10	Between 3 and 2½ feet ⁷	20
Beginnings. 2½ feet ³	6	Beginnings. Over 2½ feet ⁸	7
'Head and tail'	(?) 1	2½ feet ⁹	8
	58		102

The most interesting of these are the crude and illiterate attempts at verse, which betray their plebeian origin. A jingle with a metrical ring is a sufficient substitute for metre. The vowels η and ω, and the diphthongs ει and οι may be treated as short; ε and ο may be long. Similarly, in our language, 'A stitch in time saves nine' fails to achieve rhyme where 'There's many a slip', &c., succeeds. The following are approximations to complete lines:—

Hex. . . . Αἰγιέες οὔτε τρίτοι οὔτε τέταρτοι.

κλαίει ὁ νικήσας, ὁ δὲ νικηθεὶς ἀπόλωλεν.

Iamb. δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχυρότερον.

δις πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχροὺν προσκρούειν λίθον.

The following appears to be a 'head and tail':—

ἀντὶ κακοῦ κυνὸς ὕν ἀπαιτεῖς.¹⁰

But the numerous approximations to the paroemiac furnish the quaintest instances:—

ἄλλος βίος, ἄλλη δίαίτα.

¹ e. g. ἀγαθὴ καὶ μᾶζα μετ' ἄρτον : ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον.

² e. g. ἄλλ' οὐκ αὖθις ἀλώπηξ : 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὄρκος : σύκον ἐφ' 'Ερμῇ.

³ e. g. πάντα λίθον κίνει : σὺν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες.

⁴ e. g. ἀγροίκου μὴ καταφρόνει ῥήτορος : ᾗθεις ὥσπερ εἰς Δῆλον πλέων.

⁵ e. g. πανθάρου σοφώτερος : οὐκ ἄνευ γε Θεσέως.

⁶ e. g. βατράχοις οἰνοχοεῖς : Λίνδιοι τὴν θυσίαν.

⁷ e. g. τάλαντα Ταντάλου : 'Ιλίδας κακῶν.

⁸ e. g. ἄρκτου παρούσης ἵχνη μὴ ζῆται (η=ι as in exx. in Prov. LXX above) : εἰ μὴ δύναιο βοῦν, ἔλαυν' ὄνον : ἡγιέστερος κρύτανος (Κρύτ.).

⁹ e. g. γλαῦξ (γλαῦκ') εἰς 'Αθήνας : Διὸς Κόρινθος.

¹⁰ Examples of 'Heads and tails' in iambic metre occur in Menander's γυνῶμαι (ορ. τί.), e. g. μὴ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος . . ἀεὶ πειρῶ βλέπειν : νέμεσιν φυλάσσου μηδὲν . . ὑπερφρονῶν.

ἄλλοι κάμον, ἄλλοι ὤναντο.¹

ἀλώπηξ οὐ δωροδοκεῖται.

βοῦς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ κοιεῖται (? transpose ἐφ' ε. β. κ.).

Διομήδεις ἀνάγκη.

ἐκτὸς πηλοῦ πόδας ἔχεις.

Λυδὸς τὴν θύραν ἐκλείσεν (?)

λύκος περὶ φρέαρ χορεύει (?)

οὔθ' ὕεται οὔθ' ἡλιούται.

All the features which are found in the collection of Zenobius reappear in fact in the Greek book of Proverbs. The translator employs the two metres which by long tradition had been considered appropriate for these homely maxims.² He shews the same partiality as the old proverb-writers for half-lines, beginning or ending at the caesura, and in particular for metrical *endings*; the same disregard for nice distinctions between long and short vowels. On the whole he uses the iambic metre slightly more often than the hexameter. We may be certain that he was quite familiar with many of the old secular proverbs; it is sufficient to quote vii 22 κύων ἐπὶ δεσμούς,³ xxiii 31 γυμνότερος ὑπέρου.⁴ As we have seen, he probably produced his version in the first century B. C. and in the first half of the century, about the time when Tarrhaeus of Crete and Didymus of Alexandria were engaged in putting together their collections of proverbs, upon which Zenobius subsequently drew.⁵ If we had any reason to doubt that Alexandria was his home, we could infer that he was a city-dweller from the fact that, in common with the translator of the latter half of Jeremiah, a 'neighbour' (Ἵ?) is for him a πολίτης, a 'fellow-citizen'.⁶

The partial versification pervading the Greek version serves a practical purpose of some importance in textual criticism, though its utility in this respect is limited by the fact that it is only partial. Absence of metre is obviously no infallible criterion for detecting later interpolations and corrections in a work in which the prosaic element predominated from the first. But (I will conclude by attempting to sum up some of the uses to which this metrical test may legitimately be put): (1) absence

¹ Cf. Jo. iv 38 ἄλλοι κεκοπίασιν κτλ., following close upon two other proverbs, 35 τετράμηνός ἐστι χῶ θερισμός ἐρχεται, and 37 ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἄλλος ὁ θερίζων = ἄλλοι μὲν σπείρουσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀμύσσονται Diogen. ii. 62 (*Par. Gr.* i p. 205). This little group of three Greek proverbs attributed to Christ within the compass of four verses is curious.

² An occasional anapaestic line like viii 15 δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσιν may be accidental; another rendering would hardly be possible.

³ Cf. κύων ἐπὶ δεσμά, Zenob. iv 73.

⁴ γυμνότερος ὑπέρου λόγος παλαιὸς φησιν Eustath. (ap. *Paroem. Gr.* i p. 228); cf. γυμνότερος λεβηρίδος etc. Zenob. ii 95.

⁵ *Paroem. Graeci* i xii ff. ⁶ In xi 9, 12, xxiv 43; but elsewhere in Prov. φίλοι.

of metre does become a criterion where a choice has to be made between two 'doublets', one of which has a metrical ring and the other has not. Thus, in i 14, the first of the doublets, κοινὸν δὲ βαλλάντιον κτησώμεθα πάντες, is, on account of the hexameter ending, besides other reasons, to be preferred to the second, καὶ μαρσίπιον ἐν γενεθῆτῳ ἡμῶν; we should perhaps go further and adopt the order of words in cod. V, which gives the sentence an iambic opening as well, βαλλάντιον δὲ κοινὸν κτλ. For, (2) where there is a diversity of readings affecting the order of words, that reading which produces rhythm, especially a rhythmical conclusion to a sentence or sense-line, is to be preferred to a variant which lacks rhythm and places the words in their simplest prosaic order or in the order in which they stand in the Hebrew original. (3) Where there is no variant reading, but the language is poetical and transposition of words prosaically arranged will produce a complete or fragmentary verse, transposition is generally legitimate, notwithstanding the lack of MS authority. (4) Where a hexameter or iambic ending occurs *near the close* of a sentence or sense-line, there is some ground for suspecting that any appended unmetrical words are an interpolation.

Judging by metrical tests, I should infer that the minuscules 109, 147, 157 possess a high value in this book; the group 68, 161 &c., and cod. V are also important. Occasionally the original text seems to be preserved in the Armenian Version; it is perhaps significant that Proverbs was the first book of the Greek Bible to be translated into that language.¹

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

אֶרְמוֹן AND אֶרֶם.

OF words in the Old Testament which have apparently a fixed and settled meaning, one which occurs pretty frequently is the word אֶרְמוֹן, generally rendered by 'palace' or 'castle'. In the Authorized Version it is translated 'palace' in 31 places out of 32 in which it occurs ('castle' once only). And the Revised Version is almost equally uniform, giving 'palace' 28 times and 'castle' 4 times (with *margin* 'palace' 3 times). But there is no like uniformity in the most ancient versions. The renderings of the LXX comprise θεμέλιον (10 times), χώρα (6), βᾶρις (5), ἀμφοδον (2), with οἶκος, πόλις, γῆ, λαός, ἄντρον, πυργόβαρις, and ἐναντίον once each, while in two passages there is no word which certainly answers to it. In the Vulgate there is not quite the same variety. *Turris* occurs 4 times, *templum* once, *urbes* once; more often it falls

¹ Swete *Introd. to O.T.* 118.

back on general terms *aedes*, *domos*, *moenia*. Now considering the irregularities of LXX renderings, the mere fact of the variations which they shew here is not perhaps very remarkable. Some of them may be merely due to a tendency to paraphrase, or to be satisfied with a more general term where it gives the general sense; though this might seem in itself to point to the lack of a simple definite equivalent for the word thus generalized. But what is more striking is that some of the more particular renderings, and those which differ most from ours, such as *θεμέλια* and *ἀμφοδα*, occur where there is nothing in the context to suggest them. Thus *מִסְנוֹת* is translated by *θεμέλια* 10 times altogether, and in places where 'foundations' does not make very obvious good sense. In other cases too, where 'palace' would come in quite naturally (which is not always the case), the LXX studiously avoid any such idea. It is true that they use *βᾶσις*¹ (or *πυργόβασις*) 6 times in all, which gives a point of contact with more modern versions; but they must surely have had reason for thinking that the Hebrew word, in its strict meaning, had something to do with foundations, or they would not have gone out of their way to use *θεμέλια* so often as an equivalent.

We must first examine the various connexions in which *מִסְנוֹת* is used. Twice it occurs (in the singular) in conjunction with 'the king's house'. Thus we read (in the A. V. rendering) that Zimri 'went into the palace of the king's house and burnt the king's house over him with fire' (1 Kings xvi 18); where we are at once struck by the tautology. The word translated palace must refer to a part of the king's house and not to the whole. The LXX translate it by *ἀντρον*, in the sense apparently of a cellar or subterranean passage; and though 'castle' (as R. V.) or 'tower' might do, neither of these would suit so well. It is not an elevated or detached but an under part of the building which best suits the words which follow *וַיִּשְׂרֹף עָלָיו אֶת-בֵּית-מֶלֶךְ*. Curiously, again, in 2 Kings xv 25, where the same words are used to describe the place where Pekah smote Pekahiah and his followers—'in Samaria in the *palace* of the king's house' (A. V.), *castle* (R. V.), the LXX abstain from any such rendering as 'castle' or 'tower' (which would here be quite suitable to the sense), and merely say *ἐναντίον*

¹ The history of this word, used in Hellenistic Greek apparently for tower, is itself remarkable. In Classical Greek it means an Egyptian or Eastern boat (Herod. ii 41, 96, 179, and *Att. Trag.*). In Plutarch, *de Virt. Mul.*, ad fin., the context shews that a boat is really intended, though the passage has been quoted for the sense of 'porch' or 'entrance' (*ostium*). In Hellenistic Greek it seems to be a transliteration of *בֵּירָה* (LXX and Josephus), and alternative forms occur (Neh. i 1; vii 2). Valcknār in his elaborate monograph on *βᾶσις* tries to connect the two ideas, but is very inconclusive. Is it not more probable that in origin the words were totally distinct?

οἶκον τοῦ βασιλέως, 'opposite the king's house'; unless, indeed, this is a mistake for the previous rendering ἐν ἀντρον (the idea being that they were in hiding in some cellar or dungeon). Again the word occurs in the singular in Isa. xxv 2, in a connexion where the idea of any such pre-eminence as is implied in the rendering 'palace' seems very detrimental to the sense. We read (A.V. and R.V.) 'Thou hast made of a city an heap; of a defenced city a ruin: *a palace of strangers to be no city*; it shall never be built'. Surely the appropriate meaning of ארמון ורים סעיר is '*a mere haunt of strangers instead of a city*', which makes excellent sense, while the other is perplexing. Here the LXX render by θεμέλια, but there is much confusion.

More often, however, ארמון is used with some city as the qualifying word (usually in the plural), and here 'palace' (or 'palaces') is certainly more intelligible. But if we once admit a lowly rather than an exalted meaning for the word, if it can be suggestive of passages and hiding-places rather than of towers and palaces, we shall find instances of its use in connexion with a city where it is natural to suppose a reference to the streets and lanes rather than to the elevated buildings, and this is borne out by the rendering ἀμφοδα which the LXX give occasionally, meaning apparently the houses with the streets round about them. If in Ps. xlviii 13 פָּצַח (which does not occur elsewhere in exactly this form) really means 'traverse' we have a case in point (though here the LXX rendering for ארמנות is βύρεις). That the R.V. should give 'Mark ye well her bulwarks, *consider* her palaces', putting '*traverse*' in the margin, may be due to a feeling of the inappropriateness of 'palaces' or 'towers' as the object of the latter verb. Even in verse 3, especially if מִגְדָּל means a high or strong tower, 'God hath made himself known in her palaces as a *refuge*'—margin '*high tower*' (R.V.), 'towers' is not very suitable for ארמנות, and something more general than 'palaces' fits the context better. Again in Mic. v 5 (4) אָשַׁח כִּי יָבֹא בָאֲרָצָה וְכִי יֵדֹךְ בָּאֲרָמֹתַי 'when the Assyrian shall come into our land, and when he shall tread in our *streets*' seems more natural than 'when he shall tread in our *palaces*', answering as the phrase does to the still more general וְכִי יֵדֹךְ בְּגִבְלֵי 'when he shall tread in our borders', in the following verse. The LXX translate by οὐραν ἐπιβῆ ἐπὶ τῶν χώρων ἡμῶν and οὐραν ἐπιβῆ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἡμῶν respectively. So in Jer. ix 21 (20) 'Death is come up into our windows, it hath entered into our *lanes* (or *quarters*)' is much more suitable than 'palaces' to the sequel, 'to cut off the children from the streets and the young men from the broad places,' להַרְחִיק לַחַיִּים מִן הַשְׁתָּרִים מִן הַחֲנִיכִים מִן הַבָּרִים מִן הַחֲנִיכִים. The LXX generalize here by εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν, 'it entered into your land.' Again in Amos iii 9 אֲרַמְּסֶה is used of places of public proclamation. We read (R.V.) 'Publish

ye in the *palaces* at Ashdod, and in the palaces in the land of Egypt' with margin 'upon' for 'in' (twice). But 'streets' or places of public resort would be more appropriate.¹ We may compare the 'Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the *streets* of Askelon', אל תנודו בגת אל תבשרו בחצות אשקלון of 2 Sam. i 20. Here again the LXX fall back on the general term χώρα: 'Αναγγείλατε χώρας ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς χώρας τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

Thus in some cases at all events the idea of the ins and outs, the streets, the quarters of an eastern city is more appropriate than that of castles or palaces. There are others where we can only say that there seems an undue particularity, an undue emphasis on a part rather than the whole in the usual rendering; as in 'Peace be within thy walls and prosperity (or security) within thy palaces' (LXX εὐθύνια ἐν ταῖς πυργοβάρεσί σου), Ps. cxii 7; 'The Lord is become as an enemy, he hath swallowed up Israel; He hath swallowed up all her *palaces* . . . He hath given up into the hand of the enemy the walls of her *palaces*' (LXX βάρεις), Lam. ii 5, 7. In these a more general word would be at least more natural. In others there is not much to choose between the two ideas, as in 'Thorns shall come up in her *palaces*' (LXX εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν), Isa. xxxiv 13; 'Arise and let us go up by night, and let us destroy her *palaces*' (LXX θεμέλια), Jer. vi 5; 'I abhor the excellency of Jacob, and hate his *palaces*' (LXX τὰς χώρας αὐτοῦ), Amos vi 8. In Amos iii 10, 11 'They know not to do right, . . . who store up violence and robbery in their *palaces*, . . . thy *palaces* shall be spoiled', the usual rendering is very suitable, but here again the LXX use the general word χώραι, applicable to any spaces or places, as elsewhere in this chapter and in vi. In Prov. xviii 19, where 'castle', as used in both English versions, really seems to suit best, 'such contentions are like the bars of a castle'; the Vulgate has 'urbium', while the LXX render בריח ארמון by τεθεμελιωμένον βασιλειον, and it is not clear that the meaning they assign to ארמון is not contained in the former Greek word rather than the latter, considering their fondness for the rendering θεμέλιον elsewhere. And, indeed, the relation between the two clauses of the verse is not very certain, and the LXX take the first to refer, not to a brother offended but to brotherly help. In the R.V. it will be seen that there are several italicized words.

Of the instances which remain to be noticed, an important class are

¹ Unless the words refer to publishing on the housetops (which they do not plainly suggest). Curiously this idea, proverbial in the N. T., is not found in the O. T., where גגם are places of converse or retirement (sometimes of star-worship). A more general use of גג hardly presents difficulty in view of such passages as 2 Kings xxii 8; 2 Chron. xx 3; Jer. iv 16; xviii 11. For *streets* and *gates* as places of proclamation see further Jer. vii 2; xi 6.

connected with the destruction of a city by fire. The Chaldeans, we read (R.V.), 'brake down the wall of Jerusalem and burnt all the *palaces* thereof with fire' (LXX βάπτει), 2 Chron. xxxvi 19. But usually in a special prophetic phrase, as (e.g.) Jer. xvii 27, xlix 27, which the R.V. renders 'then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it shall devour the *palaces* of Jerusalem'; and 'I will kindle a fire in the wall of Damascus and it shall devour the *palaces* of Benhadad'. We find almost identical words in Hos. viii 14; and very frequently in Amos, where the phrase *ואכלה ארמנותיה* . . . 'I will send fire upon . . . and it shall devour the *palaces* thereof' (to take the usual rendering) becomes a general formula—with very slight variations, Amos i 4, 7, 10, 12, 14; ii 2, 5. Here it must be admitted that the destruction of the imposing buildings might well be the catastrophe in view; but just here the LXX uniformly render by *θεμέλια* (except in the two passages in Jeremiah, where they use *ἄμφοδα*), though the idea of foundations is not what would naturally suggest itself. Taken in conjunction with what we have seen already this is significant. It suggests that the sense of the Hebrew may be that the city will be burnt to the ground, that not even the general outline of its streets and buildings will be left.¹ At first sight, indeed, this idea of foundations of buildings is very different from that of streets and lanes, to which other considerations seemed to point; but the latter are determined by the former, and together they constitute the ground-plan of the whole. If we could suppose that the word expressed primarily the general outline or ground-plan as formed by the ramifications of streets and buildings, there would be some explanation of variation and obscurity in the rendering: its exact force would not easily be represented in translation by any single word.

A few passages remain where there would be special point in the use of a term expressing such an idea, as e.g. Isa. xxiii 13, xxxii 14 where *וארמנותיה עוררו* would mean, not 'they overthrew (R.V. margin "raised up") the palaces thereof', but 'they laid bare its ground-plan—or foundations',² and *וארמון נפש* would be, not 'the *palace* shall be forsaken', but 'the bare outline of the city plan shall be left exposed'. (The LXX translate by *οἰκoi*, with some confusion.) But, above all, this interpretation suits the connexion of clauses in the last instance to be examined, Jer. xxx 18 (where an allusion to *palace* seems forced and unnatural) *וּבְנִיתָהּ עִיר עַל-חִלָּהּ וְאֶרְמוֹן עַל-מִשְׁפָּטָהּ* 'The city shall be built upon its own mound, and the *ground-plan* laid out as before—or according to its original design'.³

¹ Observe the general ending to the similar phrase in Jer. xxi 14; i 32.

² Compare *יִרְדֵּיה אֲנִיה* (Mic. i 6); so too Ezek. xiii 14.

³ The R.V. has 'The *palace* shall remain (or "be inhabited") after the manner thereof'; while the LXX have *ὁ λαός* for *אֶרְמוֹן*.

But if the above interpretation is suitable to the various contexts, it may be said that it does not agree with the derivation, if (as usually supposed) the root ארם is equivalent to רום, nor with the view of ancient authorities from Jerome downwards. On Hos. viii 14 he says 'ארמנות sunt magnae et in modum turrium aedificatae domus', and so he assumes elsewhere. On Amos i, however, he speaks more doubtfully, and under the influence of the LXX turns the word by 'aedes sive fundamenta', and explains the latter by saying that the fire will devour 'non solum muros sed et fundamenta', so far acquiescing in the view adopted above. Then, on ver. 12, he gives details of the various renderings. 'ארמנות quas nos aedes interpretati sumus, Aquila et Symmachus βάσεις id est domus, Theodotio habitatores transtulit: soli septuaginta et hic et supra fundamenta dixerunt.' But from all these alike the idea of large or castellated mansions has been eliminated. May not the idea of *castle* or *palace*, which he gives in his formal definition, be entirely due in its origin to a supposed connexion with רום 'tall' or 'lofty', though this interpretation has prevailed so widely since?

But, so far as derivation goes, it would not seem that there is any necessary connexion between ארם and רום. Words which differ only in one really weak letter, such as קין, יקן, are usually perhaps alike in meaning (though even here we have another קין and קון which are quite different); but the presence or absence of א is generally of more significance. אגר to *gather* and אור to *sojourn*, אנה to *sigh* and נוח to *rest*, אגר to *bind* and אור to *turn* have no apparent connexion, and so in most similar instances. Pairs such as ארש, ארש to *thresh*, אש, אש to *be in desperate case*, are quite the exception. Thus רום ארם might express quite different ideas.

It might even be possible to suggest an interpretation of the latter based on quite a different parallelism. In two passages (Isa. xiii 22; Ezek. xix 7)¹ ארמנות is supposed to be a variant form of ארמנות.² If we could suppose the root ארם to be in any way parallel to אלה to *bind, confine* (more usual as applied figuratively to the *dumb* or *tongue-tied*, but literally of sheaves, אלהות, Gen. xxxvii 7), it would not agree badly with the interpretation of ארמנות as the spaces confined between the walls and buildings of a city—the fundamental enclosures defining its ground-plan.

It may, however, be objected that ארם actually occurs as a geographical

¹ The second of these two passages (if ארמנות = ארמנות) is another illustration of the point we have been urging. 'He *knew* their palaces, and laid waste their cities' is not very intelligible: 'he *knew* their ins and outs—their ways of access' makes excellent sense in connexion with the latter clause.

² Compare ארמנות 1 Kings xxiii 5; ארמנות Job xxxviii 32.

term, and that this is probably connected with אֲרָם and means 'highlands' or 'uplands'. Even if this were so it would not be conclusive for the root of אֲרָם; but it is far from certain. It involves to some extent the very interesting geographical question as to the district to which אֲרָם was first applied. In the Old Testament *as it stands* we have three well-defined stages in the use of the term. First we have אֲרָם פָּדָן (Padan-Aram) in Genesis only (xxv 20; xxviii 2, 5, 6, 7; xxxi 18; xxxiii 18; xxxv 9, 26; xlv 15)—though the parallel אֲרָם שָׂרָה *the field of Aram*, is used in Hos. xii 12 (13), *referring to Jacob's history*; and as an alternative we find אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם, i. e. Aram of the two rivers (Gen. xxiv 10; Deut. xxiii 4 (5); Judges iii 8, 10; 1 Chron. xix 6; Ps. lx title), or אֲרָם alone¹ (Num. xxiii 7; Judges x 6) referring apparently in all these cases to the same region (? between the Euphrates and the Tigris), described in Gen. xxix 1 as 'the land of the children of the East',² אֲרֻכְיָקָרָם.

אֲרָם is not used of this region *with reference to anything later than David's reign*. And in the history of that period, besides אֲרָם נְהָרַיִם (used of that time in 1 Chron. xix 6; Ps. lx title), other Arams appear: אֲרָם מַעֲכָה (1 Chron. xix 6), אֲרָם צוֹכָה (2 Sam. x 6; Ps. lx title), אֲרָם רַמְשֶׁק (2 Sam. viii 5), אֲרָם בֵּית רֶחוֹב (2 Sam. x 6), besides אֲשֶׁר מַעֲכָה אֲרָם הַנָּהָר (2 Sam. x 16); and we find בְּאֲרָם (2 Sam. xv 8). In 1 Kings x 29 there is a reference to אֲרָם מְלָכֵי in the plural. But this second extended or varied use of אֲרָם does not long continue. In 1 Kings xi 24 we are told how Rezon fled from Zobah and set up his kingdom in Damascus; and from this time onwards אֲרָם, אֲרָמִי are used exclusively of Syria and Syrian proper, i. e. of the kingdom of which Damascus was the capital,³ until the captivity of the land. See Amos i 3, 5; ix 7, and compare (e. g.) 2 Kings xvi 5, 9.

Thus it gives a very misleading impression to say (as is sometimes said) that Aram is used vaguely in the Old Testament, and applied to Syria on the one hand and to Mesopotamia on the other; whereas we find that it always means one thing when used of events *before* the reigns of David and Solomon, and another thing *after* that period, while in the interval it is used in a more general way or with various distinguishing additions. It would seem that its *original application was to Mesopotamia*⁴ (or a part of it), and that it was afterwards extended in Hebrew usage, in consequence of some movements of

¹ See also Gen. x 22, 23.

² אֲרָמִי is used in a corresponding sense (Gen. xxv 20; xxviii 5; xxxi 20, 24; Deut. xxvi 5).

³ אֲרָמִית 'in the Syrian language' (R.V.) is taken by some in a more general sense (2 Kings xviii 26; Isa. xxxvi 11).

⁴ It is said that in Assyrian *Aramu* is *always* applied to tribes East of the Euphrates; which confirms the view stated above.

'Aramaic' tribes, and then again specialized, as the kingdom of Damascus overshadowed all the rest. The space between the 'two rivers'—in the main a great plain—is hilly in the north, and this has been thought to explain the application of the term 'the field of the highlands' (to take the usual interpretation of Padan-Aram) to the plain at the base of the hills. Yet, considering the much higher level of the surrounding country, this is hardly a natural designation for the region in question, however we may limit (as some do) the extent to which it applies.

Others again, giving up the idea of a definite locality, suppose that אֲרָם in Hebrew was originally a vague ethnographical rather than geographical term, in spite of the consistent way in which it is applied locally throughout the earlier stages of the history.

But what if (in accordance with the suggestion as to the meaning of the root of אֲרָם נהרים) אֲרָם merely means the district *confined* between or *bounded* by the two rivers? Then the local application is quite natural. The phrase answers in fact to the Greek Μεσσοποταμία, which seems to be intended as an equivalent for it. All difficulty in regarding Mesopotamia as the primary application of אֲרָם disappears. There is nothing strange either in the subsequent extension of the term under the circumstances indicated in the books of Samuel and Kings, if we recognize that this only applies to a later period of the history. Was not Scotia once the name of Ireland?

This geographical question, though of much interest in itself, is a distinct one, not necessarily bound up with the former; and such geographical considerations may not do much to enforce the proposed interpretation of אֲרָם as involved in אֲרָמֶן. Yet it is something that all seems to tend in one direction; and if such a reversal of the traditional explanation of the latter word is thought improbable, it must at least be remembered that it is more in accordance with the majority of the LXX renderings than that which has prevailed.

PERCY J. HEAWOOD.

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS.

ΟΙΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΟΙΛΟΓΟΙ ΟΙ
 ΛΗCEN ΙΗC Ο ΖΩΝ Κ
 ΚΑΙ ΘΩΜΑΚΑΙΕΙΠΕΝ
 ΑΝ ΤΩΝΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΤ
 ΟΥ ΜΗ ΓΕΥΧΤΑΙ.

ΟΙΤΟΙ ΟΙ ΟΙΛΟΓΟΙ. Such is the reading of the original, since the discoverers vouch for the first *iota*; and a correction is clearly necessary. GH¹ think the simplest course is to omit the initial ΟΙ, when τοῖοι is a late prose use = τοιοῖδε. Others (as Dr Taylor²) prefer οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι. Many considerations support this view: (1) the spacing of the letters (reproduced above) suggests οὔτοι οἱ and not τοῖοι,³ (2) a superfluous οἱ might easily occur by dittography after οὔτοι οἱ, but that it should come to be written before τοῖοι at the beginning of a sentence is incomprehensible: this dittography and the change of I into Y do not seem serious demands; (3) Luke xxiv 44 (quoted by GH) supplies an exact parallel: οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς. On these grounds I follow Dr Taylor in reading οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι in the text printed at the end of this paper.

The last six letters of the missing portion are, of course, οὓς ἐλά-; the remainder must be filled by an epithet of οἱ λόγοι. GH have suggested θαυμάσιοι which, however, is colourless. Better is Dr Lock's ἀληθινοί (cf. *Αρσ.* xxii 6 οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί). Yet I cannot but think that the word is not sufficiently forcible in its present context. If I am not mistaken, a dominant idea—that of (eternal) life—pervades the *Introduction*. The phrases and ὁ ζῶν, [θανάτου] οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται both convey this, and seem to point back to some key-word now lost. This word was perhaps ζωοποιοί. Why this word seems particularly suitable we shall see presently when the restoration is further advanced. At present it will suffice to quote some parallels: Ps. cxviii (cxix) τὸ λόγιόν σου ἐξησέν με: John v 21 ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ ζωοποιεῖ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζωοποιεῖ: vi 63 τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιούν . . . τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή: *Ερ. Barn.* vi οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι ζήσομεν.

¹ GH = Grenfell and Hunt *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* iv, no. 654.

² *The Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus* (Oxford 1905) p. 2.

³ Mr Hunt, however, points out that the separation between οἱτοι and οἱ is really very slight, and that, in a text where there is no systematic division, stress cannot justly be laid on a space where it does occur. Thus in l. 7 we have *ενρη ι.* In view of this the statement above must be modified.

The crucial question is the completion of l. 2. Current proposals deal with two points: 1. with what followed ὁ ζῶν; 2. with what came before καὶ Θωμᾶ. 1. GH suggest, but with reserve, κ[ύριος or κ[αὶ ἀποθανών; Dr Hicks (*ap. Taylor GH op. cit.*) καὶ ἀληθινός. 2. (a) read Φίλιππῳ or Μαθθαίῳ (or Μαθθαίῳ) for the reasons stated *ad loc.*; (b) Mr Bartlett suggests τοῖς τε ἄλλοις or τοῖς (ἐ) μαθηταῖς; (c) Prof. K. Lake, comparing the usage of *Acta Thomae*, conjectures Ἰούδα τῷ] καὶ Θωμᾶ.

All these conjectures agree in one point, in postulating a second dative dependent upon ἐλάλησεν. And the discoverers treat it as a fact that Thomas was in some way claimed as the authority for the Sayings.

Yet all three views are open to objection. The first and third, indeed, seem quite inadmissible, for they can only be understood to represent the Sayings as the matter of a special revelation. Sayings 2, 3, and 4, with Logia 1, 5, 6, and 7, sufficiently refute this. But τοῖς μαθηταῖς] καὶ Θωμᾶ is not open to such radical objection—unless we compare John xx 26, and call the Sayings post-resurrectional. We can claim that St Thomas is specially mentioned, as is St Peter in Mark xvi 7 εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ, in order to shew that he was in some way specially interested. But this is surely a vague and indirect way of indicating one's authority for a document. And when we remember that this unsatisfactory statement with its far-reaching claim rests totally on a conjecture, we may fairly look about for another solution.

Such a solution was suggested to me by Acts i 3, where the author speaking of our Lord says: παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα . . . ὁπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, and by Mark xvi 11 κακεῖνοι ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῇ καὶ ἐθεάθη ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἠπίσθησαν. The editor may well have followed the same line of thought and have fortified his allusion to the resurrection (ὁ ζῶν) by a reference to the proof of it. I therefore read κ[αὶ φανεῖς τοῖς δέκα, or better, κ[αὶ ὀφθεῖς τοῖς δέκα (see 1 Cor. xv 5-8, Luke xxiv 34, Acts ix 17; cp. xxvi 16¹). We can now safely refer to John xx 26 ἦσαν ἰσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ' αὐτῶν.

The lacuna in l. 3 is less important. GH restore καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς; but unless we grant that αὐτοῖς is used very loosely, we are in danger of making the Editor quote the following Saying as post-resurrectional. In spite of objections, therefore, I propose to put a stop after Θωμᾶ, and to continue καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτός; the pronoun being strongly emphatic.

We are now free to consider the line of thought. If the editor wrote ζωσποιοῖ in l. 1, he might naturally think fit to vindicate the epithet, and I will present what I take to be his reasoning by means of a paraphrase:

¹ I must express my acknowledgements to Mr F. E. Brightman for the exact wording of this restoration and for the references. I had previously conjectured (amongst other and more clumsy things) κ[αὶ φανερωθεῖς τοῖς ἐ.

'These are the life-giving words spoken by Jesus ; life-giving, because He who uttered them Himself lives and proved it ; for He was seen by His disciples, so that even the sceptic Thomas was convinced. Above all it was He Himself who claimed this very virtue for His words.'

If this restoration—especially the word ζωοποιόι—be accepted, we shall have gained what has been needed ever since theories of a connexion of ideas between the different Sayings have been given up. We cannot believe that the collection is totally without order and purpose. Considering carefully each Logion and Saying we find that all except two (Logia III and VI) convey cautions, directions, and the like ; they are—to use a much-tried word—'helpful'. That is the same thing as to say they are life-giving, ζωοποιόι.

In conclusion, something must be said as to the alleged formula of the *Introduction*. GH admit that it may add some strength to the theory of Dr Rendel Harris¹ as to the citation-form in St Paul, Clement of Rome, and Polycarp : 'Remember the words of the Lord which he spake . . . and he said.' That theory in itself does not concern us, but its present application does. In the formula mentioned, 'the words' we are bidden to remember are always those quoted immediately afterwards. In the present case οἱ λόγοι, of course, covers the whole collection, while καὶ εἶπεν introduces a single citation. Hence the idea of a lurking formula must be abandoned.

The text as restored above will then run as follows :—

οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ [ζωοποιόι οὓς ἐλά-
λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ὁφθεῖς τοῖς δέκα
καὶ Θωμᾷ. καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτός· Πᾶς ὅστις
ἀν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ θανάτου
οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται.

'These are the life-giving words which Jesus spake who liveth and was seen of the Ten and of Thomas. Yea, and Himself said : "Whoso heareth these words shall not taste of death".'

HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE.

¹ *Contemporary Review*, September 1897.

LATIN LISTS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS.¹3. FROM POPE INNOCENT'S EPISTLE TO EXSUPERIUS
OF TOULOUSE (A. D. 405).

THE text of the following list rests on the evidence of thirteen MSS, ranging in date from the end of the sixth century to the end of the ninth century. I have collated them all myself, and use for them the same symbols as I employ in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*.

A. MSS of Italian origin.

- I Vaticanus Reginae 1997, saec. ix ineunt.: fol. 103 *a*. This MS, written at the order of bishop Ingilram of Chieti, is of the first importance, and it so often preserves primitive recensions in the texts of the Councils that I have made it the leading authority for the list. It is a good general rule, at least in Canon Law, that Italian MSS are to be preferred to Gallic MSS.
- X Parisinus lat. 3836, saec. viii: fol. 75 *b*. This MS is connected at least in one branch of its ancestry with Trèves, and the sister MS next to be described is also from the Rhineland: but the canonical collection which they represent was made in Italy (Maassen's 'Collection of the MS of St Blaise').
- Y Coloniensis ccxiii, saec. viii: fol. 117 *b*. Written in a beautiful insular semi-uncial hand, not unlike the Gospels of the Chapter Library at Durham, A II 17 (see *J. T. S.*, July 1909, x 535 note).
- u Vaticanus Barberini (originally Barberini xiv 52), saec. ix: fol. 148 *a*. From the monastery of Farfa. Contains an Italian canonical collection (Maassen's 'Collection of the Vatican MS') related to those of I and of XY.
- l Vaticanus 5845, saec. ix-x: fol. 88 *a*. This MS, written in the hand of Benevento about the year 900 A.D.—Dr E. A. Loew, who has specialized on the Beneventan hand, has pointed out to me that I have dated the MS too early in *Ecc. Occ. Mon. Iur. Ant.*—represents, with the next MS, the collection of Papal decretals formed by Dionysius Exiguus early in the sixth century as a pendant to his collection of canons.
- s Sessorianus bibliothecae Victoris Emmanuelis 2102, saec. viii-ix:

¹ The two former pieces of this series, which I resume after ten years' interval, were 1. *The Roman Council under Damasus*, A. D. 382 (*J. T. S.* i [July 1900] 554), and 2. *An unpublished stichometrical list from the Freising MS of Canons* (*J. T. S.* ii [Jan. 1901] 236).

fol. 108 *a*. Most of the Sessorian MSS came from the abbey of Nonantula in North Italy. This MS of the Dionysian collection was practically unknown to Maassen.

B. MSS of Gallic origin.

- C Parisinus lat. 12097, saec. vi exeunt.: fol. 25 *b*. The MS came to the Bibliothèque Nationale from St Germain-des-Près, and to St Germain from Corbie. It forms a single group with the next three MSS: and whereas KT represent a southern branch within the group, C with Pi appears to belong to northern Gaul.
- K Coloniensis ccxii, saec. vi-vii: fol. 72 *a*. Perhaps brought to Cologne in the time of archbishop Hildebald (ob. 819 A. D.), a great collector of MSS, but written, as it would seem, in Provence. I have discussed its date and *provenance* in Dr Burn's *Facsimiles of the Creeds* (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. xxxvi), 1908, pp. 39-41.
- T Tolosanum 364, saec. vii: fol. 30 *b*. Probably written in Albi, and saved from a fire there in the year 666: see my paper in *J. T. S.* ii (Jan. 1901) 266-273.
- Pi Parisinus lat. 1564, saec. ix: fol. 35 *b*. Came to the Royal Library from the library of Colbert: at an earlier date it had belonged to Pithou, and I have no doubt that it is identical with the 'vetustissimus ecclesiae Cenomannensis codex' from which Pithou copied the 'fides Isatis ex Iudaeo' or 'creed of Isaac the ex-Jew'. The MS therefore had belonged to Le Mans.
- F Parisinus lat. 1451, saec. viii-ix: fol. 100 *a*. This MS from St Maur-les-Fosses, together with Vat. Reg. 1127 (saec. ix ineunt.: from Angoulême) and with a third MS, also of the ninth century, now in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum at the Hague, form a group representing a collection made in Gaul not later than 600 (Maassen's 'Collection of the MS of St Maur') and quite independent of the four MSS last described.
- II Parisinus lat. 3848 A, saec. ix: fol. 39 *b*. This and the next (and last) MS represent the collection known as Quesnel's, from the Oratorian P. Quesnel, who printed it in the appendix to his edition of St Leo (Paris 1675) because he believed it to contain the Canon Law of the Roman Church of the fifth¹ century. And it is quite true that it distinguishes itself from the collections just enumerated by the entire absence of Gallic material. But it is a Gallic collection for all that, put together about 500 A. D., not improbably (so far I should hold with Quesnel) with a view to Romanizing the Canon Law of Gaul. Duchesne connects it with Arles or its neighbourhood: if the place is right, the person was probably Caesarius.

▼ *Atrebatensis* 572, saec. ix ineunt.: fol. 47 b. Of all MSS of the Quesnel collection this is the one whose history can best be reconstructed. It came to the public library at Arras at the Revolution from the great religious house of St Vaast in the same town, and there it had not improbably been ever since it was written. A note of the scribe tells us that his 'vetustus codex' reckoned 262 years from the council of Antioch [A. D. 341] to the fifteenth year of king Clothair and the twelfth indiction. The data are not quite easy to reconcile satisfactorily: but as the year will be about 600 A.D., the prince referred to is apparently Clothair II, and, what is still more important, the locality is fixed to a small region in Northern France (including Arras) which was then the limit of the dominions of Clothair.

As the number of MSS catalogued is alone enough to prove—and they are but a selection of those at a modern editor's disposal—this list of the canonical books must have been very widely known. Mgr Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'église* iii 29 n., has acutely conjectured that an edition of some eight decretals of popes Siricius, Innocent, Zosimus, and Celestine was already in circulation at the beginning of the pontificate of St Leo. At any rate Leo, in a letter of the year 443, speaks of 'omnia decretalia constituta tam beatae recordationis Innocentii quam omnium decessorum nostrorum'; and with the emphasis thus already laid on the 'constitutions' of pope Innocent, it is reasonable to suppose that the decretal letter to Exsuperius of Toulouse was the main source from which Gaul and Italy alike drew, during the fifth century, their knowledge of the authorized contents of the Bible of the Roman Church.

With two exceptions (for the omission in the Chieti MS of the epistle of Jude is presumably a mere omission by *homoeoarcton*) the text of the document is free from serious doubt: but the two exceptions are significant and interesting. For the epistles of St Paul three MSS, including the best of all, give XIII for XIII: and though nothing is easier than accidental confusion between these numbers, it must be remembered that the Church of Rome was very slow in accepting the Epistle to the Hebrews as St Paul's, and pope Innocent does not in fact cite it in his extant decretals. Similarly eight MSS, again including the best of all, omit the mention of 'writings published under the name of Andrew and, in fact, composed by the philosophers Xenocarides and Leonidas'. In this case *homoeoarcton* is a sufficient explanation of the loss of the words, while it is difficult to account for their insertion on the hypothesis that they are not original.

I am glad to find that Dr M. R. James, whom I consulted on the subject, shares my belief in the genuineness of the words. I venture to

quote what he writes to me. The 'scripta sub nomine Andreae' he supposes to be the Leucian Acta Andreae, the philosophers to be the characters in whose name the Acts were written :—

'Fabricius, Thilo, and Lipsius thought that "Xenocarides and Leonidas" concealed the name of Leucius Charinus. Gutschmid, quoted by Lipsius *Apokr. Apostelgeschichte* iii 430, disagreed, and thought them the names of the real authors of the *Acta*. To me it seems probable that they are the names of the reputed authors. I surmise them to have been philosophers converted by Andrew, who became his disciples, and eventually wrote his exploits. No episode in the extant remains of the *Acta* records them; but, as in nearly all cases, we do not possess the beginning of the text nor, very likely, its original ending, in either or both of which the names would naturally occur, as they do in the Protevangelium and the Gospel of Thomas.

'These Acts are mentioned by Eusebius [*H. E.* iii 25], and so on, and are rather extensively quoted by Augustine.

'Personally, I do not see why they should not have been written by the author of the Acts of John. The one unadulterated episode of them which we possess, called by Bonnet "Ex Actis Andreae" [*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II i, Leipzig 1898, pp. 38-45], is extremely like the *Acta Ioannis*.'

TEXT

QUI uero libri recipiantur in canone breuis adnexus ostendit. haec sunt quae desiderata moneri uoce uoluisti :

Moysen libri .v., id est Genesis

Exodi

5

Leuitici

Numeri

Deuteronomii

1. Qui : *praem* iiii T vii X u Pi xxvii *ls*, De libris canonicis X-marg Y, Qui libri in canone recipiantur *ls* uero : *om* CPi libri : liberi YΨ* ; *om* s recipiant X recipiatur Π* canone : can K canonem Ψ : + scripturarum *ls*² (scripturam s*) brebis XIIΨ/*u* adnexus CTΠ adnexus K ostendet s haec : *praem* vii C 2. sunt : + ergo *ls* moneri : moniri CT muneri K moueri Y muniri te F

3. moysen I : moyse u mosi Cl mose X moysi *rell* : de Moysen *gen. cf Heptateuchum Lugdunensem ad Num.* iii 1, x 29 (*vide J. T. S.* ix 81) lib K libi Ψ librum l v : quinque Xs ; *om* l

4. exhodi I exodus *ls*

5. leuitici X leuiticum T laeuiticus l leuiticus s

7. *praem* et F deuteronomii : deutoronomii FXII deutoronumii

	et Hiesu Naue	·I·
	Iudicum	·I·
10	Regnorum libri	·IIII·
	simul et Ruth	
	prophetarum libri	·XVI·
	Solomonis libri	·V·
	psalterium	
15	Item historiarum ;	
	Iob liber	·I·
	Tobiae	·I·
	Hester	·I·
	Iudith	·I·
20	Machabeorum	·II·
	Hesdrae	·II·
	Paralypomenon	·II·
	Item noui testamenti ;	
	euangeliorum	·IIII·

T deuteronomi C deuteronomi Y deuteronomii Ψ deuteronomio Pi deuteronomium *Is*

8. et: necnon et *Is*; *om* TY hiesu IKT*Is*: ihu CPi*u* iesu
FXYPΨ nauae I nabe X i: unum IuΨ; *om* F*Is*

9. et iudicum *Is* i: unum III; *om* *Is*

10. et regnorum *Is* lib KT quattuor *Is*

11. samul K et: *om* T ruth: + i CXY*u*

12. profetarum Y lib IK; *om* *u* xvi: xii *I* sedecim *s*

13. solomonis I: solomoni Y salomonis KFXII*Is* salamonis CTPiΨ
lib KFI v: quinque XY*s* iii F

15. item: *om* C historiā C storiarum F*s***u*

16. iob: *om* F lib IKTF*s* libri Pi i: unus CXYIIΨ*s*

17. tōbi C tobi Pi thobiae T: + liber CXY lib KT*u* i: unus
XYΨ*s*

18. hister K esther T ster F: + liber C lib KPi i: unus IIΨ*s*

19. iudit CX*u*Ψ iutih Y i (*praem* lib C lib Pi) ICKTF: unus
XYIIΨ*s*

20. macchabaeorum K ii: duo *s*; *praem* lib FPi

21. esdrae T eszrae C haestrae Y esdre *u* ii: duo *s*; *praem*
lib FPi

22. paralypomenon KTIΨ*s*: paralypimenon I paralipomenon FX
paralipominon C paralipemenon Pi *u* paralippimnion Y; + libri XYIIΨ
lib KTFPi*u* (*non autem* I*CI*s*) ii: duo *s*

24. euangeliorum IXYKF: + libri CIIΨ*Is* lib T*s* iiiii: quattuor *s*

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G

- 25 apostoli Pauli epistulae ·xiii[I].
 epistulae Iohannis ·iii·
 epistulae Petri ·ii·
 [epistula Iudae ·i·]
 epistula Iacobi ·i·
 30 actus apostolorum
 apocalypsis Iohannis

cetera autem quae uel sub nomine Mathiae siue Iacobi minoris ; uel sub nomine Petri et Iohannis, quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt ; [uel sub nomine Andreae, quae a Xenocaride et Leonida philosophis ;] uel sub nomine Thomae ; et si qua sunt alia ; non solum repudianda uerum etiam noueris esse damnanda.

25. apostoli K epistulae . . . Petri (l 27) : om Pi*, add ad calc pag Pi² epistulae TXΠΨ : epistolae C epistole Fu aepistolae I epist K aepistolas l epistolas Pi² ; om Y xiii I Pi² tredecim s : xiii *rell*

26-28. epistulae iohannis . . . iudae [i] : om X

26. epistulae CTΠΨ : epistolae Ys aepistolae I epistole KFu epistle Pi² aepistolas l ioh F iohan Y iii : tres s

27. epistulae CTΠΨ : epistolae IKs epistole Fu epis Y aepistole Pi² aepistolas l ii : iii C*

28-30. om s*

28. epistula iudae i : om I epistula ΠΨ² : epistola K aepla l epis Y epistulae TΨ* epistolae C epistole Fu epistolas Pi iude u i TY : om CKFPiΠΨ

29. epistula IXΠΨ² : epistola K aeplis Y epistulae TΨ* epistolae C epistole Fu epstl Pi aepla l iacopi Ψ i ITu : una XY ; om CKFPiΨ

30. actus TPi apostolorum K apostolum X

31. apocalypsis IsIIΨ : apocalipsis XYu apocalipsi F apocalypsin T/ apocalypsim CK ioh F iohs u

32. cetera : citerum C ceterum Pi ceteri s quae : om CPi uel : om Y sub nomen XCPi mathiae IYCPiΠΨs : mathiae KTX/ mathie u mathei F minoris : memori CPi 33. ioh F que X leucio Π leutio Ψ leutico F leoncius Pi lecto u scribta IX 34. uel sub nomine andreae . . . philosophis KTF/sΨ* ; om *per homoeoarcton* IXYCPiΠΨ*u sub nomēn T a : ex l xenocaridae KF xenocharide l nexocaride s 35. phylsophys T phylsophis F uel : om ΠΨ* thome XC sunt alia : sunt talia ΠΨ* repudienda FΨ* 36. uerum . . . damnanda : om l aetiam KF

C. H. TURNER.

ON CERTAIN SOUTH PALESTINIAN PLACE-NAMES.

THE fact has already been noticed that the place-names **אֶשְׁתָּא'וֹל** Eshta'ol, **אֶשְׁתֶּמוֹא'** Eshtemoa' appear to present instances of formations belonging to the Ift^{al} conjugation,¹ which is common in Babylonian and Arabic, but of which, apart from these names, the only known instance in the Hebrew or Canaanite language is **וְאֶלְתָּחַם** of the Moabite Stone, ll. 11, 15, 19, 32.² Both Eshta'ol and Eshtemoa' were situated in South Palestine, the former in the Shephelah, the latter in the Judæan hill-country south of Hebron; and this fact makes probable the inference that the names exhibit North Arabian influence, of which many other traces might be cited in connexion with this part of Palestine. A further point, however, which has to be recognized is the influence of Babylonia upon North Arabia and so, through this medium, upon South Palestine. This is a fact which might be abundantly illustrated, and for which new evidence is constantly coming to light; though I do not propose at present to argue as to its importance. My reason for referring to it now is that it suggests the possibility that there may be found Ift^{al} place-names in South Palestine exhibiting the change of *š* to *l* before *t* which is so common in Babylonian.³ Granted this possibility, it is at any rate worthy of consideration whether **אֶלְתָּחַם**, **אֶלְתָּחַה** Eltekē, Josh. xix 44, xxi 23, in the territory assigned to Dan, may not stand for **אֶשְׁתָּחַם** Ešteke, and **אֶלְתָּחַן** Eltekon, Josh. xv 59, north of Hebron, for **אֶשְׁתָּחַן** Estekon. Whether this be so or not, I see no reason to doubt that this consonantal change is to be seen in **אֶלְתָּוֹלָד** Eltolad, Josh. xv 30, in the Negeb near to border of Edom, a name which, in view of the existence in Arabic of *istawlada*, Conj. X of *walada*, I explain as equivalent to **אֶשְׁתָּוֹלָד** Estolad, an Ištaph'al form.

In considering the meaning of these place-names it is interesting to observe that three of them appear to have been given to the towns as sites of local sanctuaries. Thus, Eshta'ol, connected with **שָׂאל** 'ask', may well mean 'Place of consulting the oracle'. Eshtemoa', from **שָׁמַע** 'hear', may denote 'Place where prayer is heard'. We may compare the name Tašmitum, properly an abstract noun 'revelation' or 'oracle', applied to the wife of the god Nebo as 'the gracious one' (lit. 'ready to hear').⁴ Since Arabic *istawlada* means 'render pregnant, get with child',

¹ Cf. B. D. B. *Heb. Lex.* s.vv.

² Perhaps to be vocalized **וְאֶלְתָּחַם**: certainly not **וְאֶלְתָּחַם** (Cooke *North Semitic Inscriptions* p. 11) as though the form were a Hithpa'el.

³ So *taltebir* for *taštebir* from *šabāru*, *iltahaṭ* for *ištaḥaṭ* from *šaḥāṭu*, *iltasu* for *ištaṣu* from *šaṣā*, &c. Forms preserving the *š* may be quoted side by side with those exhibiting the change to *l*. Thus we meet with *ištebir* from *šabāru*, *ištasi* from *šaṣā*, &c. For convenience of reference the cases cited are drawn from passages quoted in Muss-Arnolt's *Lexicon*.

⁴ Cf. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* pp. 123 ff.

Eltolad in all probability means 'Place of obtaining children', i. e. the seat of a shrine to which women were accustomed to resort in order to supplicate the mother-goddess (Aštar) for the coveted boon of fruitfulness. We may recall the statement of Herodotus (i 131) that the Assyrians call Aphrodite (i. e. Ištar) Mylitta, i. e. no doubt, *muallidat* 'she who causes to bear'.

As regards Eltekē, Dr Margoliouth suggests to me a connexion with the Arabic *ilṭaḥa*, Conj. VIII of *laḥa*, in the sense 'Place of combat'. It may be doubted, however, whether a Canaanite town would be likely to obtain its name from the accident of one or more battles having occurred at or near it; and, if the name stands for Ešteḫē, the derivation from נָתַן 'give to drink' in the sense 'watering-place' appears not improbable. For the Iste'al of *šaḫū* we may compare *Gilgameš-Epic* vii col. 4 l. 40 *kašdūti ištaḫḫu* 'cool draughts they give to drink'. Here *ištaḫḫu* might equally well have been *ilṭaḫu*.

As to the meaning of Elteḫon nothing can be affirmed, since no root נָתַן or לָקַח is otherwise known in any Semitic language.

C. F. BURNEY.

THE STUDY OF COMPOSITE WRITINGS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

WE are so accustomed at the present day to the features of literary analysis and the recognition of glosses, insertions, and the like, that we are sometimes apt, perhaps, to overlook the limitations of literary criticism and equally apt to ignore some of its possibilities. It is frequently possible to produce the clearest proof that this or the other source is of composite origin, and fortunately we possess sufficient evidence for the comparison of varying forms of such compositeness, so that we are in a position to shew that the method of compilation which we infer in the case of a unique source is essentially identical with that which we can perceive elsewhere from a comparison of variant sources or recensions.¹ But it is much to be regretted that there is no extant investigation of the phenomena of literary compositeness, and consequently these notes must necessarily be of a somewhat provisional character. To illustrate my meaning I propose to start with Habakkuk i and ii: the compositeness of which is very generally recognized by modern scholars, although there is little unanimity as to the extent of the compositeness, the

¹ See, for example, A. A. Bevan in *Camb. Bibl. Essays* pp. 13 sqq.

details of analysis, and the historical background of the constituent parts. Indeed, the most recent enquiry, that of Mr G. G. V. Stonehouse, supports the unity of i-ii (apart from ii 12-14, 18-20), and since his book is a careful and scholarly plea for the more conservative attitude towards Habakkuk, it will be convenient to start from his position. In his view Hab. i and ii date shortly after the battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.) when Egypt was defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, and they belong to the time when Judah was beginning to rebel against the Chaldeans, the sequel of which was the invasion of the marauding bands mentioned in 2 Kings xxiv 2 (*Book of Hab.* pp. 46-52). Now, if it be true that the Chaldeans before 605 'had shewn a friendly attitude towards the Syrian states rather than the reverse' (p. 106), we must suppose that the 'nations' referred to in i 5 sqq. ii forthwith suffered the afflictions described by Habakkuk, but that subsequently some at least were used by Nebuchadrezzar to harry Jehoiakim. The exact date of the raids in 2 Kings xxiv 2 is disputed, and the history of the period is certainly meagre (pp. 85, 87); but such evidence as we have makes it more than improbable that the severity of the Chaldeans, as depicted by the prophet, can be dated shortly after 605. We may, on demand, ignore the evidence for the departure of Nebuchadrezzar to Babylonia after the battle of Carchemish, but a careful study of the account of the Chaldean excesses in i seq. has very justly led several scholars to conclude that they point to an evil of no inconsiderable duration. In fact, Mr Stonehouse himself observes after i 2 ('how long shall I cry' &c.), that the prophet had constantly addressed Yahweh against the trouble and mischief caused by the Chaldeans (pp. 55 sq.), and it is very difficult to reconcile the verse with the proposal to date the two chapters about 604-603 (p. 51).

Moreover, the date can hardly be reconciled with the prophecies ascribed to Jeremiah. Here the battle of Carchemish is regarded as a great turning-point in history. It meant the impending downfall of the nations; the Chaldeans were the instruments of Yahweh's wrath, and there are many references to the persistent idolatry of Judah and the inevitable punishment. Mr Stonehouse, however, rejects the ordinary view that Hab. i 2-4 depicts the internal wickedness in Judah, and prefers to find religious-political disturbances caused by the oppressions of the Chaldeans in the neighbouring states. He conjectures two Judean parties, one doubtless favouring alliance with Egypt, the other representative of the earlier Deuteronomic party of Josiah's time, and of the still earlier policy of submission to Yahweh and to Assyria as held by Isaiah (pp. 23, 52 sq.). It is true that later, in the time of Zedekiah, Jeremiah counselled submission to the Chaldeans, and Mr Stonehouse would ascribe the same policy to

Habakkuk (i 12; p. 59). Yet this is surely a difficult and unnatural interpretation. We need not discuss whether the righteous party was really representative of the Deuteronomic school (p. 53), and, if so, whether Jeremiah would be in opposition to it (viii 8?); but if we are to emphasize Habakkuk's relationship to Isaiah (pp. 62 sq.), Isaiah's doctrine of the inviolability of Zion is evidently related to 'the incurable optimism of the religious leaders' (Peake on Jer. vi 14), that is, of those whom Jeremiah denounced as false prophets (cf. xiv 13 sq.). Quite apart from this, Jeremiah's policy is clearly expressed, his position is politically intelligible, his message is essentially practical: at a time when we have evidence for the panic caused by the Chaldean invasion he advises submission as the only hope (xxi 9, xxxviii 2 sq.). He was justified by the history of Zedekiah's time and by the sequel which proves the pacific character of the Chaldean conquest. The attitude ascribed to Habakkuk, on the other hand, can be read only between the lines and eludes explanation; at a time when there is no evidence for the disturbances described or implied in i sq., he holds out the expectation that the proud oppressors must ultimately succumb, and he comforts his followers with the assurance that the righteous shall live by faith. Consequently, Mr Stonehouse's position seems untenable. In any case the prophet is obviously concerned with the welfare of his own people (cf. p. 33), and the simplest interpretation of i 2-4 finds in these verses a condemnation of the wrong-doing in Judah. Hence it is only in accordance with the thought of Jeremiah that this should be followed by a punishment, and it seems unnecessary to emend (as Mr Stonehouse does) the opening words of v. 6: 'for, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans.' In spite of various obscurities in this verse it is clear from v. 12 that the enemy was 'ordained' for judgement and 'established' for correction. The sequence appears to be perfectly suitable (cf. Zeph. i 4-6 and its sequel), although serious difficulties are at once caused, (a) by the description of the *existing* excesses of the Chaldeans, and (b) by the references to the sufferings, not of Judah, but of the *nations*.

Now the Jewish philosophy of history saw a necessary connexion between sin and suffering—the Chaldean invasion, the fall of Jerusalem, and the exile were inevitable penalties. But Israel was the people of Yahweh, Yahweh was the God of Israel; the punishment could not last for ever, the sin in course of time was worked off (Is. xl 2). Yahweh had indeed been angry with his people; now comes the stage when he is angry because of the excesses of his people's foes. This developement in the history of thought, of great significance for the criticism of the prophetic writings, is clearly formulated in Zech. i 15. After the expiration of the period of punishment when the land had

'paid off' its debts (2 Chron. xxxvi 21), Yahweh, who had aforetime left his city (cf. Ezek. x 18 sq., xi 23), returns again with consolations (cf. *ib.* xliii 4 sq.); in former days he had purposed evil, now he is jealous on behalf of Zion with great jealousy and with great fury (Zech. i 14-17, viii 2, 11, 14). The transition is equally clear in Is. xlvii 6: Yahweh had profaned his inheritance and had given it to strangers (cf. Jer. xii 7), but they had been harsh and merciless; the instruments of his wrath had been boastful and vain-glorious, and the offence of Assyria (Is. x 12 sq., Zeph. ii 15) is now that of 'the daughter of the Chaldeans' (Is. xlvii 7 sq.), and Babylon (*ib.* xiv; with *v.* 8 contrast Hab. ii 17). To this sin of the Chaldeans there are evident references in Hab. i 11 ('whose strength is his god') and 16 ('he sacrificeth unto his net' &c.). The transition may also be elucidated by the figure of the 'cup' of Yahweh's wrath.¹ Placed in the hands of Babylon (Jer. li 7), it could not pass untasted by Yahweh's own people, much less by the nations (Jer. xxv 15 sq., 29). But at length the time comes when the 'cup' drained by Jerusalem will be taken by Yahweh and given to her oppressors (Is. li 17, 22), and thus in Hab. ii 16 'the cup of Yahweh's right hand' is ultimately to be turned to the Chaldeans.

What was a transition in the history of thought becomes a feature of literary compositeness when the condemnation of guilt is at once followed by the condemnation of those who are the instruments of punishment. In Jer. xxv 15 sqq. all the nations are to drink of Yahweh's cup of wrath, but the words in *v.* 26 *b* 'and the king of Sheshach (Babel) after them' are wanting in the LXX, and are a recognized addition. No less obvious is the secondary origin of *vv.* 12-14 which herald the punishment of Babylon after the seventy years of desolation which Judah and the nations must suffer for their sins. Not to multiply examples of this *literary* transition, it may suffice to note the subtle change in Zeph. iii, where the wickedness of Judah (*vv.* 3-7) is followed by the words 'therefore, wait ye for me, saith Yahweh, for the day when I rise up as a witness' (*v.* 8, see Driver *Cent. Bible*). But instead of the idea of Yahweh as a witness against the iniquity of Judah, the *nations* are gathered together to be punished, and we pass on (*vv.* 11 sq.) to the triumph of Zion. The punishment of Judah, intelligible on the lines of the prophecies of Jeremiah, is wanting; and it is replaced, not by the sufferings of a penitent people, but by the still later transition, the punishment of oppressive foes. This feature, in combination with

¹ This subject may be illustrated by the sculpture from Zenjirli (N. Syria) representing two figures (one perhaps a deity) sitting at a table spread with food, and each holding a cup to the mouth. This so-called Ceremonial Feast is widely distributed in N. Syria and Asia Minor in variant forms; see J. Garstang *Land of the Hittites* pp. 100 sq., 164.

others, leads to the view that the small book of Zephaniah seems to have passed through the hands of writers representative of stages of thought which can be understood elsewhere in more organic connexions and in more complete passages (*Ency. Brit.*, art. 'Zephaniah'). And this appears to be true of Habakkuk. There is a certain interconnexion and consecutiveness, but there are changing backgrounds and changing bodies of thought; there is, as often in the biblical narratives, a superficial unity, but closer examination, as in these cases, reveals the presence of different circles of ideas.

The interest of the writers is manifestly in Israel, and the denunciation of evil in Judah (Hab. i 2-4) is quite intelligibly followed by the threatened approach of the agents of Yahweh's wrath. But the text of i 5, 6 has several difficulties, and thus may be connected with the fact that the scene shifts and the *nations* are suffering from the enemy. Mr Stonehouse suggests that an exilic or post-exilic editor 'so altered the text in v. 5 and v. 6 as to make the prophet announce as a future event the appearance of the Chaldean rather than refer to that power as a present evil and scourge within the land' (p. 32). On the alternative view, the later writer has replaced an announcement of impending doom by an account of the evil of the scourge in his own time. Probably the revision of i is more intricate. The iniquity of the enemy is combined with some anticipation of a retribution. Their evil is incompatible with Yahweh's character, and the writer remonstrates. There is no sense of well-merited punishment. Punishment might be a purification (cf. Jer. ix 3-9) and might lead to repentance and a return to Yahweh (cf. Lamentations). But there is a feeling of protest, as though Israel had paid the penalty of sin and now awaited the intervention of Yahweh. It is not, as in Zeph. iii 1 sqq., that Yahweh had proved *his* righteousness, had overthrown nations, but had still to complain of his polluted city. Yahweh has his 'righteous' ones (i 13) and they are suffering unjustly. Yahweh himself is installed in his city—in his holy temple (ii 20); but there is no triumph, no series of glorious promises, no expectation of a new era. Indeed, in ch. iii it is as though his faithful ones must needs call to mind how great had been his deeds in the distant past. There is a note of resignation mingled with quiet confidence—Yahweh is from everlasting, Israel will not die (i 12), and the 'righteous' placed in the midst of affliction and wrong, like the 'afflicted and poor' people in Zeph. iii 12, must persist in their integrity. The righteous shall live by their steadfastness in Yahweh (ii 4). The original message was hardly for the nation or for the Jewish church, but for the pious remnant. We are taken away from any religious or political turmoil of the times of Jeremiah, Habakkuk, or Zephaniah; we are scarcely in Palestine of the sixth or fifth century;

we seem to move in a world of thought upon which light is thrown only by the latest Psalms.

It is not my aim to do more than reassert the compositeness of Hab. i, ii, and the foregoing remarks have perhaps shewn that in dealing with composite literature it is important to determine whether the factors which account for the compositeness of one book account, in some measure at least, for that of another. That is to say, just as we may co-ordinate to a certain extent the component sources of the Pentateuch or of Joshua-Kings, so perhaps we may have to recognize that the internal intricacies of the prophetic writings may be brought into some sort of interrelation by the discovery of a certain similarity in the causes of the complexities. Another point emerges. On the most moderate view, that of Mr Stonehouse, the book of Habakkuk consists of the original prophecy taken up by a later writer (*a*) who re-shaped i 5, 6 *a*, (*b*) a Psalm, iii, has been added, but (*c*) this is expanded with an introduction and a new conclusion; (*d*) ii 20 is a transitional verse, and (*e*) ii 12-14 and 18-19 are later additions. Of course *d* may be associated with *b* and *c*, but obviously we have to admit the presence of a very considerable extent of literary activity, and it would be quite plausible to argue that the factors which account for Mr Stonehouse's analysis account also for the more subtle intricacies which he is not prepared to recognize. In any case it is one of the limitations of literary criticism that the factors which explain the more obvious complexities may have brought changes which are less easily recognizable or which indeed may even be quite immaterial.

On any theory we have to visualize composite records, and unless we endeavour to represent to ourselves their literary history as they have passed through successive hands, sometimes with excision, mutilation, and addition, our criticism is apt to be incomplete. Thus the attempt should be made to visualize the common view that N. Israelite literature was taken over by Judah after 722, and that pre-exilic documents were conveyed to Babylon and brought back to Judah by the exiles who returned. A more complex task is to treat the common critical view of the Pentateuch on these lines: J and E, each with successive additions, a combined J E, the separate literary growth of D, *its* combination with J E, the separate literary growth of P, and *its* combination with J E D. The result should be correlated (approximately) with the growth of the other books. Much of modern criticism seems unreal because of the incompleteness of the work of synthesis. One thing is clear. A composite source comes down to us in the form that the last editor, reviser, or writer gave to it, and familiar as we are with ancient methods of treating the material, we may regard the extant source as bearing his *imprimatur*. Hence, if Genesis shews traces of mutilation, excision,

and revision, it is extremely significant that the last hands have preserved by the side of P the non (or anti)-prophetical narratives of J E. We may be sure that the latter were not preserved for antiquarian purposes, and if they reveal conflicting traditions and conceptions the primary fact is that they *survive*. It is evident also that the elimination of later additions or sources does not necessarily leave the earlier source in its original extent. Thus the omission of the fragmentary acrostic in Nahum leaves the opening of the prophecy incomplete, and the excision of the post-exilic conclusion to Amos still makes the want of *some* conclusion felt. J begins in Gen. ii 4 *b*, but assuredly not the original J, and the recognition that the source was more complete once is an immediate gain, more substantial than any conjecture, whether P in Gen. i 1—ii 3 has preserved or rewritten any of the lost material. So also the fragmentary and older account of the Tent of Meeting in Ex. xxxiii 7—11 presupposes some fuller, more organic narrative, and whether or no P in the preceding chapters preserves in post-exilic form any of the material, it is of the greatest interest to perceive that there was some fairly considerable body of data distinct from P in content and standpoint. Again, Gen. vi 1—4 evidently preserve a fragment of *something* which has no real connexion with its present surroundings and reflects a body of thought organically different from either J or E. Without pursuing this further, I would only say that, to me at least, the phenomena of literary compositeness reveal the existence of a literature and a world of thought of impressive extent.

We have in the Old Testament all that remains of a considerable body of writings differing often in tone and point of view from the literature we regard as 'canonical'. Are we to assume that with the incorporation of, e. g., Ex. xxxiii 7—11, the more complete narrative (or any other copy of it) was lost or destroyed? or may we suppose that there persisted, say in the Persian and Greek ages, writings apart from those preserved in the Old Testament? It is proper to raise the question since the parallels to Gen. vi 1—4, which recur in later and non-canonical literature, can hardly be based upon this passage, but point to the persistence of traditions and thought similar to those represented in the 'canonical' verses. And, in fact, the more one studies the features of the apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and Rabbinical writings, the more necessary it is to regard the Old Testament as all that *survives* from earlier Palestine. As Prof. Bennett has said of the popular mythological references, there was probably 'a literature of the subject, which was partly lost, partly suppressed in the supposed interests of a higher faith' (*Rev. of Theol. and Philos.* v 679). Criticism, then, must take account not only of the Old Testament, but of that larger field which lies immediately behind it.

Every one will doubtless agree that the Old Testament is the result of deliberate and intentional literary activity. It is placed in a historical framework which modern criticism has good reason for questioning. While the early writers had their own perspective of history from the time of Adam to the Samaritan schism in the days of Nehemiah, it is the ultimate aim of modern criticism to place their sacred writings in the larger and profounder history of mankind. As a Roman Catholic writer has recently reminded us: 'Das historische Gesamtbild kann unter dem Einfluss der Tendenz verzeichnet sein, ohne dass die Elemente der Erzählung unwahr sind.'¹ It is one of the aims of historical criticism to reconsider the actual course of events, and to find a framework which shall be more in accordance with modern knowledge. The endeavour has naturally been to preserve as much of the traditional framework as possible, and to determine what elements are genuine and valuable. This has entailed the rejection (for purposes of history) of a very considerable amount of material, which, instead of reappearing in the new synthesis, remains, so to speak, in the wastepaper basket. In not a few cases the knots have been merely cut and new problems remain, as difficult as the old. The weaknesses in the reconstruction of the development of Israelite religion have been pointed out by conservative scholars, who, despite their failure to recognize the necessity of literary and historical criticism, have much right on their side. For example, we may conclude that the fierce and barbarous treatment of the Canaanites by the Israelites is unhistorical, and that we have merely the erroneous or idealized view of the invasion as held by a Deuteronomic writer of the seventh century. The consequence, however, is that our late writer evidently had a standard of religion and morality quite incompatible with higher ideas of the Godhead; see J. Orr *The Problem of the Old Testament* p. 468 sq. As an example of incompleteness in historical criticism I would cite the current treatment of 2 Sam. ii 9-10. The commentators observe that it is very doubtful whether Saul's younger son Ishbosheth could have been forty years of age; and, besides, his reign of two years agrees neither with David's reign of seven and a half, nor with the submission of Israel at the death of Ishbosheth. The verses are accordingly treated as a gloss or insertion, and are placed in the wastepaper-basket with obvious gain to our conception of the course of events. But can the difficulty be so easily removed? Whence the origin of the inconvenient data? They were hardly 'invented' and inserted in order to confuse the narrative; and if we grant that they are deliberate, it is clear that they presuppose some tradition or record of the Saulidae which ran on lines different from the extant sources. And in fact elsewhere there are data which it

¹ A. Allgeier *Doppelberichte in der Genesis* (1911; p. 125).

seems natural to reject simply because they conflict with narratives which appear to be essential to the framework. None the less, it is reasonable to suppose that North Israel might possess traditions of Saul which differed from those in 1 and 2 Samuel, where the North Israelite king is placed in a somewhat unfavourable light.

Proceeding further, we cannot fail to notice that Gen. iv 26 points to a body of thought which, in dating the worship of Yahweh in the time of Enosh, is quite distinct from the 'canonical' perspective according to which the name Yahweh was first made known to Israel by Moses. This body of thought belongs to a circle which evidently has had some share in the literary growth of our Old Testament. Moreover, the Cainite genealogy, like some other fragments preserved in Genesis, belongs to a perspective of the history of man, in which there was no Deluge. It would be futile to guess how such a history ran, but it will be seen that we have to recognize groups of traditions or 'histories' very different from the canonical framework. A more striking feature is the growing recognition of traditions in Genesis of a permanent settlement (see *J. T. S.* xii p. 467 sq.); that is to say, the sojourn in Egypt, and the Exodus, the profoundest event in Israelite national history, found no place among the traditions of some circle or circles of whose literature some fragments have been allowed to survive. Other illustrations could be cited, but perhaps enough has been said to shew that there is room for a more thorough investigation of the fragmentary, isolated, or conflicting data which in some conspicuous cases presuppose forms of tradition and thought quite distinct from those upon which many of our conceptions of Israel are based. It is often feared that literary analysis has been carried too far, that the alleged complexity is too extravagant and incredible; the truth rather seems to be that biblical criticism has not yet reached that stage where the intricacies can be properly handled. It seems highly probable that we should recognize both a literary and a historical compositeness, and this is not unreasonable when we consider the varied elements which made up Israel in, let us say, the age of D and P. Literary criticism, since the work of Wellhausen, has recognized that there were different views of the religious past of Israel; conservative writers justly perceive that religion and history are inextricably interwoven; the stage has yet to be reached where the significance of compositeness and of variant forms of tradition and thought can be thoroughly investigated and more consistently and adequately explained.

It may be objected that this is not to reconstruct the developement of Israelite history and religion. The reply is twofold: the patient and laborious work of Pentateuchal analysis in the past seemed perhaps equally unlikely to throw the light upon the Old Testament that it

actually succeeded in throwing, and anything which tends to bring out the full significance of the Old Testament must inevitably be valuable for the internal history of Palestine and hence for the history of man. Besides, in any endeavour to reconstruct, we have to remember that the old Jewish historians themselves have given us their history, and that criticism has shewn that the material they used has been subordinated to their aim. The Old Testament may accordingly be likened to some Palestinian house built, as is often the case, with stone from mediaeval and ancient ruins. Stones of Byzantine, Roman, and earlier date, and may-be the fragment of an inscribed slab, would tell their tale of methods of building, forms of culture, and their changes. But the material has been deliberately utilized for a house in accordance with the builder's skill and needs. The criticisms of a European architect accustomed to modern improvements would be, from one point of view, entirely irrelevant, owing to his particular point of view, knowledge, and mode of life. From another point of view, this house would continue to gain in interest as more was learned of its history, contents, and surroundings. It still remains a house, whether the material came from a ruined Byzantine church, a Roman villa, or an older gateway.

These one could not reconstruct, though it might ultimately be found that the church must have a house, the villa a bath, and the gateway a wall. Is it not so with the Old Testament? The more we know of the structure of the composite writings the more difficult the task of replacing the *Gesamtbild*, the result of deliberate and careful labour, by another based upon a selection of the material. Finally, we must not forget that the deficiencies which have been found in the Old Testament (whether due to structure or material) are intelligible—and explicable—now that *our* attitude has changed (e. g. as regards Gen. i–xi), and it may well be the case that *our* anxiety to recover the facts of history and the genuine utterances of a prophet is an equally imperfect attitude which is leading up to yet another stage where the value of the Old Testament will be brought immediately home to the great mass of people. That Isaiah was inspired to write the sixty-six chapters which pass under his name is a view which can no longer be held. Literary criticism, whether 'moderate' or 'extreme', holds out intricate analyses ascribing these chapters to a considerable number of writers. Is it not a great gain to our knowledge of the development of mankind to replace a single inspired writer by many men of different dates who heard within them the voice of God, and uttered their messages in the thought and phraseology of their times?

STANLEY A. COOK.

THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH; AN ACCOUNT OF A RECENT CONTROVERSY.

ADOLF HARNACK. *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten.* (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1910.)

The Constitution and Law of the Church in the first two centuries, by ADOLF HARNACK, translated by F. L. POGSON, M.A., edited by H. D. A. MAJOR, M.A., Vice-Principal of Ripon Clergy College (being vol. xxxi of the Crown Theological Library). (Williams & Norgate, London, 1910.)

WHAT is the Catholic Church, and where did it come from? The book that is named at the head of this notice is a contribution by Dr Harnack to the discussion of this ancient, but living, problem. How difficult a question it is to answer in any way that is likely to find acceptance all students of theology know well. The difficulty seems to arise from the particular combination of imagination and fact that must needs find a place in the conception of a thing which claims to be heavenly, supernatural, and yet at the same time enters into the affairs of men in the most concrete way possible. There are two easy paths to a solution and they both arrive at their goal by the same method, by dichotomizing these two elements of imagination and fact. Those who take the one say that the Church is a definite self-contained collection of people, known to everybody by certain signs and common rites; those who take the other say that it is the company of those whom God has chosen, whose number and whose names are known to Him alone. This method, though apparently simple, is extremely difficult to sustain in practice. For the believers in the visibility of the Church may constantly be found passing over almost insensibly into the other point of view, and *vice versa*. Dr Harnack's book is an extremely important one for all who are interested in this problem. It marks a stage in the discussion, and we may be very grateful that it has been made accessible in English. It is translated partly by the late Mr F. L. Pogson, who did such good work in this way, and partly by Mr Major. The translation is very well done, and in this respect the volume compares favourably with many of the larger volumes in the Theological Translation Library. It is right, however, to protest against the meaningless expression 'centre round' (p. 18). The work consists of four sections. (1) Rise and development of the Organization and Law of the Church in the first two centuries; (2) Primitive Christianity and Catholicism; (3) The fundamental Confession of the Church (the Trinitarian formula); (4) History of the use of the word Gospel in the early Church, followed by a detached note on the meaning of 'Word', 'Word of God', 'Word

(Words) of Christ' in the N. T. Of these the first two occupy considerably more than two-thirds of the book. The first section is an enlarged reissue of the article 'Verfassung, kirchliche usw.', in volume xx of Hauck-Herzog's *Realencyclopädie für Theologie und Kirche* (3. Auflage). This article appeared in 1908. In 1909 the Proceedings of the Königlich-Sächsische Gesellschaft für Wissenschaften (Philol.-Histor. Classe, Bd. 27, H. 3) contained an article by the veteran scholar Rudolf Sohm called 'Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus', which was really a strong attack on Harnack's position, while recognizing the great value of his work. In this article Sohm reaffirms, though in a slightly modified form, the view he gave to the world in the first volume of his *Kirchenrecht* (1892), and takes up once more the problem raised at the beginning of this notice, 'for the appearance of the Catholic Church in the course of the second century is the most important occurrence in the whole of Church History.' To it is due not only Catholicism, but also the Reformation, since this is a reaction against the Catholic principle.

But the explanation of its appearance still awaits demonstration. Two facts are clear. (1) Primitive Christianity was not Catholic. This has been shewn by Protestant theologians. (2) Yet Catholicism is a continuation of primitive Christianity, and one which, while it encounters opposition, yet establishes itself with all the ease of a natural development. And so there must have been in primitive Christianity the seed from which Catholicism has sprung. What is it?

The answer of Albrecht Ritschl in *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche* (2. Aufl. 1857), developed with great insight and learning by Harnack, holds the field in Protestant circles. Sohm's version of this view is that Gentile Christianity ('Heidenchristentum') is the source. It was its theological dogmatic character, which was fundamentally incapable of grasping the true nature of the Gospel, as it was seen and preached by Paul not exactly alone, but certainly in a way far in advance of that of the other Apostles. The spiritualized Old Testament was seized upon by the Hellenic element, and so the Glad News was turned into a New Law, and Faith into a Teaching. The Hellenization of the Gospel is Catholicism. On this theory the great fact is that the idea of the New Birth and of Justification by Faith was left on one side. Everything else is result, such as the settling of the true faith through the Apostolic teaching power of the Bishops, and the relaxing of moral demands through the priestly power of the keys. It was not the developement of organization, but Hellenizing transformation of the Gospel, that was the strength of Catholicism. Readers of Harnack will recognize him in this picture, but it will not be surprising if they feel there is an element of caricature. Sohm goes on:—Intellectualism and Moralism are elements in Catholicism, but they are not Catholicism.

For Orthodoxy and 'Aufklärung' have played their part in Protestantism as well. Again, in Puritanism great importance was ascribed to the Old Testament, another 'Catholic' tendency. The truth is that the distinctive mark of Catholicism is to be found in the practical, not in the theological sphere; it is the Infallible Church, i.e. 'Kirchenrecht', whereas the basal idea of Protestantism is freedom. (This one feels bound to point out is not the case with the original Protestants, Luther or Calvin, who, being leaders of a religious movement, naturally appealed to authority.) Sohm's quarrel with Harnack is that although in the third edition of the *Dogmengeschichte* he recognizes his main point, when he says (p. 304 n. 1) the whole essence of Catholicism is to be found in the deification of tradition, yet he has left the rest of his treatment as it stood. Moreover, the prevailing teaching has remained unaffected, cf. v. Schubert's otherwise admirable *Grundzüge* (1909); and Harnack is still unregenerate, witness his article in Hinneberg's *Kultur der Gegenwart* (1906), and the still more recent article in the *Realencyclopädie* (the one here under review). Sohm proceeds to expound his own view as to the true nature of Catholicism. He starts from the distinction familiar to Protestant thought between the Church as a legally organized body ('Kirche im Rechtssinn') and the Church in the religious sense ('Kirche im Sinn des Glaubens'). The one is the product of men, the other the creation of God. It was Luther's discovery that these are to be set sharply over against one another. Calvinism and the 'Aufklärung' between them, however, accustomed the world to the idea, which is now universal, of the Church as a religious society ('Kirchengesellschaft'). The primitive Church is constantly spoken of, as though it shared this view, and stood already at the point of view of the 'Aufklärung', which is absurd. Neither is it true that it was conscious of the opposition between the Church in the religious sense and the Church in the legal sense (Kahl). It knew only the Church in the religious sense. There were no local officials, no locally organized churches, only the Church of Christ. It is always the whole that is present. There are no parts, no communities. The opposition was not clearly seen by Augustine or Wyclif, or anybody indeed before Luther, who discovered it, and proclaimed the invisibility of the Church, no 'verzweifelte Idee', as Harnack asserts, but the mightiest of all that have appeared in all Church History. It is the foundation of Protestantism. Conversely the essence of Catholicism lies just in this fact, that it does not distinguish between the Church in the religious sense and the Church in the legal sense. The Church of Christ is for it a legal organization; the life of Christendom with God is ruled by the Catholic Canon Law. There is only one Christianity on the earth, that which is loyally and legitimately the continuation of the Apostolic Church, which is the

creation of Christ. And then follows a sketch of a view which is recognizably that of the modern Roman Catholic Church, though again with a slight touch of caricature.

It was not to be expected that Harnack would leave such an onslaught, especially one so able, unanswered. The second section of the book that is named at the head of this article, bears the sub-title "Spirit" and Law : a criticism of Rudolf Sohm's *Wesen u. Ursprung des K.* Harnack had already in the introduction to his article in the *Realencyclopädie* paid Sohm the compliment of saying that his theory stood out from all others that were the result of modern historical criticism by its selection of the right starting-point, and by its logical development. He admits that he has learnt much from it. And indeed there are so many points in common that it is not quite easy to see at once wherein the difference lies. Both agree in rejecting the (Roman) Catholic definition of the Church, in affirming its primitive non-Catholic character. It was not Protestant, we have found Sohm maintaining. Harnack in his turn asserts that the Reformed Church 'no longer possesses any connexion with the constitution of the Church of the first and second centuries' (*Verfass.* p. 120). Both agree in recognizing the germs of Catholicism in the primitive community. Sohm claims Harnack as accepting his theory when he says 'the communities not only share the name 'church' (ἐκκλησία) with the general community of God, but every one is a finished picture of the Church as a whole, and indeed its consummation (for the whole is in the part and not merely the part in the whole)' (*Verfass.* p. 35, cf. Sohm, *W. u. U. d. K.* p. 365). But there is really a profound difference. Sohm approaches the entire question from the point of view of a legal theorist rather than from that of the historian of thought, which is the outlook of Harnack. It is natural then that the former should find the explanation of the phenomena in the practical sphere, the latter in the dogmatic. But the difference between them goes further than this. Sohm's theory is made to explain everything, and it does so by the short and easy method of dichotomizing referred to above. He is logical and consistent. All's law or all's love. He commends the compelling logic ('die zwingende Logik') of Luther in utterly giving up the Visible Church. He cannot speak contemptuously enough of Th. Kaftan, for accepting the 'religious' view of the Church in theory, and yet venturing to assert that the legally organized Church is the Body and Organ of Christ. But the truth is that Kaftan's theory is only finding itself tempered by experience of concrete fact, and practical religious need.

Then again, Sohm's slighter grasp of historical perspective is reflected in the way in which he speaks of Catholicism, by which he seems to

mean always the form which it took in the West, and especially that developement which resulted in the modern papal Church, though he does in passing admit that a different state of things is to be found in Greek Catholicism, where there is no 'Statthalter Christi'. Harnack on the other hand points out that if you are going to say that the essence of Catholicism consists in making the actual visible Church regarded as a legal entity equivalent to the Church of Christ, you are bound to ask which Catholicism is meant. For that of the year A. D. 200 cannot be identified with that of the opening years of the twentieth century without qualifications. 'No doubt the same elements are present, but the proportions have changed, and this change of quantity, as always in history, has produced changes which seem to be qualitative, and really are qualitative. For the Catholicism of the period about A. D. 200 it is not true to say that the Church as a legal body was already identified in every respect with the Church in the spiritual sense (this does not apply even to Cyprian)' (*Verfass.* pp. 173, 174). This leads me on to the principal point which Harnack makes against Sohm, which, indeed, the latter is bound to admit, namely, that from the first there was a certain identification of the Church in the spiritual sense with the actual visible Church. The New Testament bristles with the evidence for this, once the origin of the word *ἐκκλησία* is seen. It was pointed out in Cambridge as long ago as 1889 in the lectures of Dr Hort (afterwards published under the title of 'the Christian Ecclesia') that it is really equivalent to *קָהָל*, or God's Israel. That is, as Harnack says: 'They were something more than a body of pupils, or even a synagogue. They were a community called of God, and ruled by the Spirit, i. e. something entirely new, but at the same time a realization of the old ideal.' Sohm seems to acknowledge this, and yet to fail to see its real effect. For the truth is that the early community was composed of individuals who had not simply passed through a private experience of redemption, but conceived of themselves also as under a theocracy, which was being brought to its full developement by Jesus. They were actually the People of God. Harnack has no difficulty in shewing that this involved the possession of powers of jurisdiction by the community over its members, powers for the exercise of which there is plenty of evidence, both in Acts and in the Epistles. And these powers are not used in any apologetic way, or with any other suggestion than that they are the exercise of natural rights inherent in the People of God. Harnack had already in 1902 (*Mission und Ausbreitung* p. 309) given an account of the primitive faith in this matter. He shews there that the Christians in any particular place recognized themselves as an image ('Abbild') of the whole Church of God, and yet were at the same time a Kultverein, a community organized for worship. This Sohm says is

impossible and contradictory (*Wesen und Urspr.* p. 366). But Harnack is able to shew that these two contradictory elements were as a matter of fact present to the primitive consciousness. And just because of this the community exercised the powers of jurisdiction to which I have referred. For what seem like contradictions are inevitable if we are to think adequately of a thing which claims to have both an invisible and a visible existence.

Harnack is not content with shewing the incompatibility of Sohm's view with the ideas of the first age. He prefaces the discussion of the point with an examination of the inevitable consequence of allowing Sohm's initial dichotomy. I give it in his own words. 'It is impossible to see, if we simply eliminate everything earthly from the nature of the Church, how the Church can then be anything but a mere idea, in which each individual Christian in his isolation believes. Even so, this idea may be efficacious and powerful, but this is not a Church, but a *numerus predestinatorum et credentium*, who can have no connexion with one another, and who resemble a number of parallel lines, which meet in infinity and not before.' So far is this from being the case that the social and corporate element is in Christianity no afterthought, but of its very nature, and a thing that enters into the very sublimest conception of the Church (*Verfass.* p. 148). This is so, although the foundation of the Church cannot be proved to have been part of the plan of Jesus. Protestant and Catholic theologians alike have made too much of this. Yet they are substantially right. For it was founded by the Twelve whom He appointed.

I have taken Harnack's controversy with Sohm first, although it does not come first in the book or occupy the largest part of it, because it really has logical priority. If there is no visible Church, in some real way the representative of the invisible, the whole question of organization occupies an entirely different position. Many discussions upon such subjects as Orders, which are really subsidiary, are vitiated, because the different parties have not first faced this fundamental question.

In the enlarged article from the *Realencyclopädie*, the first section of the book, Harnack gives a more thorough account than he has done elsewhere (*Apostellehre, Mission u. Ausbreitung*, &c.) of what can be learned from the documents as to the primitive organization of the Church. It is a masterly and balanced account, agreeing in the main with positions already put forward by him.

It is impossible to go through it in detail. I can only single out points here and there. Section 4 brings out in an admirable way the number of different authorities that existed in the primitive Community, the Twelve, the Spirit, the O. T., the words of the Lord, &c. In speaking of the laying-on of hands, the method of appointment to

the service of the community, the remark occurs: 'The "laying-on of hands" was certainly "sacramental", for what rites, new or old, could help being sacramental in a community which had the Holy Spirit actively working in its midst?' (*Verfass.* p. 20). One thing that stands out clearly is the central position of the Apostles, and the universal character of their authority. This is from the start a make-weight against the 'democratic' and independent tendencies which were also really there.

Harnack's theory as to the relation of the Apostles to the local officials is well known, and is mainly based on the evidence of the *Didache*, and the silence of Ignatius with regard to the Apostolic character of the episcopal office. The Apostle and the prophet are universal in their range, the Bishop (Presbyter) and Deacon are local. The latter could be chosen and appointed by the community (*Did.* xv χειροτονί-σται, &c.). It is possible to doubt, however, whether this passage will bear this weight. The whole question of what is meant by 'charismatic' is extremely hard to settle in such a way as to exclude an Episcopus. Again, it is difficult not to feel that the Bishop is made too much a local official, representing the particular community (*Verfass.* p. 73). Is he (they) not also the representative of the Universal Church to the particular community? That this was the case at a later date is recognized (*Verfass.* p. 86).

Is there not here something in Sohm's objection (*Wesen und Ursprung d. K.* p. 362) when he says that the modern mistake is to begin with the local community, a view which really takes its rise in that of Vitringa (1696), who supposed it to be modelled on the Jewish synagogue? With Heinrici begins the more modern theory of Hellenistic influences, which was maintained by Hatch (whose *Organization* is according to Sohm much too highly praised: 'Das Buch hat eine elegante Form, aber einen durchaus unklaren Inhalt'). Harnack has followed in the same path. The episcopal office on this theory, beginning as a local affair, gradually becomes an office of the universal Church, much in the same way as Churches originally independent gradually federated. This is not quite fair to Harnack, who certainly is far from thinking that the episcopate sprang from imitation of Pagan organizations. But surely a necessary corrective to his general view of the episcopate is found in Sohm's further remark: 'The office-bearers of the local Christianity, Bishops and Deacons, were thereby enrolled among the organs of oecumenical Christianity,' i. e. did not the Bishops stand for the universal Church to their community, as well as for their community to the rest of the Church?

Were there many Bishops or was there one? The outstanding fact is that in the period from Vespasian to Ignatius, with the exception of

the Epistles of Ignatius, there is no *certain* trace of a monarchical Bishop, whereas in the succeeding age, that of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, that office, together with the organization that goes with it, is to be found everywhere in the Church, in Antioch, Rome, Corinth, Greek and Asiatic cities, Crete. The sketch of the developement which follows in Harnack's article would almost inevitably lead one to compare the account with the extremely similar one given by Duchesne, the other authority perhaps most qualified to speak at the present time, in his admirable chapter, 'L'Épiscopat', in his *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* (tom. i), if Harnack had not himself drawn attention to it. He remarks in a footnote to p. 73 that the difference will appear to be 'minimal'; but that it is a real one is shewn by Duchesne's remark that whether the communities had one bishop at their head, or whether they had several, the episcopate gathered up ('recueillait') the Apostolic succession.

The difference lies in the fact that whereas Harnack thinks (with the *Didache* at his back) that at the very beginning the 'bishops' were appointed ('ordained') by the community, Duchesne thinks that they were appointed by the itinerant 'apostles'. The New Testament certainly provides at least as much evidence in support of this view.

With regard to 'Moniscopacy' and its origin Harnack and Duchesne agree very much. As Harnack points out, we lack almost all direct information, and he bids us remember the late Dr Salmon's words: 'If the original constitution of the Church was not the same as in the time of Irenaeus, it must at least have been capable of an inner developement to the later form, and, indeed, in the form of quite gradual changes, called forth by causes universal in their nature.' Does not the adoption of this saying mark the conclusion of the author on a question on which in earlier discussions he had abstained from giving an opinion? (Cf. *Chronologie* i 193 Anm. 3.) Harnack supposes there was from the start a kind of informal monarchy, and Duchesne points out how although there appear to be no traces of 'monarchical' episcopacy in the 'Shepherd', yet we know from the Muratorian Fragment that the author's own brother did as a matter of fact occupy that position at Rome. Altogether it seems most reasonable to suppose that in some way or other 'monarchical' and 'collegiate' episcopacy went on from the beginning side by side in the same community.

Harnack's discussion of the rather fanciful form that the idea of Apostolic Succession took at the end of the second century, i.e. that each of the principal sees had an Apostolic founder, is interesting. He shews that such an idea was natural to those acquainted with Roman law, and with Judaism. But its rise in the Church was not due to these influences. The explanation is rather to be found in such passages as 2 Timothy ii 2. It was a guarantee that the true, i.e.

primitive, faith was preserved. For this connexion with the Twelve is necessary. The stages preparatory to the developed idea of Irenaeus lie far back, and 'the tradition that the apostles had appointed the officials of the Church is partly correct'. There is one remark, however, in this connexion which may fairly be criticized. In speaking (*Verfass.* p. 54) of the difficult passage *ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς* (1 Clem. xlv) Harnack says there is no question here of Apostolic Episcopal succession. This may be true, in a sense; but in face of *καὶ μεταξύ ἐπιμονὴν δεδώκασιν, ὅπως, εἰς κοιμηθῶσιν, διαδέξωνται ἑτέροι δεδοκιμάσμενοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν*, it can hardly be true to say, as he does, that there is no question of succession at all. Whether we read *ἐπιμονὴν* with Lightfoot or *ἐπινομήν* with the MSS and Funk, that point is left untouched.

There is another passage in the letter of Clement, of which Harnack's interpretation is open to question. He speaks (*Verfassung* p. 53) of Clement's comparison of the order of the Christian Church with that of the Old Covenant in the well-known passage 1 Clem. xli as a momentous ('verhängnisvoll') first step, and as something new. He seems to say, too, that this comparison is a fruit of the *πλείονος γνώσεως* spoken of at the end of the section. Both these statements are rather surprising. Surely this allegorical or figurative employment of the events or laws or religious language of the Old Testament in reference to the life of the New People is deeply embedded in the New Testament. It is hardly even original in its application to the particular question of ecclesiastical order. Harnack admits that the beginning of such an application is to be found in 1 Cor. ix 9 and 1 Tim. v 18. 1 Cor. ix 13 is more to the point, and might not Acts i 20 be added? Surely such a step was inevitable for men who could say with the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the Tabernacle'. The whole conception is really implicit in 1 Peter i 9-10 *ὑμεῖς δὲ γένος ἐκλεκτόν*. It is true that in later times the comparison between the Christian priesthood and that of the Jews is treated as though the former were the exact counterpart of the latter, and is conceived of in quite a legalistic way. But is not Clement disclaiming such a view? He treats the Jewish institution as an allegory of the Christian. But this is not introduced as though it were a new discovery of his. Sohm certainly speaks as though it were. Harnack in his *Realencyclopädie* article almost says so, though later in the book (p. 159) he speaks more cautiously of its coming before our notice here for the first time. 'You see, brethren,' Clement says, 'we have been endowed with greater knowledge, so much the more are we exposed to danger.' It is not the pride of the Roman community that is reflected in these words, but the solemn responsibility which the

Christian minister feels at being entrusted with a ministry of a deeper spiritual import than its earlier and in its way true analogue, the priesthood of the Old Covenant. That, I venture to submit, is the true interpretation of these words.

Harnack is in this book, as almost always, so refreshingly free from traditional opinions that one is the more surprised to find him still saying that the use of the designation 'priest' was the 'folgeschwerste' title of the officials, as though it really involved the introduction of a new element (*Verfass.* p. 83). The organization of the Church is often spoken of as though it were primarily a question of government. There is no doubt that from the first, as Harnack makes clear against Sohm, jurisdiction over the moral life of the community was energetically exercised, and in a large measure through its officials, and further that this did result in giving to them a greater importance in the whole working of things. But it is important to realize that the 'matter', so to speak, of their jurisdiction was far more the conduct of public worship and its requirements. And, indeed, the high standard of morals demanded from the community arose very largely from a desire to preserve the holiness of the 'Mysteries'. On this point there is a much larger measure of agreement between the two writers. Sohm supposes that from the first there were two assemblies, one for edification, and one for Eucharistic worship, and that it was this latter which made the officials important. Harnack will not allow that the use of priestly language is mainly to be explained as imitation of the Old Testament, or borrowing from Judaism. [This is interesting, if compared with his remarks on 1 Clement above.] To adduce Gnostic or heathen influence is irrelevant, for 'die grosse Kirche' did not in the second century follow either Gnostic or heathen leaders. The root of the specific ecclesiastical priesthood is much more to be found in those essentially sacrificial ideas which clustered round the Lord's Supper. And these began very early, e.g. 1 Clem. xlv *προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα*, and the use of *θυσία* in the *Didache*. So far Harnack. But the question arises here whether we cannot trace them farther back still. It may be true that the use of the word 'Sacerdos' appears for the first time in Tertullian; but is it not already implicit in St Paul, in 1 Corinth. x 21, where *τράπεζα κυρίου*, a sacrificial quotation from Malachi i 7, is applied to the Eucharist, and definitely used as a practical equivalent for *θυσιαστήριον*?

These are criticisms of details. All students of the subject must needs be grateful for a book which presents the early history of a thorny subject in so passionless a way, and with such a wonderful combination of insight and detachment. In his main controversy with Sohm I feel that Harnack is right. Sohm wishes to cut the knot. But he, too, has done a service; not only, as Harnack implies, by his insistence upon his

theory in such a way that its avoidance of important facts becomes clear, but also because there is a large element of truth in it. It is true in the first place that the idea of the Invisible Church has played and does play a great part in conceptions of the Divine Society, Catholic as well as Protestant. And, secondly, what Sohm calls the 'Legal Church' is really part of the explanation of Catholicism. 'Catholicism', according to Harnack, 'is the preaching of the One God, and the Crucified and Risen Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, carried over into the Hellenic world of thought, and worked out as a philosophical doctrine.' To this, to get completeness, one must add the conception of the Church as a legal body, led by the Episcopate (*Verfass.* p. 184). But surely this idea of the Church as 'Rechtskörper' in Sohm's sense, which Harnack is here adopting, runs right back to the beginning. The episcopally-led Church is just the form that the 'People of God', the 'true Seed of Abraham', took when it came out into the Gentile world. And the announcement of the true *ἐκκλησία* was as much a part of the primitive preaching (taking St Paul as primitive) as the One God or the Crucified and Risen Saviour. Harnack has spoken true words in this book as to the inevitableness of the Catholic developments, the developments which made the Church of A. D. 200 what it was, and took place not only in the sphere of dogma, but also in that of organization. The changes of organization were not afterthoughts patched on, but the growth of an original element; and it is this element which, if it does not account for Catholicism quite as completely as Sohm would have it do, yet has been one of the most essential things in its fibre. It is this Catholic element, which is capable of degradation indeed, and may be crudely emphasized, that nevertheless is one of the sources of the Church's most vigorous life, and this not only in the Roman Catholic communion, and the ancient Churches of the East. It has also remained embedded in the consciousness of those communions in the West which have at various times broken with the Papal government, sometimes even when, as in the case of the bodies founded by Luther and Calvin, a resolute effort was made to cut off the past. For there, too, there are often clear marks of this element, which consists fundamentally in the assertion that the Israel of God is on earth still, working out His plans, possessing and manifesting His revelation, incorporating men in Him, through membership in itself. And the blame for this, if blame there be, is, partly at any rate, to be awarded to the 'canonical' character of the New Testament, in itself a 'note' of the Catholic Church, as Harnack witnesses. For that has involved the acceptance as authoritative of the idea, so prominent there, of the inextricable, though indefinite, connexion between the 'Invisible' and the 'Visible' Church.

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

REVIEWS

STUDIES IN THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

Studies in the Synoptic Problem. By Members of the University of Oxford. Edited by W. SANDAY, D.D. (Clarendon Press, 1911.)

THIS is a notable book. The *prestige* attaches to it of birth in a quarter whence great things are naturally expected, the 'lodgings' of the Oxford Lady Margaret Professor. That the Essays of which it consists are by members of Dr Sanday's well-known 'Seminar' is at once guarantee for that high level of scholarship which is generally maintained.

A distinctive feature of the book is the consciousness of unity which pervades it. As with the contributors to *Lux Mundi* so with these seven essayists, their bond of union is close. They illustrate a diversity of view and standpoint; they exercise the right of independent judgement; wherever (as is often the case) they agree it is with an agreement that does not go beyond 'the natural unforced convergence of individual minds'; none the less do they make it evident that they have gone hand in hand in their work. An impression is—perhaps deliberately—conveyed by them that their 'joint volume' is, in large measure, the outcome of unrestrained preliminary debate among themselves—'over the table'. It is put forth with a modest claim: if these fellow-students have brought their studies to a head it is but 'provisionally'; 'in the same tentative manner' they 'give them to the world'. Their joint gift is a book which leaps into the front rank of Synoptic literature. Obviously its primary appeal is to the 'Fachmann', though if we leave technicalities on one side there is a large remainder which should be of fascinating interest for the ordinary instructed reader.

As, however, we have to deal with Essays practically fourteen in number, and packed with the *minutiae* of Synoptic research, I shall confine myself almost exclusively to the by no means easy but comparatively unambitious task of outlining their contents.

Dr Sanday naturally leads the way with an Essay which, with graceful allusion to the 'senior member' of the company, he speaks of as 'a sort of hors-d'œuvre'. Though there is a significant 'perhaps' to qualify his admission that Q was already known to Mark, his acceptance of the Two-Documents hypothesis, as broadly sketched, is whole-hearted; he accentuates the real difficulty of the Synoptic Problem. A detailed examination of the phenomena of difference between the Synoptics is followed by a survey in two sections, luminous and suggestive, of the conditions under which the Synoptic Gospels were written. 'We are

apt to think of the writers as though they were simply transcribing the documents which lay before them'; but that, says Dr Sanday, was 'not the way in which they thought of themselves'. No mere copyists, they are consciously historians—if 'belonging to a naïve and not very highly developed literary type'; their purpose, in part homiletic, is embodied in historical form, as a rule they leave the story to have its own effect; 'in the net result the Evangelists come out as very human, not as actuated by the Machiavellian motives which at one time it was the fashion to attribute to them, as neither pedants nor yet wantonly careless, influenced a little by their wishes and feelings, but not to such an extent as seriously to affect their credit'. Turning from psychological to external conditions Dr Sanday dilates on the writing and the use of books in ancient times; with graphic description of the 'process involved in the construction of a narrative on the basis of older material', he finds much to account for a set of phenomena of difference which 'might be described in homely phrases as just so many "slips between the cup and the lip"'. The idea of an *Ur-Matthæus* being rejected, he avows a belief that 'by far the greater number of the coincidences of Mt. Lk. against Mk. are due to the use by Mt. Lk. . . . of a *recension of the text of Mk. different from that from which all the extant MSS of the Gospel are descended*'. His solution of the 'little puzzle' about the omission by Luke of the contents of Mk. vi 45–viii 26, ingeniously supported by remarks on the average length of papyrus rolls, is, briefly, this: Luke, pressed for space, felt obliged to economize his materials. For similar reasons I leave much unsaid of an Essay which abounds in good things. The suggestions offered are attractive for other reasons than the mere fact of the simplicity claimed for them. It is permissible to add that where Dr Sanday sees an open road a 'No Thoroughfare' is sometimes read by others.

Next comes that veteran of Synoptic research, Sir John Hawkins, with two Essays which, extending over more than a hundred pages of closely reasoned argument, are alike in testifying to the critical acumen and ripe scholarship of their distinguished author. In Essay ii three limitations to the use by Luke of the Marcan Gospel are exhaustively discussed under separate headings, and it goes without saying that in each case facts are stated with precision and weighed in the balances of a robust and sober judgment. Turning first to the general conclusion, 'Narrative suggestiveness', I observe, in the first place, that in the case of St Luke, Mark is the source Lk. ii 32–viii 14 was drawn up on complete independence of the Marcan source—except so far as 'omissions or additions due to the evangelist's own personal views' have lingered' in Luke's mind. A page or two later a most accurate summary follows as to the use of Mark by the other two Synoptic Evangelists.

That resort was had to the 'great *Spruchsammlung*' is held probable—with a single exception there is 'really no part of the great interpolation which does not either consist of or else lead up to sayings of Jesus'. Two interesting conjectures are offered; it may be that Luke turned to some 'travel-document' which, previously arranged by him, was actually to hand; perhaps he had 'other guidance at first hand'—if so one of 'the Seventy' may have been his informant. The question next discussed is the Great Omission: stress is laid on the absence of 'any appreciable linguistic difference between this one-ninth part of our Mark and the remaining eight-ninths'; this is a sufficient objection to the theory that the section was not yet inserted in the Mark which Luke used; the truth may lie in a combination of the two hypotheses of accident and intention; in any case Luke was at least not indisposed to pass over the varied matter of the section as unsuited to his Gospel. To come to the third division of the Essay: it is deemed clear that Mark's Passion-narrative, not indeed entirely deserted, is employed by the Third Evangelist with unusual and remarkable freedom; the hypothesis is then elaborated that, inasmuch as the story of the Crucifixion must have had an intense interest for Christians of the Pauline type, the Lucan Passion-narrative is very largely due to Luke himself; the 'fellow-worker' of St Paul's allusion (Philem. 24), he draws on still vivid memories of the essence of his own past teaching. The hypothesis just instanced is, no doubt, tempting; plausible as it is, it is not entirely convincing. As for the middle section of this 'three-pronged' Essay, it grapples in masterly fashion with a knotty point. Perhaps I am not far wrong in pointing to the illuminating discussion of the 'long interpolation' as to some extent novel in its suggestions, and of special weight.

In Essay iii Sir John Hawkins approaches the vexed question of the scope and nature of that second foundation-source of the Synoptic literature which, if the phrase 'Double Tradition' be used for a moment at the outset, is otherwise designated by the familiar symbol Q. Expressly connecting it with the work alluded to by Papias as the *Λόγια* of Matthew—whom all endeavour fails to identify with the First Evangelist—and holding that its use, in complete distinctness from one another, by the two later Synoptists is an assumption next door to an established result, Sir John Hawkins engages in a search for whatever parallel passages in the First and Third Gospels may be assigned with some degree of confidence to a document which apparently owed its existence to one whose leading purpose was to collect and to preserve sayings and discourses of Jesus. In short, what we have in this Essay is another, and a brilliant, attempt at reconstruction which, while decisive that Q is not the 'täuschendes Nebelbild' of incredulity,

still leaves the impression that, failing some unlikely discovery, Q, in respect of exact compass and precise nature, is destined to remain an unknown quantity.

The impression does not lose in strength as I follow Mr Streeter through his three entirely admirable contributions on the like subject. In Essay iv he discourses on the original order of Q; from 'an attempt to shew that the very diverse order in which the Q sections appear in Mt. and Lk. is no objection to the theory that the bulk of them was derived from a single written source' he proceeds with measured tread and intent scrutiny of phenomena to advance conclusions. For reasons specified he parts company from Harnack; his own mind is, it would appear, made up: if it be at all possible to get back to the original order of Q, Luke, not Matthew, must serve as guide. To pass on to Essay v; there is no 'perhaps' of hesitation when, now joining hands with Harnack, Mr Streeter adduces cumulative evidence which, 'irresistible', places it beyond all reasonable doubt that Q was not only known to but occasionally quoted from—if only from memory—by the Second Evangelist when seeking, not to supersede Q, but to supply a demand by supplementing Q with biographical matter. In accord with, perhaps, the majority of scholars (a dissentient voice is raised in a subsequent Essay) in rejecting the idea that the long discourse, Mk. xiii, was derived from Q—even if there be a few reminiscences of Q embodied in it—he is content to regard it as a Christian Apocalypse; pseudonymously put into the mouth of Jesus it perhaps contains a few genuine utterances of our Lord; for the version contained in Mt. xxv the First Evangelist is dependent on Mark. I turn to Essay vi. It deals with the original extent of Q, and is one more attempt, 'admittedly highly speculative', to ascertain whether any passages peculiar to Mt. or Lk. can be referred to Q. Having shewn the impossibility of identifying more than two-thirds of a supposed lost Mk., Mr Streeter starts from the cautiously worded inference that 'the passages we can identify as Q by the fact that Mt. and Lk. reproduce them ~~may~~ possibly represent only about two-thirds of the total original matter in the assumed lost document'. In his general conclusions he is, to some extent, in company with Sir John Hawkins: the 'great interpolation' of the Third Evangelist as we are told in effect, based on two main sources, the one Q, the other comprising matter which, peculiar to Lk., may perhaps have been collected by Luke himself. Excluding (in the next Essay) to think it strange 'that the earliest "Gospel" should have told nothing of the Master's death', while here admitting a possibility 'that the version of Q which reached St. Luke had been already expanded to include an account of the Passion', Mr Streeter once more asks us to picture the process as he thinks took place in the document and tells the story in

his own words—doubtless as he had often and often told it before to listening pupils'. Two differently expanded versions of the original Q are suggested: 'it would seem natural to refer most of the sayings and parables peculiar to Matthew' to the one 'current in the Church where Matthew worked'. Taking it as a whole the Essay is so good a piece of work that I scarcely care to pause on a matter of such relatively small importance as the fact that, in offering an alternative explanation of the Rebellious Citizens, Mr Streeter is not alone in instancing 'a well-known incident in the life of Archelaus'.

Essays vii and viii are from the same capable and graphic pen. It is effectively employed, to begin with, when, treating of the evolution of the Gospel writings, Mr Streeter, with terse and penetrating analysis, depicts the circumstances, conditions, and needs of three successive periods in the history of the primitive Church. For him the Q of critical investigation is precisely the sort of work to be expected in the Apostolic Age, 'perfectly intelligible as a document written to *supplement* the living tradition of a generation which had known Christ'. A parallel being found in the *Speculum* written by companions of St Francis, the tempting guess is made that 'Q was written by companions of our Lord, and chiefly by that Matthew' whose name attached itself in course of time to our First Gospel. The second stage gave birth to Mk.; the scene is no longer Palestine but Rome, changes have come about, hence the sharp contrast to Q presented by a Gospel composed 'to supplement, but not to supersede, Q, or some deposit of material very like Q'. Products of the third stage, the two later Synoptics are more ambitious in their aim. Revealing the individuality of their respective authors, and originating in very different atmospheres, they are diverse in purpose and in point of view. It goes against the grain to take exception to the tenor of some closing words—not by any means those which point to the two later Evangelists as 'great though perhaps unconscious artists' who (I drop the qualification) 'idealize the picture'. What I regret is the manner of the allusion to our earliest Gospel with its priceless 'first impressions' of the life of Christ:—'Who does not feel', asks Mr Streeter, 'that St Mark is the (Gospel) we could best spare?'

In Essay viii—'A suggestion', it covers less than three pages—Mr Streeter throws down the gauntlet to critics who dismiss the story of our Lord's trial before Herod as a legendary accretion; and on the general question he has Johannes Weiss with him: 'geschichtlich ist gegen das Zwischenstück im ganzen nichts Ernsthaftes einzuwenden.'

We know what to anticipate in the next Essay. United with his colleagues on the main fact that Mt. and Lk. have edited and enlarged the Second Gospel, Archdeacon Allen is more than dubious in regard to the 'alleged discourse source' indicated by the 'colourless symbol

Q'; it might perhaps be said of him—as of another essayist—that he is content to drive a lone furrow. In his criticisms of Harnack's reconstruction he is searching and acute; he goes on to submit the text (with summary of contents and characteristics) of a reconstruction of his own which is based on 'the principle that the sayings in Mt., when put together, present us with a homogeneous, consistent, and intelligible', if only fragmentary, work. In his view, this, a book of sayings uniform in its phraseology and distinctive in its theology, was a source for the First Evangelist; if Luke had any acquaintance with this source it was only indirect. That his main contention is worked out and supported with a wealth of learning need scarcely be said; some weight, I think, attaches to his argument when, with a reminder that a Mk. reconstructed out of Mt. and Lk. would be very unlike our Mk., he urges that 'this fact alone shews how precarious is the method of reconstructing a common source out of the First and Third Gospels on the ground of agreements in language'; there is something to be said for the assertion: 'similarity of language does not always prove identity of source.' In the net result, however, I am left with the feeling that, if the Two-Documents hypothesis be not as yet an established result of criticism, it rests on stronger ground than the essayist will allow.

It needs but a glance at Essay x to see that Mr Allen will not narrow down the Synoptic Problem after Wernle's fashion. First comes a brief notice of differences of opinion relative to the current language of Palestine at the time of Christ; then a historical survey of linguistic conditions which, bristling with facts which 'seem to be probable', extends from the period of the Exile up to and into the Christian era. An age is thus reached when, so it would appear, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek were alike used for literary purposes. Hebrew, however, being but rarely used in social intercourse, the popular language was Aramaic, while any intelligent Jew could readily acquire such a smattering of Greek as would suffice for ordinary conversation. A double question raised by the three Greek Gospels is then precisely stated: Was Greek their original language, and are they based on Greek sources?—and apart from the question of the language of the first Gospel writings: Did Christ speak in Aramaic, or in Greek? The two distinct questions are discussed with nice scrutiny of detail; confidence goes hand in hand with caution as a field is traversed in which the writer is, admittedly, on familiar ground. Inasmuch as none but experts can safely follow him the wiser course is to give the sum and the substance of general conclusions in his own words: 'If the earliest Gospel documents, the Second Gospel, and Matthew's collection of discourses, were written in Aramaic, there is a presumption that that is the language which Christ habitually used.' A valuable note is appended; in its

first section the phrase $\delta \nu\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon$ is the subject of enquiry ; the second deals with arguments on the ground of language that Christ could not have used the phrase 'my Father' in any exclusive sense.

Essay xi 'is of the nature of a "minority report"'. Its author, Dr Vernon Bartlet, has the courage of his convictions. Present in his mind for some years in germ, they have gradually shaped themselves into a theory which, now firmly held, is skilfully unfolded and strenuously advocated. As for the Two-Document hypothesis, it is promptly rejected. That our Mk. was a main source used by the later Synoptists is, of course, affirmed ; but then Dr Bartlet strikes out on his own lines. In qualified agreement with Archdeacon Allen and with upholders of the Oral hypothesis he avows an inability to see 'that the common use of a second document, whether by Matthew and Luke alone or by Mark also, is probable', and puts forward—as 'possibly affording the principles of an *eirenicon*' between the two schools—what is 'primarily a sort of "Two-Document" theory' of a Gospel consciously written on the lines of the Greek Bible, viz. the Third Synoptic. Instancing phenomena which 'suggest the presence in various parts of Luke of a source parallel with Mark even in sections which at first sight appear dependent on Mark alone' he proceeds to lay brick on brick of argument until his theory is the finished structure. The source conjectured by him is held to represent, like Mark, 'the form which the common apostolic tradition assumed in the memory and teaching of some oral evangelist of the first generation'; the Q material of Luke (Q L) being different in form from that utilized by the First Evangelist. With the presumption that a large part of the special source (S) lay before Luke already unified in tradition with his Q material (Q L), and the question being of the exact form in which it came to the Evangelist, the contention then is that it lay before the latter in written shape : its 'homogeneity too great to be the product even of a single circle of tradition', it 'bears the impress of a single and unifying mind, other than and prior to that of Luke himself, though one congenial to his own'. 'We can best conceive of S', continues Dr Bartlet, 'as *the tradition collected in a single Judæo-Christian mind*, embodying the common apostolic tradition (Q) along with other elements peculiar to its own personal information, and as probably written down by Luke himself more or less in the language of this "minister of the word" as he responded to Luke's special enquiries' (Lk. i 2 f). Thus S was a peculiar sort of written memoirs elicited by our Third Evangelist *ad hoc*, not immediately for the literary purpose to which he finally put it, but rather as a permanent record of the most authentic tradition to which it had been his lot to obtain access, for use in his own work as an evangelist or catechist of the oral Gospel. The case standing thus,

answers to further queries, we are told, are not far to seek ; there is little doubt that Luke made his enquiries and wrote down his 'special source'—'possibly, too, any other traditions that he may have worked up later along with it in his Gospel'—during the leisure of his stay at Caesarea with Paul. He would assuredly turn to one who, not indeed eyewitness of our Lord's last days in Jerusalem, would have just the perspective which the 'special source' suggests, Philip the Evangelist. If, as appears likely, it contained detached but vivid stories of earlier Galilean days, they may have come to Luke, through Philip, from the Apostle John.

The Essay is unquestionably a strong piece of work from a sturdily independent and well-stored mind. Dr Bartlet has tested Luke's narrative ; he has tested his own theory to his own satisfaction ; whether, rigidly tested by others, it will prove resistless in its strength is quite another matter. That, in respect of some leading features, he, withal in a minority, can find himself in right good company is duly noted : the question arises whether every objection is robbed of validity, whether there be not now and again a good deal to be said on the other side. I must confess that his use of the symbol Q is a trifle irritating—he is, by the way, 'not convinced that there ever was a written "book of discourses" that has perished'. He leaves me unpersuaded that in Lk. i 1-4 there is no necessary suggestion of the use of written sources at all. To touch on a matter here of altogether subsidiary importance, it is surely precarious to identify the 'beloved disciple' of Jn. xix 26 f with the Apostle John. But he is amply justified in dwelling on some real merits of his carefully worked out theory ; and that he appears to have made out a case for the Palestinian origin of the Lucan 'memoirs' should be added to the list.

It was an altogether happy thought which led to the inclusion of the learned, uncompromising, and reassuring Essay by Mr Addis. Indicating guiding principles of Gospel study accepted by his colleagues in their work, he takes us, so to speak, 'behind the scenes' ; his words are well calculated to dispel obscurantist forebodings as to what may befall the Gospel records when subjected to precisely the same inexorable tests as those which are brought to bear on the Old Testament. Mr Addis will have it understood that, while the principles of criticism must, if valid, be applied without fear or favour, the results are bound to vary with the subject-matter—'just as the same acid produces different effects when applied to different colours'. Alike as composite works, the Hexateuch and the Synoptics are yet in sharp contrast. To seize on one point only : six centuries may have intervened between Moses and the earliest records of his life accessible to us ; in the case of our Lord there is a narrative committed to writing within a generation after His

death. 'Our real knowledge of Hebrew history begins with the Judges'—hence our knowledge of Moses is limited. Immeasurably superior are the authorities for the life and words of our Lord.

Mr Addis would, it appears to me, be meeting a real need were he to issue the substance of Essay xii in a form adapted to wider circles.

In the opening sentences of Essay xiii there seems to be a point of contact with the closing words of its immediate predecessor. It is true, no doubt, that, as Mr Addis has remarked, 'our authorities for our Lord's life and words transcend immeasurably our authorities for the life and work of Moses.' But this, highly satisfactory as far as it goes, is not enough. The problem must needs be faced: To what extent are our comparatively very early authorities trustworthy sources for the life of our Lord? Mr Williams is thoroughly alive to the momentous issues involved; but, very wisely, he limits himself to a systematic examination of one definite theory of the origin of our Second Gospel. I have nothing but praise for his perspicuous summary of Wendling's *Dreischichtshypothese*. He does much to demolish a structure reared on arguments which, however brilliant and sincere in purpose, are often inconclusive. In his criticism of Wendling he is also constructive, and passes from negative to positive results. Briefly, his results are these: chs. vi 45–viii 26 were absent from the original Mark (*a*); next came (*b*) a recension (the form used by Luke) in which ch. xiii had been inserted—the theory of a Jewish or Jewish-Christian Apocalypse, by the way, is not at all to Mr Williams's mind; a third recension (*c*) was our Second Gospel (the form used by Matthew) as it stands. 'It is possible', adds Mr Williams, 'that (*b*) and (*c*) may be second and third editions of the Gospel published in his later years by St Mark himself'. We are not expressly told 'exactly how much St Mark's authority is worth'; but, rightly making room for qualifying allusions to 'a time when the living memory of eyewitnesses had almost died out', Mr Williams leads us to infer that it is worth a great deal.

My attention arrested by some significant words in Essay vii (e.g. 'The so-called "Second Coming" would be a first coming *as Christ*') I had then and there indulged in a rapid glance at the Appendix; it is now reached in due course. Short, strictly limited in scope, perhaps not always original, to all intents and purposes an additional Essay, it is, I think, a real contribution to the Eschatological Problem from the same pen. Remarking that 'the gradual evolution of Christian eschatology in the writings of St Paul and St John is a commonplace to all students of the New Testament', Mr Streeter proceeds to unfold his thesis: with the critical recognition of the priority of Q to Mark and of Mark to Matthew, it is now 'clear that there was taking place in other circles during the same period *an evolution in the contrary direction*'.

True that 'language of a definitely Apocalyptic type is already present in Q', but in the main it is vague and undefined ; the transitional stage is reached with Mark ; ch. xiii—in which but very few genuine utterances of our Lord are embodied—dominates the eschatology of the Second Gospel, and, through Mark, that of the later Synoptics ; as for the First Evangelist, he 'not only heightens the Apocalyptic effect of the materials before him, he also has a tendency to omit sayings inconsistent with the view of the Kingdom as entirely future and catastrophic' ; 'in the series Q, Mark, Matthew, there is a steady developement in the direction of emphasizing, making more definite, and even creating, sayings of our Lord of the catastrophic Apocalyptic type, and of thrusting more and more into the background the sayings of a contrary tenor'. The process conceivably began at an even earlier date, 'even before Q crystallized the tradition into writing', but it 'was not allowed to go on unchecked. Two great religious geniuses, St Paul and the author of the Fourth Gospel, stemmed the tide, and by a counter-evolution brought back the Church to profounder and more spiritual conceptions'. Not by any means that the Apocalyptic element can be entirely eliminated from the authentic teaching of our Lord : 'Jewish Apocalyptic, albeit bizarre to modern eyes, was no ignoble thing' ; 'it is too great a paradox to maintain that what was so central in the belief of the primitive Church was not present, at least in germ, in what the Master taught'. The 'at least', I take it, is deliberately suggestive of concession ; the question remains then : how far must inevitable concession go ? To fall back on borrowed and adapted words, if only a very few eschatological sayings can be attributed with certainty to our Lord they surely go some way to guarantee others of a similar nature.

The end of the 'joint volume' reached, and reverting, for a moment only, to its opening pages, I observe that, a rare occurrence, it goes forth with a criticism of itself. In the chapter headed 'Introductory' Dr Sanday himself reviews the Essays *seriatim*, and, with enviable ease of style and manner, says exactly what he thinks of their several contents. It has now this comfort for me that, in respect of some of the impressions set down after a first perusal, I seem not altogether at variance with Dr Sanday. I would simply add that these Oxford Essayists give us of their very best. Their book will be cordially welcomed. They deserve, and will receive, ungrudging thanks.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

THE GOSPELS AS HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

The Gospels as Historical Documents. Part II. *The Synoptic Gospels*, by V. H. STANTON, D.D. (University Press, Cambridge, 1909.)

It would be impossible to overestimate the value of this book as a contribution to the study of the Synoptic Problem, or to do justice to it in a short review. I can only state, and attempt to examine, one or two of Dr Stanton's conclusions.

The Gospel of St Mark, Dr Stanton holds, is the main source of the other two Synoptic Gospels, but while Luke used it 'approximately, if not exactly, in the form in which it proceeded from the hand of St Mark', Matthew used a later and expanded form, 'which is very nearly that of our St Mark' (p. 203). This conclusion as to the extent of the original Marcan document is the result of a detailed examination of the passages of St Mark omitted by Luke. The majority of these, according to Dr Stanton, represent later additions to the original Gospel. What he says of 'the great omission' (Mark vi 45-viii 26) is especially interesting in relation to the recently published essay of Sir John Hawkins in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, in which the same subject is treated and the originality of the whole section in St Mark is maintained. The whole of this section of St Mark, except vii 32-37 and viii 22-36 (two miracles, in which material means of healing are employed), occurs in Matt. xiv 22-xvi 12, in the same order and obviously drawn from St Mark. On the other hand, with the exception of one, or possibly two sayings, which occur in different contexts (Mark viii 15, Luke xii 1, Mark vii 1, Luke xi 38), the whole section is missing from Luke. Dr Stanton urges that Mark vii 24-31 (visit to Tyre and Sidon), vii 32-37, viii 22-34 (the two miracles of healing), and viii 11-13, 15 (the Pharisees' demand for a sign), form part of the original Mark and were intentionally omitted by Luke because, for various reasons, they seemed to him unsuitable for narration. The remainder of the section, however, did not form part of the copy of Mark used by Luke. But, on the assumption that these other sections formed part of the original document, equally cogent reasons, of a similar kind, could be given in almost every case to account for their omission. In vi 45-52 there is the statement that our Lord wished to pass the disciples by, but did not do so, and a reference to the hardness of heart of the disciples: moreover, the passage might be omitted as liable to a docetic interpretation. In viii 14-21 the disciples are censured for their failure to understand the Lord's words in reference to the leaven of the Pharisees: vii 1-23 is Judaic and anti-Pharisaic and of no particular interest to Gentile readers. The feeding of the four thousand (viii 1-10) is probably a doublet of the

feeding of the five thousand which Luke has already narrated. In the preservation of Mark of this twofold account of the same incident, Dr Stanton sees the hand of a later editor who did not realize that the second account was only a variant tradition (p. 150); but unless there are other strong reasons for supposing that numerous additions were made in this way in the original Aramaic document, it is just as possible that the error if it be an error was Mark's as that it was a later editor's. It is of course true that in this section the Aramaic account is confused and that the sequence of events is difficult to follow; by removing certain sections, as Dr Stanton does, the narrative becomes clearer. But this is not the only place in which Mark is difficult to follow, and the difficulty here may be one of the reasons why Luke omits. But to argue from probabilities in this way is a little unsatisfactory: such arguments can usually, as here, be used with almost equal force to support completely different conclusions. Sir John Hawkins carefully examines the linguistic characteristics of this section, and these, as he says, 'seem sufficient to establish a moral certainty that this part of Mark was drawn up by the same author or editor as the rest of the Gospel'. Dr Stanton thinks that the linguistic evidence does not *convinced* but *confirms in some degree* his theory (pp. 159 and 204 ff); but the *balance of probability* seems strongly in favour of Sir John Hawkins on this point. Admitting this, there is one other fact which, taken by itself, may not have much evidential value, but is important as *supporting the conclusion* arrived at on linguistic grounds. In Mark the *second section* begins and ends with Bethsaida: *after* the feeding of the five thousand, the disciples cross the lake in the direction of Bethsaida, and, just before the visit to the villages of Caesarea Philippi, *our Lord* heals a blind man at Bethsaida. Now Luke passes straight from the feeding of the five thousand to the confession of Peter, but he *places the feeding* at Bethsaida (ix 10). It is difficult not to see in this *insertion of Bethsaida* an anticipation of Mark viii 22 and a proof that Luke had the whole section of Mark before him and intentionally omits it.

In connexion with his theory of an expanded Mark, Dr Stanton urges one other point. Some of the added sections are of a Logian character (iii 22-30, the Beelzebul section; ix 41-50, sayings about offences; x 2-12, question about marriage). Similar sayings in different forms are also found in Matthew and Luke where they are taken from Q. These, Dr Stanton urges, look like additions to Mark ultimately derived from the Aramaic Logia, and inserted at a later time when Greek translations of the Logia were being made for the use of the Greek-speaking churches, though the medium through which they came to the later editor of Mark was not that same Greek Logian document which

Matthew and Luke used. B. Weiss's theory that Mark himself used Q is briefly discussed and somewhat abruptly dismissed (pp. 109-111), considering the amount of favour which this theory seems to be receiving (cf. Mr B. H. Streeter's essay in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*).

There is a valuable note on Mark xiii (pp. 115-121). This Dr Stanton regards as a Jewish Christian apocalypse, written in Palestine, possibly in Greek, somewhere about the year 60, and incorporated by Mark in his Gospel. 'There is not in Mark any other account of a discourse which in length and form resembles this one. There is no other which, like this, is an articulated whole with clearly marked and yet connected divisions. . . . From these peculiarities, both as to the extent and structure of this discourse, apart altogether from the nature of its contents, we may fairly conclude that it had a history different from that of other reports of Christ's teaching embedded in this Gospel. It is also improbable that its form is due to the evangelist himself, since he plainly has not in any instance sought to construct a regular discourse out of different traditions or by any other means. The piece must in all probability have come to his hands as a separate, written composition' (p. 115). It is pointed out that the subject-matter of the discourse, with its warnings of false Christs, its prophecy of the persecutions which awaited Christians,¹ and the Parousia passage in which 'Son of Man' is used in a characteristically Christian sense,—would suggest a Christian intention for the apocalypse and 'leave little room for the supposition of a purely Jewish groundwork'. Starting from the sayings preserved also in Matt. x the author writes the apocalypse in the light of his Jewish conceptions and amplifies it with expressions familiar to him through Jewish writings, and in full accord with the 'apocalyptic idea' he represents the whole discourse as addressed to four specially chosen disciples.

A word must be said as to Dr. Stanton's view of the origin and extent of Q. He shews how an Aramaic collection of the sayings of our Lord, such as is presupposed by Q, would naturally be made in Palestine and at an early date, and how, in the Greek-speaking churches, where the converts were not familiar with the events of the life of our Lord and the implications of the primitive creed that He was Messiah would be meaningless, a different kind of Gospel, such as that of St Mark, would

¹ It is so closely parallel in language to Matt. x 17-22 that it must come ultimately from the same documentary source, the assumption being that Matthew placed it in a Mission Charge, and the writer of this apocalypse in a discourse which he represents our Lord as giving to His disciples, near the end of the ministry, regarding the future. But the Mission Charge in Matt. x is highly composite, and perhaps it is more probable that Matthew took verses 17-22 from Mark xiii in anticipation (cf. Matt. xviii 3 f and Mark x 15), and therefore omitted them later on when he incorporated Mark xiii.

naturally first be required; and also, how, when later on it became necessary to transmit to the Greek-speaking churches some account of the Lord's teaching, the most natural method would be to translate the Aramaic Logia: the beginning of this process of translation, to which Papias refers, 'marks a new era in the transmission of Christ's teaching to the Greek world' (p. 68).

In his attempted reconstruction of Q, Dr Stanton adopts a method which is more scientific than that of Harnack in his *Sayings of Jesus*. An examination of the different ways in which Matthew and Luke use their Marcan source shews that while Luke modifies the language and improves the style of his source much more than Matthew does, he much more accurately reproduces the Marcan order and arrangement than does Matthew, who likes to group together incidents of a similar kind. It is reasonable to suppose that the two evangelists would treat their second source in very much the same way as they treat Mark, and therefore to assume that the original order of Q is better preserved in Luke than in Matthew. Dr Stanton concludes that though Luke may have made some slight transpositions in the contexts of Q to connect additional matter with it more conveniently, with these exceptions there are 'no good grounds for thinking he has changed the order' (p. 76).

But, while accepting to this extent the 'two document' theory, Dr Stanton is led by his examination of the material peculiar to Matthew and Luke to an important modification of it in a direction in which it is not likely that many critics will follow him. Just as he cannot suppose that Luke would deliberately omit large parts of his Marcan source, so he cannot suppose that Matthew would omit large parts of his second source (p. 227); and because there are, as he points out (pp. 228-229), good grounds for thinking that much of the material peculiar to Luke, especially in the two 'insertions', was derived from his second source, it would follow that these sections, though included in the Lucan source, were not included in Matthew's source. Luke, in fact, used an expanded version of Q. Throughout the Gospel, and especially in his account of the Passion and of the Resurrection appearances, he has added material drawn from oral tradition, and in chaps. i-ii he has probably used a third written source (p. 240); but, with these exceptions, this expanded form of Q 'has supplied the greater part of the non-Markan matter' in the Gospel. 'With a copy of the latter [i.e. of Q] as a foundation, a good deal of other matter was embodied, somewhere in Palestine. . . . The additional matter may have been derived to some extent from the Aramaic collection of Logia, which had not been fully rendered before' (i.e. presumably, in the non-expanded version of Q). 'But besides this it comprises many parables, which corresponded . . . with Aramaic originals, but which had been told orally and in greater or

less degree shaped anew, before they were committed to writing. Some of the few incidents added may also have been first current as traditions in the community where the document was produced' (p. 239). Similarly Dr Stanton contends that Matthew's version of Q contained some sections which were not included in Luke's version, e. g. the contrast between the Jewish and the Christian interpretations of the Law in Matt. v 17-48 and vi 1-8, 16-18. He is probably right in maintaining that these verses 'stood in the Aramaic original virtually as they do in St Matthew'; but it is difficult to agree with him in thinking that because they are not found in Luke vi 21-49, therefore they were not included in the Lucan version of Q. Had they been included, Luke, Dr Stanton thinks, would not have omitted them, though 'one who was translating the discourse for use in a Gentile church' might have done so, on the ground that they were not directly suited to Gentile readers. Such an argument is precarious, and it might equally well be argued that the translator of a single source would be much less likely to make such an omission than the compiler of a Gospel who was using several sources, and whose space was limited. Dr Stanton then urges that for this abbreviated rendering of Luke's version 'more extended renderings were afterwards substituted, with the direct intention of making the document a better representative of the original' (p. 328). And it was in this more extended form that Matthew used it.

There is much to be said for the view that Matthew and Luke used differently expanded versions of Q. Critics sometimes take much too rigid and mechanical a view of the transmission of the Gospel sources. But Dr Stanton works his theory too hard. It may explain the origin of some of the material peculiar to the first and third Gospels, and also the verbal differences in some of the material common to both; but the supposition that the Greek version of the Logia passed through so many stages makes it difficult to account for those striking agreements in the non-Markan material common to both, which necessitate the theory or a second common source. That a good deal of the material peculiar to Matthew and Luke was derived from Q and is peculiar to one evangelist because the other has seen reason to omit it, is more probable than Dr Stanton would allow. For the remainder, which cannot be thus attributed to Q, it is perhaps simpler to suppose that the additions were made, to a greater extent than Dr Stanton would admit, by the evangelists themselves from other sources, than to suppose that they were made by the different compilers of the differently expanded versions of Q.

R. BROOK.

THE GENESIS OF THE VERSIONS OF THE GOSPELS.

Concerning the Genesis of the Versions of the N. T.¹ Remarks suggested by the study of P and the allied questions as regards the Gospels.

By H. C. HOSKIER. Intended as a Supplement to the Library Publication of the Morgan MS. 2 vols. (Quaritch, London, 1910, 1911.²)

MR H. C. HOSKIER gained a reputation in 1890 by his publication of an accurate collation of one of the most interesting minuscule MSS of the Gospels, No. 604 (Gregory 700). His second work on 'The Golden Latin Gospels' (P) was reviewed by Professor Burkitt in the July number of the JOURNAL. The latter book contains a number of forward references to the work which now lies before us. The title is sufficiently modest when one considers that the book extends to over nine hundred octavo pages, and it serves in a measure to disarm such criticisms as it is likely to arouse. Mr Hoskier is prolix, and his indifference to arrangement puts rather a hard tax on his readers. The general theory which underlies his views is that a trilingual or quadrilingual copy of the Gospels existed in early times, the four languages represented being Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic. He finds that this hypothesis, complicated as it is, explains certain individual readings in some Greek MSS. He rejects, without reason, so far as I can find, the simpler hypothesis that Greek copies behind the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic versions were different to some extent from all surviving Greek copies. It is the business of a critic first to destroy his enemy's position before he seeks to build up his own, but Mr Hoskier dispenses favour and disfavour in a somewhat high-handed and erratic way.

Having said this by way of general criticism, it is now my duty to say what can be said in favour of this lengthy work, so that readers may not be deterred by a first perusal. There are good things in the book, and these I should now point out, as the author has not made it easy to find them. Vol. i pp. 17 ff contain a classification of the minuscule Greek MSS of the *Apocalypse*. As Mr Hoskier has fully collated the greater proportion of these, and intends to collate all, this will prove very interesting to the student of the text of the *Apocalypse*. Pages 28 ff, an interesting list of linguistic variations in the Greek MSS of St Mark: these alterations are stylistic, and point to different *milieux*. Pages 62 ff contain some wise and welcome words; pages 109 ff readings of *r*,₃

¹ The word '(Gospels)' is very properly inserted at this point on the cover, but not on the actual title-page.

² So dated, but the two volumes were issued together at the end of July 1911. Volume II, styled 'Appendices', appears to be an afterthought, though it is nearly as large as the other. The two volumes are separately indexed.

(saec. ix-x). Pages 165 f (cf. ii 107 f) are interesting on the Latin renderings of *σταυροῦν*. Pages 168 ff contain agreements of *adr* (*ar, ad, ae*); pages 193 ff, readings shared by *h* and *r*, but rarely against all other authorities; they regularly have Irish MSS in agreement. Page 239, on renderings of *κληρονομεῖν*, &c. Pages 388 ff, on Apoc. xv 6. Page 400, readings of B not followed by Westcott and Hort. Page 430, 'omissions' of Syr-Sin. Above all are the Appendixes valuable, because they contain collations of three Latin MSS, previously (in whole or in part) unpublished, which are indispensable to all critical students of the Gospels in the Old-Latin or the Vulgate. The MS known as *h* (Claromontanus) is, as is well known, Old-Latin for so much of St Matthew as has survived, and this part was accurately published by Mai in 1828. The other three Gospels are practically Vulgate, and have hitherto been neglected, though Professor Burkitt in the JOURNAL (vol. iv pp. 587 f) pointed out that, as one of the oldest MSS of the Vulgate (saec. vi probably), it merited attention. Mr Hoskier has now favoured us with a complete collation of these three Gospels (from photographs) with the Clementine Vulgate,¹ and deserves the heartiest gratitude of all students. The second MS selected by Mr Hoskier is the 'Book of Dimma', a ninth-century Irish Latin MS, and of this he gives complete collations of St Matthew and St John, again with the Clementine Vulgate. The third MS is also Irish-Latin, 'The Book of Moling (Mulling)' (saec. ix), and here we are provided with a similar collation for St Luke. Mr Hoskier has not confined himself to mere collation, but has taken the trouble to add clusters of other Latin authorities in many cases. Besides providing us with fresh documentary evidence for the early history of the Vulgate Gospels, he has presented us with a valuable companion to Heer's edition of *gat*,² and has thus forwarded the study of Irish-Latin texts.

Some detailed record of inaccuracies may now conclude this notice. Vol. i p. xvi, for 'T. Rendel Harris' read 'J. Rendel Harris'. Part of p. 7 is practically repeated on p. 22. On p. 38 it is a little difficult to see how Dr Sanday, six years before the discovery of Syr-Sin., could have known anything about it, and should be stigmatized for 'utterly failing to see' something which Mr Hoskier has seen: he will lose nothing of the esteem of scholars by a little more humility. Here and there there is a touch of slang, some of it difficult for the present reviewer to understand: e.g. 'bank' (p. 39), 'bark up' (p. 167).³ On

¹ Having been privileged to see these photographs, I see no reason to dispute Mr Hoskier's view that the Vulgate part of *h* is by an Irish hand. Of course there is nothing else quite so old of undoubted Irish provenance with which to compare the writing, but certain traces indicate that the later Irish hand would naturally develop from this.

² Cf. Burkitt in the JOURNAL vol. xi pp. 607 ff.

³ What are 'progressists' (p. 427)?

p. 35 *loream* is translated 'a thong', Mr. Hoskier being apparently unaware that the word is an adjective. On p. 48 he misses some valuable material, which he could have turned to the support of his view (C. H. Turner in the JOURNAL vol. ii pp. 600 ff). On pages 78 ff he is ridiculously unjust to the work of Hans von Soden on St Cyprian. On p. 94 we see how Mr Hoskier's work suffers through insufficient study of the Synoptic problem. He appears to think that Q is a symbol for an Ur-Matthew or an Ur-Marcus, and will find few to agree with his contention that a study of the Synoptic problem 'will not help the problems of the textual criticism of the N. T.'¹ On the same page 'IInd' should be 'IIIrd'. What will critics think of the statements (p. 167) 'according to Sanday and Von Soden, $k = e$, but this is not so. e is more African than k .'? Neither Sanday nor Von Soden contends that k is exactly the same as e , and the second statement will find no supporters. Page 183 *istaturam* is simply a variety of the dialectic *estaturam*. On p. 185 *pcellit* is interpreted as *procellit*, instead of *praecellit*. On p. 202 twice ἀναπεδ. for ἀναπηδ. On p. 211 *quemque* = *quemquem*, a common late-Latin usage, appears unknown to the author. On p. 218 ἑκατονπλάσιονα twice for ἑκατονταπλάσιονα. On p. 246 we are told that ἀναπαύω, a transitive verb, 'more generally has the meaning of "rest".' On p. 258 read surely *tradatur*. On p. 377 there is some irrelevance. It is rhetoric and perhaps something worse to say that 'Hort's whole classification is now admitted to be wrong' (p. 387). Mr Hoskier would find it difficult to prove this. He ought to have known that A is not unique in Apoc. i 17 (πρωτόκοκος). The indexes are of gratifying fullness, but hardly discriminate between the important and the unimportant. Add also: Ambrosiaster 179, 305, Auct. quaest. 253, Gaudent.-Brix. 246, Hilary 223, 243, 277. In vol. II make some corrections: p. 8, l. 10, read *procidit*, and correct the statement that 'aliut and aput, istut are not Celtic, but Saxon'; I submit that they are neither one nor the other, but old spellings, reaching our island through Italian (or Spanish) MSS. It would be easy to cover many pages with criticism of Mr Hoskier's book. We cannot afford to do without his valuable co-operation in New Testament textual criticism, but would suggest that he confine his energies to the collection and accurate presentation of material, and leave theorizing to others, at least meantime.

A. SOUTER.

¹ I would respectfully refer him to the JOURNAL vol. x pp. 174 ff.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

M. J. LEBRETON, professor of the history of Christian *origines* in the *Institut Catholique* of Paris, has undertaken a great task—to write the history of the doctrine of the Trinity from its beginnings to St Augustine. The first volume, already published, deals with the beginnings (*Les origines du dogme de la Trinité*, G. Beauchesne et Cie, Paris, 1910). It covers what is no doubt far the most difficult part of the subject. More than half of the book is devoted to the examination of the various *strata* or groups of the writings of the New Testament, to which alone M. Lebreton looks for the sources, strictly speaking, of the Christian doctrine. The title which he gives to this part of his work, 'the Christian revelation', indicates his standpoint. Thus, while admitting that in the most developed expression of the doctrine, which is found in the Johannine writings, we must recognize an element of reflective interpretation on the part of the writer, he practically refers the whole of this expression to our Lord's own consciousness and teaching. The whole doctrine, accordingly, comes to us with our Lord's express authority.

This treatment of the Fourth Gospel is fairly typical of M. Lebreton's general position in regard to the evidence of the Gospels; and, accordingly, many students of the history of doctrine, who are also students of the processes which gave us our four Gospels, will not be able to follow him so whole-heartedly as they could if he had allowed more fully for the possibility that the Johannine writings owe much of their special character to the spiritual experiences of the writer and the circle in which he lived in years long after our Lord was parted from His disciples—as much perhaps as to the actual words He spoke to them while He was with them. Indeed, though much that M. Lebreton says, and says very finely, shews that he realizes that the essence of the Christian revelation is Jesus Christ Himself, I feel that 'revelation' is to him still too much a matter of definite teaching of doctrines. There is, I believe, as well more safety as more truth in fuller acceptance of the view that Christian doctrines are the interpretation of actual experiences of Christians, originating among the earliest disciples of our Lord and consciously (though often only dimly) realized by successive generations of Christians ever since. This view makes us less anxious about the authenticity of any particular saying, and none the less able to accept the Johannine or the Pauline interpretations as essentially true for all spiritual and religious purposes.

For the rest, M. Lebreton handles the mass of New Testament evidence with minute care, discussing briefly but sufficiently the various

interpretations that have been given of passages which are admittedly ambiguous, and forming his own judgement, as it seems to me, with singularly sure appreciation of what is good, bad, or indifferent in the work of his chief predecessors, not excluding those who are farthest removed from the lines of traditional exegesis. At least, while admiring his easy command of his materials, I find myself almost always in all these details in entire accord with his reasoning and his conclusions. There is also an excellent chapter on the common faith of the first generation of Christians, implicit in the nascent Church, so far as it can be learnt from practices and incidental references in passages of the New Testament which are not intentionally didactic.

All this is the latter half of the book. It is immediately preceded by an account of the preparation for the doctrine of the Trinity among the Jews as seen in the Old Testament and the later Palestinian and Alexandrine Jewish writings. So far as I am able to judge, this account is as sound and admirable as the work on the evidence of the New Testament.

The first part of the book treats of pagan mythologies and Greek speculations on the *Logos* and 'spirit'. M. Lebreton describes this introduction to the proper subject of his investigation as of the nature of an *hors-d'œuvre*. He is constrained to make it, not with any idea that he will find in this region of human thought the source of the Christian doctrine, but to shew that search for it there is vain. So he goes carefully through the salient points in the popular religions and the philosophical interpretations and systems of 'the Greek environment'. Here, too, he seems to me to shew the same excellent sanity of judgement which marks the details of his New Testament exegesis. M. Lebreton has the advantage of really knowing what Christian doctrine is—an advantage which unfortunately is often not shared by those who make special studies of non-Christian religions and philosophies. If he finds a term or an idea that has an apparently Christian ring about it, he does not at once infer that he has found the source of the Christian doctrine which it brings to mind. He refuses to isolate it from the system to which it belongs, to wrest the gem from its setting. He insists on estimating its real value and meaning in the place in which it is found. Needless to say, the result of this insistence on the synthetic method of study of other religions and speculative philosophies of life is to emphasize the profound contrasts between Christian and non-Christian conceptions of God, the world, and man, and to shew what different values Christians attached to the terms which they used in common with philosophers of the Platonic or Stoic schools, or Alexandrine Jews like Philo. I am a little inclined to doubt whether M. Lebreton rates these ancient philosophies quite highly enough as a 'preparation' for

that more intellectual appreciation of the Christian revelation without which, as experience has shewn, it may easily sink to a level little above some ancient 'superstitions'; but I am sure that he has made a most valuable collection of materials for forming an accurate estimate of their religious significance, and provided much illuminating exposition and comment to guide the student of them to a right judgement as to the part they have played in moulding Christian doctrines. He will doubtless have more to say on this subject in his next volume.

Meanwhile, as I hope I have indicated, he has given us a work of much labour and real distinction, the learning and the labour of it agreeably disguised by its lucid arrangement and attractive style. I would commend it warmly to English students of the history of Doctrine, and to all students of the New Testament who read it with an eye to the doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which is expressed or implied in its several books: they will find with pleasure that the great Cambridge commentators are constantly referred to with due and discriminating recognition of their excellence. There is also a valuable series of detached notes investigating fully the sense of various disputed 'texts' and such subjects as 'the doctrine of the Logos in Philo and the doctrine of the Son in the Epistle to the Hebrews', and 'the doctrine of the Logos in Philo and in St John'.

Another book, much less wide in range, dealing with a later and more limited and technical part of the history of the same doctrine, I regret to be obliged to describe in very different terms. It is *The development of Trinitarian doctrine in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds: a study in theological definition*, by Dr W. S. Bishop, professor of dogmatic theology and metaphysics in the University of the South (Longmans, Green & Co., 1910). Dr Bishop wishes to emphasize the importance of logic for the study of theology, insisting that it is a rational and intellectual science, and that the evolution of the doctrine of the Trinity is the necessary presupposition of our modern conception of personality, and so must retain a permanent significance not only for our spiritual but also for our mental life. His aim, accordingly, is to shew that the doctrine of the Trinity, as expressed in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, does not contradict reason. This is a good aim. How far Dr Bishop has achieved success may be judged from the fact that at the outset he places Cardinal Newman and Dr Harnack under his ban together for agreeing that the *ὑμωούσιον* doctrine not only transcends but contradicts reason. Agreeing in this opinion, it would seem to follow from the premises that Harnack was right to reject the doctrine, and Newman wrong to accept it; and the present bishop of Exeter is referred to as another example of the same unscientific, and

therefore wrong, attitude to the doctrine; all three misunderstand the meaning of the term in question. Passing by the interesting moral or scientific problem which Dr Bishop thus incidentally raises, I must say at once that I am sure that the misunderstanding of the actual term *ὁμοούσιον* in the Nicene Creed is not Dr Harnack's or Dr Robertson's at all events, nor Newman's if he attached the same sense to it. It is Dr Bishop who is mistaken as to the meaning of the term, and he is equally mistaken as to the usage of other terms. He complains of Newman's reading of Augustinian conceptions into the Creed of Nicaea, and yet he translates *ὑπόστασις* in the anathema by 'person', saying no distinction is drawn in the Nicene theology between 'substance' and 'person', evidently altogether unaware of the fact that he is himself assigning to *ὑπόστασις* a sense which it did not have till a later time. And yet again, later on, he translates *ὑπόστασις* by the word 'substance'. This reckless handling of terms leads up to what seems to me to be a clear misunderstanding of an Aristotelian distinction and a couple of passages in Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, on the strength of which Dr Bishop states that *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ* means 'that the very same *definition* of Godhead which is applicable to the Father is applicable also to the Son'. The passages which he cites mean that things are *ὁμοούσια* when they are defined in the same way as to their essential being. So, as regards the phrase in question, the Son can only be said to be *ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ*, if He, as regards *οὐσία*, is defined in the same way as the Father, namely, as being God. And unless Dr Bishop wishes to maintain that the Nicene fathers admitted various conceptions or degrees of Godhead, he gains nothing by the rather clumsy paraphrase of the meaning of the clause which I have quoted. It means simply that the *οὐσία* of the Son is the same as the *οὐσία* of the Father—which is admittedly Godhead. Athanasius, in a well-known passage which Dr Bishop quotes later on in his book, but seems not to have had in mind at the time when he most needed it, insists that *ταυτότης* is the word to use of *οὐσία*; and unless we hold the strict identity of the *οὐσία* of the Father and the Son, there is no logical escape from grades of Godhead. Dr Bishop's new interpretation of the famous Nicene definition, in open antagonism with the interpretations of the three scholars he names, fails altogether so far as it means anything different from theirs. And his other novelties of interpretation and of translation fail no less to convince me. For example: *τὸ Κύριον*, applied to the Holy Spirit, is, he says (though he prints it with a capital), a descriptive adjective, contrasted with *ὁ Κύριος* applied to the Son as a personal title. Does Dr Bishop really think it would have been possible for Cyril of Jerusalem, or whoever it was, to write *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ὁ Κύριος*? Similarly his new translations of clauses in the *Quicumque vult* seem to me either to be mistranslations

or to obscure, rather than elucidate, the meaning. And while it is well to call attention to the different points of view of the Nicene Creed, which seems to start from the Father as the *πρωτὴ θεότης*, and the *Quicumque vult*, which represents the *unus Deus* as comprehending the *tres personae*, yet I think the difference between the Greek and the Latin points of view is not so definite—the former is not really so ‘evolutionary’ nor the latter so ‘static’—as Dr Bishop represents it. Certainly Dr Bishop is wrong again in criticizing ‘Harnack and Seeberg’ for failing to indicate ‘the important contribution made by St Augustine to the doctrinal form of Western Trinitarianism’:—they knew that this contribution to doctrinal form was as old as Tertullian.

Altogether there is so much in the book that is in my judgement perverse and misleading—and it is all presented in so certain a tone, as if there was no doubt about it—that I can only hope it will not come into the hands of any one who has not already had a thoroughly good grounding in the subject, and so is able to distinguish between the true and the false in it.

A third book, *The Trinity*, by Dr F. J. Hall, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago (Longmans, Green & Co., 1910), aims at presenting the doctrine as a whole in its historical and philosophical setting. It is written, in many respects, on somewhat rigidly traditional lines. It seems to me too condensed for a serious student, and very hard reading for a layman. Moreover, though the pages are heavily laden with references to most of the best-known modern writers on the various parts of the subject—the same books being cited on page after page ‘by chapter and verse’—Dr Hall does not seem to me to have worked over the original authorities for himself, and he not unfrequently makes statements that are not accurate. It is not a book of minute scholarship or of attractive style or of original handling of the subject. Even on broader issues—which indeed constantly depend on minute accuracy in detail—Dr Hall is not, in my judgement, by any means always a safe guide. It is, however, true, as he pleads in his preface, that ‘in Anglican literature of recent generations, no comprehensive and systematic treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity exists’, and that ‘severe condensation’ is required in treating such a subject in a single octavo volume of some three hundred pages. Dr Hall is to be congratulated on his courage in attempting a task from which others have shrunk, and though I do not think he has been as successful in manner and method and detail as could be desired, gratitude is due to him for making the attempt.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA.

Didyme l'aveugle. Par GUSTAVE BARDY (*Études de théologie historique*).
(G. Beauchesne & Cie, Paris, 1910.)

THIS volume, which proceeds from a scholar of the French Church, deals with one of the less-known Christian writers of the fourth century. The list of authorities given by Dr Bardy shews, however, as he himself says, that Didymus has had a certain vogue in recent years. While acknowledging his debt to previous writers, and especially to the monograph of J. Leipoldt, Dr Bardy seeks to supplement their work and to modify to some extent their conclusions.

The interest of Didymus, whose lifetime covers the period A.D. 313-398, is different in character from that of the great leaders of Christian thought in the fourth century. The mind of Didymus was neither original nor speculative, but this very fact, combined with his wide acquaintance with the Christian and pagan literature of his time, makes him all the more valuable as a witness to the character and extent of the influence exercised in general orthodox circles by the more creative minds of the period.

After a brief sketch of the life of Didymus, Dr Bardy reviews the existing works and fragments of his author, and discusses the claims which have been made for Didymus's authorship of some other pseudonymous treatises, notably the *c. Arium et Sabellium* (commonly attributed to Gregory of Nyssa), Ps.-Athanasius, *de Incarnatione c. Apollinarium*, and the fourth and fifth books of the *adversus Eunomium* of Basil. In the case of the two former the claim is disallowed, but the possibility of Didymus's authorship of the last named is admitted, though the evidence adduced does not seem to be conclusive.

Didymus's teaching on the Trinity is discussed very fully. There is a good summary of the use of the terms *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* in Alexandrine writers, and of the history of the formula *μία οὐσία, τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, which occurs repeatedly in Didymus. This formula first appears in the *c. Arium et Sabellium*, which Holl attributes to Didymus, assigning it to a period earlier than A.D. 358. The attribution to Didymus, as we have seen, Dr Bardy rejects, but he accepts the date A.D. 358 as the period after which the formula became current, and he appeals to the testimony of Victorinus to shew its use among the Greeks about that time. Against the probability that the formula originated at Alexandria he urges that Athanasius, the accredited exponent of Alexandrine theology until after A.D. 370, continued to use *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* as synonyms, his concession in the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* marking no change of attitude, but merely a desire for conciliation

(p. 72). Dr Bardy is inclined rather to seek the origin of the *c. Arium et Sabellium* in Asia, which from A.D. 360 onwards was one of the principal battlefields of the controversy with Arianism. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is certain that the most celebrated of Didymus's works, the *de Trinitate* (written c. A.D. 381), shews clear traces of the influence of the Cappadocian Fathers. Indications of this influence are 'the *ισοτιμία* of the three divine persons, the *δεσποτεία* of the Word, and His independence with regard to the Father; His character of *μονογενής*; *ἐκπόρευσις* of the Holy Spirit regarded as the characteristic of the Third Person' (p. 105). Another feature of Didymus's teaching is his insistence on the divine unity, a fact which renders irrelevant in his case, so Dr Bardy contends, the discussion of the question of 'new Nicene' tendencies; for Didymus and the orthodoxy which he represents are strangers to such novelties (Preface, p. v). One outcome of this emphasis on the divine unity is Didymus's insistence on the form of the doxology 'Glory be to the Father *and* the Son *and* the Holy Spirit'.

Though Didymus was not a subtle thinker, he possessed the power of exposition, and it is as a creator of rich and varied formulae that he holds his place in the history of the doctrine of the Trinity (p. 109). This explains the fact that his writings were widely read in both East and West, and that Cyril of Alexandria and Augustine were influenced by them.

His Christological teaching kept closely to the Alexandrine tradition, avoiding alike the term 'two natures' and the Apollinarian view, while emphasizing the personal unity of the Word. But Dr Bardy contends that it is an exaggeration to regard him as the precursor of Cyril of Alexandria, and his influence on subsequent developments appears to have been inconsiderable.

Dr Bardy, commenting on the frequent use of the term *σωτήρ* applied to Jesus Christ by Didymus, notes that the idea of *σωτηρία* is especially 'an Egyptian idea'. From pagan times the *Θεοὶ σωτῆρες* were invoked in Egypt (p. 129), and it was in Egypt that the word *σωτήρ* first attained popularity among Christian writers. This being so, it is the more surprising that we find in Didymus so little trace of the distinctive teaching of Athanasius on redemption. But Didymus's treatment of the Fall and Original Sin shews a marked development, and Dr Bardy finds in this fact a problem which awaits solution. He fails, however, to notice that the later (as opposed to the earlier) teaching of Origen, and the teaching of Gregory of Nyssa, in which there is a considerable advance towards the Western view, help to supply some of the links in this development.

In chapter V, 'On the Church and the Christian Life', we find

discussed, among other topics, Didymus's language on the Sacraments. His teaching on the Eucharist exhibits the same perplexing and ambiguous terminology, alternating between symbolism and realism, as appears in other Egyptian sources (Athanasius, Macarius, Serapion). Of popular religion we have an interesting glimpse in the references to the cult of angels, the prayers addressed to them, the chapels erected in their honour, and the pilgrimages made to them (pp. 154, 171). Traces of Origen's influence survive in Didymus's belief in the pre-existence of souls and their universal restoration, and these elements in his teaching caused his name to be brought into notice in connexion with the Origenistic controversies of the sixth century.

Textual critics will find some useful material in the chapter on 'Didymus and the Bible', where Dr Bardy discusses, with copious illustrations, the character of the biblical text used by his author. The two last chapters deal respectively with Didymus's knowledge of pagan and Christian writers, and with the subsequent history of his writings.

The book is a careful and painstaking piece of work, of the kind which is invaluable to the patristic student. It is by such careful and detailed study of individual Church writers that a sure foundation is laid for the study of the development of Christian doctrine as a whole.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

GREEK PAPYRI IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Vol. i. Literary Texts (Nos. 1-61): edited by ARTHUR S. HUNT, D.Litt., &c., &c. 4to, pp. xii + 202. Ten plates.

THIS second instalment of the description of the treasures of the John Rylands Library seems to me to be an admirable piece of work. The best possible exponent of the subject has been secured in the person of Dr Hunt, who, as he tells us in his Preface, was himself responsible for collecting the greater part of the papyri. In this volume he has, naturally, adopted the excellent methods with which the long series of volumes of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* has made us familiar. Readers of this JOURNAL will wish to know what remains of Jewish or Christian antiquity are to be found in the John Rylands collection. Unfortunately, there is no new theological text of first-rate importance. The remains of the Greek Old Testament are confined to portions of Deuteronomy (cent. iv), Job (cent. vi-vii), and the Psalm xc (xc *qui*

habitat, cent. v-vi), which was very likely used as an amulet. Of New Testament fragments there are parts of Rom. xii (cent. vi-vii) and of Titus i, ii (cent. iii), the latter containing only ends of lines. In the liturgical department we have—what is more sensational—‘considerably the oldest copy extant of the Nicene Creed’, assigned to the sixth century. A mutilated formula prefixed to it contains a mention of Rome, at present unexplained. This is followed by a hymn for the Nativity of Christ (cent. vi), and two ‘liturgical’ fragments (cent. v-vi), both centos of scriptural phrases. A fragment of the acts of a martyr who was starved to death—probably Lucian, as Dr Hunt suggests—is more interesting. The series closes with a small bit of a letter and a certificate of sacrifice granted in A.D. 250 to a woman, Aurelia Demös.

The absence of patristic and apocryphal texts is regrettable.

Ninety pages of the section devoted to extant classical texts are occupied by the publication of an important manuscript of the *Odyssey* containing large portions of books xii-xv, xviii-xxiv. It is of the third or fourth century, and in a vellum book—one of the earliest of its kind. The *Iliad* is well represented, as usual, and there are small bits of Hesiod, Herodotus, Hippocrates, and Demosthenes, all of early date. A fragment of Polybius xi belongs to a manuscript of which other portions are at Berlin.

Of the new classical texts the most interesting is probably an epitome of Theopompus, *Philippica* xlvii: the longest, a portion of a treatise on divination by *παλμοί*, the throbbings or quiverings of different parts of the body. Diels has recently investigated the texts previously known which relate to this form of divination. The poetical fragments are not important.

Two small pieces of Latin of the fourth and fifth centuries, one unidentified, the other from Cicero *In Catilinam II*, will be found under nos. 42 and 61.

The plates are excellent, and will be most welcome to the palaeographer.

Enough has probably been said to demonstrate the value of this volume; we shall look with interest for the appearance of the two which are to contain the description of the very large series of non-literary papyri.

M. R. JAMES. 7.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

THE new edition of the Hebrew Old Testament to which Dr C. D. Ginsburg has devoted his life is rapidly approaching completion. The book of Isaiah, which has been sent as a specimen, is beautifully printed in fine bold type, pleasing to the eye. The text is that of the first edition of Jacob ben Ḥayim, with the correction of obvious errors, and with a collation of numerous printed and manuscript authorities. For the whole of the Old Testament Dr Ginsburg has examined over twenty printed editions previous to 1524, and over seventy MSS (most of them in the British Museum). The ancient versions have also been collated, and at the foot of each page are registered the variants of the *Keri*, the *Sebhirtin*, accentual and other variations, and also some variants based upon the versions. In a few cases Dr Ginsburg has suggested emendations of his own. The greater part of the Old Testament is now in type and the whole is making rapid progress. The production of the entire work is part of the scheme for celebrating the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and both the Society and Dr Ginsburg are to be heartily congratulated upon this fine undertaking.

Two new books by Prof. Kennett are mutually supplementary: *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, *Schweich Lectures 1910* (Frowde, London, 1910), and *The Servant of the Lord* (Arnold, London, 1911). Intended for the ordinary reader, they start from a conservative standpoint, and continually justifying the application of textual, literary, archaeological, and historical criticism, lead up to conclusions which, if sound, are a notable contribution to the Isaianic problems. These conclusions place a great wealth of material in the Maccabaeian age; the paucity of passages which can be assigned to Isaiah or his age, and the scantiness of the nucleus in Is. xl sqq. retained for the age of Cyrus being especially striking. This tendency, however, is familiar to students of Cheyne, Duhm, and Marti, and the rather novel attitude to Is. xl-lxvi is on the lines of the American scholars H. P. Smith and Torrey. Apart from his reliance upon metrical theory, Prof. Kennett's conception of the history of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. is his main starting-point, and counter-criticism must concern itself with that rather than the details of emendation and reconstruction. Here it is enough to say that his position is essentially in harmony with that which is being reached independently by other workers, and that the conditions

after the seventh century and before the close of the Persian period inevitably affect the problems of Isaiah and indeed of the Old Testament as a whole. In *The Servant of the Lord* he naturally recognizes that the title may be old, but points out that the Isaianic passages which pass under this title must be taken in connexion with the thought and conditions which each involves. His discussion turns on the argument that the Servant personifies a section of Israel, and that Israel as an organized body has a mission. The historical background, as he urges, with weighty arguments, cannot be found before the age of Nehemiah and Ezra. Their policy was that of isolation, and one must look to the later period when wider interests, as in the book of Jonah, were prevalent. Finally, Prof. Kennett concludes that the Ḥasidim meet the case, and that no other period than theirs answers all the conditions. In general it must be said that both books handle extremely intricate subjects concisely—perhaps too concisely—and will provoke criticism by the many points which are either too novel or still in debate. Some of the more obvious objections he already anticipates, and to his criticism of references cited as evidence for the existence of prophecies of Isaiah before the second century B.C. (*Schw. Lect.* 40 seq., 80 seq.), it may be added that later, in Talmudical references to the tractate *Eduyyoth* and the Midrash *Siphre*, the works cited do not appear to be identical with those now well known under these names (*Jew. Encyc.* viii 611, xi 331).

An interesting example of the value of the comparative method is provided by three lectures on *Early Ideas of Righteousness: Hebrew, Greek, and Roman* (Clark, Edinburgh, 1910). Prof. Kennett deals with the Hebrew conceptions of righteousness and sin, illustrating their range and the relation between their significance for Hebrew thought and that for modern Christian theology. Mrs Adam devotes attention to a few salient points in Plato, Pindar, Aristotle, Socrates, and other representatives of Greek thought. She shews that there was a recognition of the essential unity of man and God and a striving after harmony between man and his environment. Greek thought culminated in Plato, and his successors gave expression to his ethical ideals each in his own way. Prof. Gwatkin, in the third lecture, sees the ideal of the discipline of a state pervading Roman thought from ancient times to the present, and in tracing the stages of the successive developments in history explains the modern tendencies from their roots in the Roman Empire. These lectures are useful and the more suggestive when compared with each other, and one is tempted to wish that the lecturers could have reshaped their papers so that readers could more easily perceive the points of resemblance and difference in the three fields.

The Book of Habakkuk by the Rev. G. G. V. Stonehouse, B.D. (Rivingtons, London, 1911), is substantially the successful Oxford Senior Kennicott dissertation for 1910. It consists of an elaborate introduction, a translation of the corrected text, and a very detailed philological commentary (pp. 149-257). If only for the last feature it may be cordially recommended to Hebrew students. The most interesting feature of the book is the championing of the essential genuineness of chaps. i and ii. The difficulties are indeed perceived, but the common view that chap. i at least is composite is combatted at some length. The troublesome allusion to the future in i 5 is overcome by emendation of a text which is certainly suspicious. The description of the existing Chaldean oppression in i 6 sqq. is dated shortly after the battle of Carchemish—a view which brings difficulties greater than those it removes. This also involves the rejection of the view that i 2-4 depicts the wickedness in Judah, and the arguments adduced seem exceptionally arbitrary. However, it is a distinct advantage to have a scholarly defence of a position which others may consider untenable, and subsequent workers at the problems of Habakkuk should take account of Mr Stonehouse's discussion. One thing is worthy of notice. The author's analysis amounts to this, that the original prophecy was taken by a later writer who reshaped i 5, 6a (p. 32); a psalm, iii 3-15, expanded with an introduction iii 2, and a new conclusion iii 16-19, was appended; ii 20 is an editorial 'transitional' verse and, with ii 18-19 (certainly) and 12-14 (probably), is due to a later hand. The point is that, even on the most moderate view, this small book was the subject of no little literary activity, and when we consider the general features of literary compositeness it would not be surprising if these later hands were responsible not merely for the phenomena which Mr Stonehouse recognizes, but also for those which justify the seemingly drastic analyses of, let us say, W. B. Stevenson and Marti. Excisions are not merely 'arbitrary and violent' (p. 77) by so styling them. See further *supra*, pp. 84 sqq.

Under the general editorship of the Rev. A. H. McNeile, D.D., the Cambridge University Press publishes a new series: *The Revised Version edited for the Use of Schools*. Two volumes lie before us, 1 Kings by the Rev. H. C. O. Lanchester, and Is. i-xxxix by the Rev. C. H. Thomson and the Rev. Dr Skinner. The aim of this little series is 'to explain the Revised Version for young students, and at the same time to present, in a simple form, the main results of the best scholarship of the day'. Each book contains a suitable introduction on the contents, authorship, and other features, and is well supplied with notes on the rendering, interpretation, and subject-matter. The student is familiarized with the standpoint held by modern scholars, and although

one may now and then ask whether the writers have adequately made use of the 'main results of the best scholarship', there is no doubt that the series, considering its size and aims, will be valued.

The Rev. Dr E. G. King contributes a volume on *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews* to the 'Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature'. The success of this series is thoroughly deserved, and Dr King's contribution is an interesting account of a subject the importance of which has been widely recognized of late. In the space at his command he is naturally unable to go deeply into the more difficult questions of metre, but he covers much ground and introduces the reader to the more important aspects of Hebrew poetry. Some of his remarks, especially on the alphabetical poems, deserve fuller study, while others deal with the theological and other ideas and concern content rather than structure. Students will find the volume stimulating, though its utility might have been increased by an index of the biblical passages.

A useful little contribution to exilic and post-exilic Judaism is made by Dr Samuel Daiches in Publication No. 2 of the Jews' College—*The Jews in Babylonia in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian inscriptions*. It is mainly a discussion of the names, apparently of Jews, mentioned in the contracts of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and inferences based upon their form and significance. It is very instructive to observe how many find parallels or analogies only in Chron.—Ezra—Nehemiah, and this fact, together with the similar feature in contemporary S. Egyptian papyri, stands in striking contrast to the names on the *ostraka* recently discovered at Samaria. Upon the meaning of these names (and especially of those wanting in the Old Testament) Dr Daiches lays considerable stress, and he would see in them the ideas animating the Jewish exiles. Thus, the names *Bani-ia*, *Bana-ili*, 'Yah[weh] has built', 'God has built', are referred to the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem. This, to be sure, is very hypothetical, and any discussion of the underlying ideas should be controlled by some study of other groups of names. Many interesting suggestions, however, are made and it is plausibly argued (p. 18 seq.) that the unintelligible name *Sherebiah* should be explained, in the light of the Ass. *šurubu* 'produce', to mean 'Yahweh has produced' (a child, family, &c.). Dr Daiches also points out that among nearly 4,000 tablets from Babylon and its neighbourhood for the period Nebuchadnezzar—Darius I, the Jewish names are very few; whereas for the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II (465–404 B.C.), in the tablets from Nippur, the Jewish names are 'in great abundance' (p. 8). Why there should be this great difference as regards Nippur and at this later date is not clear, but the fact is to be noticed in its bearing upon the post-exilic

problems and upon the importance which Jewish history persistently attaches to the reign of Artaxerxes I.

The name of Alfred Loisy is so well known to English readers that his *Religion of Israel* (Unwin, London, 1910) perhaps hardly needed so complete an introduction as that prefixed by the translator, Mr Arthur Galton. None the less Mr Galton's Prologue has an interest of its own, if only for the suggestion (forgetful of Reinach's *Orphens*?) that, when possible, theological discussions should be carried on in French, so that the language of urbanity 'may help to assuage the proverbial heat of religious controversy'. M. Loisy's book is an examination and exposition of the origin and historical developement of Israelite religion on the basis of the criticism of the Old Testament. He himself is Professor of the History of Religions at the Collège de France, and consequently views his subject from the standpoint of comparative religion. The book is written and translated in a light and flowing style, and is readable and everywhere interesting. Unfortunately the tone is sometimes rather unsympathetic, and the criticism superficial. Thus on p. 26, 'Abraham never went into Egypt; but the fable which brought him there was made to support the Mosaic legends'. Again on p. 123, the alliance between Yahweh and the house of David 'was as profitable to the deity as to the dynasty'. Here and in his—to me—unintelligible treatment of Yahweh on pp. 101–105, M. Loisy is unnecessarily provocative of counter-criticism, and he writes too much from a point of view which is incomplete in that it does not take into consideration enough of the available evidence for the history and the religion of the land of the Old Testament.

It is a new reconstruction which is proposed by Prof. Westphal in *The Law and the Prophets* (Macmillan, London, 1910). This work, translated and adapted by Mr Clement du Pontet, describes (to quote the sub-title) 'the revelation of Jehovah in Hebrew history from the earliest times to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus'. It develops the theory that biblical history represents a persistent conflict between 'Elohism' and 'Jehovism'. This theory is unfolded ingeniously, but is unconvincing, since it is based too immediately upon the biblical narratives without a consistent investigation of their validity for the periods with which they deal. This failure to pursue the necessary preliminary criticism both literary and historical will not, however, prevent the discriminating reader from gaining much that is profitable and stimulating. The tone of the book is excellent, in spite of a certain one-sidedness, e.g. as regards Jewish legalism; but taken as a whole this attempt to trace anew the course of biblical history pays far too little attention to the background against which this history has to be placed (see further, *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, 1910, pp. 268 sqq.).

It is an encouraging sign that the subject is not pursued within the somewhat narrow limits possible and indeed inevitable thirty years ago; it has yet to be recognized, as Hugo Winckler has shewn, that the biblical problems demand a still closer attention to the thought and history of the Bible lands.

Valuable contributions are made by Roman Catholic scholars in three recent monographs in Bardenhewer's *Biblische Studien* (Herder, Freiburg i. Br.). *Das Buch des Propheten Sophonias* (1910) by Dr Joseph Lippl is a very welcome and thorough study of the small book of Zephaniah. Writing in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.) in 1888, Robertson Smith was able to say that 'the genuineness and integrity of the short book of Zephaniah do not seem to be open to reasonable doubt'. But, as Prof. Driver has pointed out in his supplement to Smith's article in the *Enycl. Biblica*, subsequent opinion has not assented to this view, and at the present day secondary portions are recognized to a greater or less extent by all scholars. Dr Lippl himself takes a somewhat conservative position as regards the literary questions and the text. After a brief *résumé* of the contents he discusses the date, the historical and religious conditions, and various features of thought (pp. 7-41). A useful chapter is devoted to the text and versions, and there is a new and emended translation of the book. A small section deals with the metrical problems, and the second half of the monograph (pp. 72-140) provides a full and useful commentary. Dr Lippl's work has been carefully prepared, he has acquainted himself with the modern literature, and he has taken pains to understand the views of those from whom he feels obliged to differ.

Dr Torrey's *Ezra Studies* (noticed in *J. T.S.* April) may be usefully supplemented by the monograph of P. Edmund Bayer, O.F.M., *Das Dritte Buch Esdras und sein Verhältnis zu den Büchern Esra-Nehemia* (*Bibl. Studien*, 1911), which contains an elaborate discussion of the textual relationship between 1 Esdras and the parallel canonical passages (pp. 11-86), and of the origin and general value of the former (pp. 87-161). Fr Bayer urges that 1 Esdras is not a fragment, but a complete work, having for its main object the history of the post-exilic temple. This view involves an artificial treatment of the concluding fragmentary verse and of those passages where 1 Esdras is noteworthy for its references to the temple (pp. 88 sqq.); and it does not pay sufficient heed to other cases where there are readings which point to a recension (in parts at least) older than the Massoretic. Moreover, Fr Bayer is obliged to prefer the apparently simpler sequence of tradition in *Ezra-Neh.* to the extraordinary chronological confusion in 1 Esd., and in accepting the historical value of *Ezra-Neh.* he overlooks the persisting confusion and obscurity in Herodotus, Ctesias, and Josephus,

and in Daniel, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. Fr Bayer thus appears to be misled by the relative straightforwardness of the 'canonical' tradition; but it is significant that the chronicler's compilation should ignore material elsewhere incorporated in Kings and Jeremiah or underlying the traditions of Daniel and Esther. Very instructive is Fr Bayer's survey of the literary points of relation with Esd. iii 1-v 6—the *crux* of the book—and he shews satisfactorily that the section must be viewed along with Daniel and Esther. He confirms (after Torrey) the Semitic origin of this section, but argues (against Torrey) that it is of post-Maccabean origin and part of the original book. Fr Bayer certainly advances the problems of 1 Esdras and indirectly proves that they are more complex than has been previously recognized; his own conclusions are often inadequate, but they are always stimulating.

Of more general interest is the study by Dr Simon Landersdorfer, O.S.B., *Eine Babylonische Quelle für das Buch Job?* (*Bibl. Stud.* 1911). It deals with a series of Babylonian tablets which, it has been claimed, find parallels in Job, if indeed they do not represent its source. A king for no apparent reason has undergone the most severe sufferings, he was unable to obtain help from priest or sorcerer, or from his protecting god or goddess; consolation came to him through a dream, he was healed and restored to his former happy state, and he concludes with a psalm of praise. The tablets illustrate a Babylonian treatment of the problem of sin and punishment. Dr Landersdorfer very properly devotes considerable space to the editing of these remarkable texts with philological notes and a translation. Unfortunately the tablets are not quite perfect, the account of the vision is rather obscure, and it is difficult to trace the solving of the problem. Dr Landersdorfer has a tempting explanation of the sin which is attributed to the king. He points to the passage where the speaker (or rather writer) affirms that he had made the exaltation of the king like God, and had instructed the people in the fear of the palace, believing that this was pleasing to God. This is quite in keeping with the old theory of the divine king (pp. 56 sqq., 67). But, as the text proceeds, what seems good to man is evil to God, what seems evil to man is good before God; God's ways are incomprehensible, man is transient and weak; now he makes himself God's equal and would mount to heaven (cf. Is. xiv 13 sq.), and now he talks of descending into the lower world. Here Landersdorfer finds the clue—the divine king has forgotten that he owed his position to the favour of his gods—his sin has been self-pride (p. 74). The texts certainly belong to the seventh century B.C., the contents may even go back to a time before 2000 B.C. (p. 79). But though older than the book of Job there is no clear trace of borrowing or of direct influence. The relationship is carefully discussed, and it is shewn that the resemblances are rather

superficial and that the differences outweigh the parallel features (pp. 119 sqq.). It will be obvious that this monograph is of distinct value in any study of the ancient conceptions of evil, sin, and punishment. It is also instructive for comparative religion in that these Babylonian texts tend to correct a certain one-sidedness which occupies itself with the unfamiliar, the strange and the quaint in religion. Such texts as these shew that old thinkers searched for the solution of problems deep in the recesses of their hearts and necessarily expressed themselves in the thought of their age. The data of their religious experiences are objective data testifying to a reality; it is the expression and formulation of this which has varied through ages, lands, communities, and individuals; and if those who handle the phenomena of comparative religion would consider more carefully what is meant by the 'evolution' of religion we should have less of the unscientific use of that favourite term 'survival'.

Conservative in standpoint and restricted in aim is the Rev. U. Z. Rule's *Old Testament Institutions, their Origin and Development* (S. P. C. K., 1910). The book analyses and describes the law and ritual with some attention to comparative studies and with some recognition of the literary criticism of the Pentateuch. The author accepts the composite origin of the Pentateuch and the priority of JE to P—though he places all the sources too early—and asserts that the date of the sources matters little unless it 'affects our confidence in the truth of their contents' (p. 15). 'But', he continues, 'the dating of the laws stands upon a very different footing', and he argues for the Mosaic authorship of the Law, determining, however, what this does and does not involve. He endeavours to maintain the essential accuracy of the book of Genesis as a record of the growth of religion and of the origin of Israel; and is consequently obliged to 'read between the lines' (his words), and, e.g., to treat Abraham as the personification of the community of which he was the head (pp. 42, 46). The difficulty of bridging the gap between Genesis and Exodus is very inadequately handled. He upholds the interval of four centuries, and interprets 'generation' in Gen. xv 16 as 'period' (p. 49); he conjectures also that the numbers in Ex. vi 16, 18, 20 mean that the families of Levi, Kehath, and Amram had a separate and undivided existence for (137 + 133 + 137) 407 years (p. 52). He does not appear to notice that Joseph lived to see the children of Machir (Gen. l 23), although Machir received Gilead from the hands of Moses (Num. xxxii 42), nor does he sufficiently recognize the serious historical difficulties pervading the narratives. In dealing with the intricacies of the tribe of Levi he remarks that 'the simple and obvious course of accepting the statements of Holy Scripture as correct statements will prove, after all, to be the most free from per-

plexities' (p. 293); yet it was no such unmethodical form of study that led to the recognition of JE and P, which he himself shares. To those who hold a thoroughlygoing traditional position Mr Rule's book may prove a useful step towards one more consistent, and they will find the attempt to vindicate the Mosaic authorship of the Law combined with the candid perception that the task of vindication is rendered difficult by those who 'from lack of discrimination' leave 'no room for post-Mosaic development' and make 'Holy Scripture to affirm more than it really does affirm' (p. 158 seq.). Three pages of commendation are prefixed by Dr Sayce, who observes that the archaeological side of the question is left to others.

Distinctly more uncompromising is the attitude of the four following writers. Dr Arthur Allgeier in *Über Doppelberichte in der Genesis* (Herder, Freiburg i. Br., 1911) combats a recent work by Dr Schulz in the *Biblische Studien* which both admitted the presence of double narratives in the Pentateuch and was able to reconcile this with dogmatic theology. Dr Allgeier simply argues that there are no doublets—the apparent evidence in their favour is explained away by the familiar hypothesis of textual corruption and interpolation. Moreover, he proceeds to urge that real doublets cannot be reconciled with the Roman Catholic doctrines of Inspiration and Infallibility (pp. 111–142). This part of the book is the more interesting and contains many useful observations on the nature and 'Tendenz' (his own word, p. 125) of the Old Testament writings. Next, the Rev. G. S. Hitchcock, in *The Higher Criticism of Isaiah* (Burns and Oates, London, 1910), undertakes to maintain 'the truth of the Biblical Commission's decision that the division of *Isaiah* among two or more authors is still "not proven"' (p. 6). The book 'is designed to meet the arguments of Protestant rationalists' and it is truly remarkable for its superficial treatment of the Isaianic problems. Like all books of its class it 'proves' the thesis it sets out to prove with almost ridiculous ease. A greater compliment is paid to the labours of biblical critics by Dr Hugh Pope's more detailed book *The Date of the Composition of Deuteronomy: a critical study* (F. Pustet, Rome, 1911). It is written to prove the traditional Mosaic authorship (apart from chaps. xxxiv, iv 41–49; x 6–9) in accordance with the Decrees of the Biblical Commission, and the Decrees are cited in full at the commencement of the book, and subjected in part to a necessary interpretation at the close (p. 190 seq.). Dr Pope deals with a foregone conclusion without making a new contribution to the subject. He relies, for example, upon parallels in Deuteronomy with Amos and Hosea, but overlooks the significance of those in Jeremiah and in the editorial portions of the historical books. He clutches at the book of Job, 'no one yet has given satisfactory reasons for rejecting its early date' (p. 81); but Dr Landersdorfer (see above)

places it not earlier than 722, and his book has received the *imprimatur*. While recognizing that archaeology is 'a two-edged weapon', as even conservative scholars have found (p. 177), Dr Pope does not hesitate to commit himself to the belief that Moses may have modified and adapted the Code of Hammurabi to Israelite needs (p. 183). He shares Hommel's surprise that P, if post-exilic, should contain no Babylonian loan-words, although if P is Mosaic it would be equally surprising from his own standpoint. Indeed, Hommel himself, in the passage referred to, finds many words in the ritual language of the Old Testament which can only be explained from the Babylonian, and he dates them back to the early Babylonian period. None the less, Dr Pope has much to say concerning the 'uncritical procedure of critics, particularly where they indulge in special pleading'. A particularly vexatious example is held up on pp. 72-74, where he cites Driver (*Deut.* 212 seq.), on the twofold and conflicting accounts of the monarchy, viz. (a) 1 Sam. ix 1-10, &c., and (b) 1 Sam. vii 2-17, viii, x 17-27 a, xii. He selects for his purpose and prints side by side viii 4-22 and x 17-19, 25, and urges that the latter is the sequel of the former. Since *both* passages are admittedly from (b), it is really difficult to understand why Dr Pope treats the severance of (a) and (b) as 'a typical example of the "critical" mode of investigation—or, shall we say, "assertion"?' Nor is it clear why he styles x 17-19, 25 the older narrative in direct opposition to Driver's words. Dr Pope seems to be characteristically unfortunate in his attempt to condemn a criticism which, he says elsewhere, is 'based upon Hegelianism and upon an impossible and unphilosophical view of religious evolution' (pp. xi, xv). If, however, it is due to a pure misunderstanding—and an inserted slip in the book regrets the 'deplorably large' number of errata, due partly to the unfortunate illness and absence of the author—surely it would be advisable to replace the book by a new edition where the numerous examples of hasty reasoning and of incorrect judgement may be replaced by a more scholarly support of the position which the Decrees desire to maintain. It is left for the fourth writer, Mr H. M. Wiener, LL.B., to assail the critics with scorpions. His *Essays in Pentateuchal Criticism* and *The Origin of the Pentateuch* (Elliott Stock, London, 1910) will be in large measure familiar to readers of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and *The Churchman*, where in a series of articles he has adopted a tone which is quite a novelty in modern biblical study. Mr Wiener is a Jewish Barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and he pleads his cause in support of the traditional position with all the skill of his profession and all the zeal of his faith. Every one will sympathize with the sincerest feelings of Orthodox Jews in the matter of Pentateuchal criticism; yet, even those who most welcome his outspoken attacks upon the critics of the Wellhausen school will

share the wish of Dr Griffith Thomas (late editor of *The Churchman*), that the author 'had kept his adjectival propensities a little more thoroughly in hand' (*Bibl. Sacra*, April, p. 345). Quite apart from his terminological impetuosity, Mr Wiener can make relatively little impression, because the views of critics rest upon a larger basis of biblical evidence than he has yet surveyed. It is only fair, however, to point out that the author is gradually recognizing the nature of the 'conservative task in Pentateuchal criticism', and in an article on certain aspects of this task (*Bibl. Sacra*, Jan. 1911) he realizes some of the weaknesses of method among the conservative writers. Under the circumstances, the present collection of notes and essays with their varied features of interest must be somewhat provisional, and one will await the necessarily more comprehensive treatment of the recognized problems, not of the Pentateuch alone, but of the Old Testament. The new solutions which Mr Wiener proposes can then be seen in their proper perspective, and their value appraised with greater justice to himself. There is no doubt whatever that a new starting-point, which could afford a clearer insight into the biblical problems than the Graf-Wellhausen theory does, would win acceptance in the long run; but no alternative hypothesis has as yet appeared, and it is impossible to perceive the germ of any, even in Mr Wiener's very confident lucubrations.

Finally, I must mention *The Earliest Cosmologies* (Eaton, New York, 1910), by W. F. Warren, S.T.D., LL.D., which deals with the cosmological ideas of the Hebrews and others. The book is styled 'A guide-book for beginners in the study of ancient literatures and religions', and has for sub-title 'The Universe as pictured in thought by the Ancient Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Iranians, and Indo-Aryans'. Its object is to explain the 'world-view' which lies behind all religion, philosophy, and science; and it is to be treated as an introduction to Comparative Cosmology, with special reference to the Oriental systems. I must refer readers to the book for the rather intricate proof which Dr Warren adduces. It culminates in the conclusion that the universal world-concept was an 'all-inclusive geocentric, upright-axled, polyuranian cosmos' (p. 109); and that it must have originated in prehistoric times among a people who inhabited the Arctic circle (pp. 127 sqq.). The entire argument is worked out plausibly, with the help of a great deal of illustrative matter, and the author has certainly laid under contribution numerous specialists in their particular fields (p. 15 seq.). The book is dedicated to Dr C. H. W. Johns, who has expressed 'his unqualified approval of its fundamental positions' (p. 17). Its appearance is symptomatic. It recalls the publications of the New Berlin Society for the Study of Comparative Mythology and the new school of 'astral-mythological' interpretation inaugurated by the Assyriologists

Winckler (a historian), and Jeremias (a theologian). It is a reaction against too narrow specialization—the study of a subject for its own sake—and is part of the persistent desire to co-ordinate and unify. The conclusions and methods of application may appear as extravagant as did the all-explaining systems of the past; but they rest upon a larger body of material and appeal more persuasively to accepted data. The exponents take a natural position—they ask for refutation or a better explanation of their evidence. The works are of great value in that they collect evidence from all quarters and place it at the reader's disposal; but they make comparisons which often seem irrelevant or useless, and draw conclusions which appear paradoxical. Their fundamental weakness appears to be that they deal with different bodies of thought or ideas without taking sufficient account of their complexity and variation, and that they confuse organic connexions of ideas with those that are more casual. Dr Warren's book is throughout extremely interesting and suggestive, and it is an urgent reminder in this age of 'reconstruction' how little we know of the features of the growth, spread, and adjustment of groups of ideas. This is true whether such groups are the object of research (e. g. ancient cosmologies) or the system of research itself, and it is through this that it is possible for writers to argue that the refutation of, e. g., Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* would be the overthrow of Old Testament criticism, or that the latter is 'based' upon Hegelianism. There seems to be need for a special department of research to deal with the masses of objective data which as yet are merely 'compared', and that in a fashion too often promiscuous and superficial.

STANLEY A. COOK.

PATRISTICA.

Patrologie, von O. BARDENHEWER. Dritte, grossenteils neu bearbeitete Auflage. (Herder, Freiburg i. Br., 1910.)

THE fame of this invaluable companion to the student of the Fathers has been so great that it has had to be translated into French, Italian, English, and Spanish. The English translation, published in 1908, was welcomed in the JOURNAL for October 1909 (vol. xi pp. 135 f). We have now to record the appearance of a third edition of the original, in great part rewritten. The author speaks very modestly of his increasing consciousness of the defects of his book. In the present edition the Greek authors of the fourth century receive entirely fresh treatment,

but the improvement is not confined to this part of the book, as hardly a page has remained unaltered. The work contains more than before, but an improved arrangement has reduced its size by fifteen pages. We bespeak for it a yet wider public than before; it has no real rival in any language.

One of the most valuable parts of this book is its running bibliography, to which Dr Bardenhewer's colleague, Professor Carl Weyman, has once more contributed richly from his unrivalled stores. Many a useful book or article is mentioned here which our British booksellers never tempt us to buy. The following, however, ought to be added in a new edition: § 6, 4 Dr Bartlet in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v; § 39, 3 Clement of Alexandria *Miscellanies* Book viii, ed. F. J. A. Hort and J. B. Mayor (London 1902); § 50, 3 *Theologische Literaturzeitung* xxviii (1903) 645; *Journal of Theological Studies* vol. viii pp. 297-300; P. Henen *Musée Belge* 1000, p. 99 ff; § 51, 2 L. Bayard *Le Latin de Saint Cyrien* (Paris 1002); § 61, 12 De Bruyne in *Revue Bénédictine* xxvi (1900) 93 ff; § 80, 2 K. Lake in *Studia Biblica* v (1903) 172; § 93, 2 J. E. B. Mayor *The Latin Heptateuch* (Cambridge 1889); § 99, 12 Aug. *Sermones Inéditi* ed. M. Denis (Vindob. fol. 1792); § 119, 2 Perugi's edition of Arator (Venice 1909); § 121, 5 Morin in *Revue Bénédictine* xxii (1905) 166 f. Of works published before the close of 1909 these are practically all that I can add. There is, however, some evidence of curtailment in the bibliography as compared with that in the English translation; so that it is possible that Dr Bardenhewer may be acquainted with some or all of these works, though he does not think fit to mention them.

To pass to a few matters of a different nature. No mention is made of the *Monita* of Porcarius abbas, edited by Wilmart in the *Revue Bénédictine* xxvi (1909) 475-480. In § 19 (p. 53) three manuscripts of the so-called Theophilus of Antioch on St Matthew's Gospel are mentioned, but a fourth exists at Reims (no. 427 [saec. xi]); cf. *Revue Bénédictine* for 1907, p. 107). In § 53 it would have been well to mention that Lactantius's name was probably Lucius Caelius Firmianus qui et Lactantius. Commodian's date is hardly satisfactorily treated in § 57, 1: see below, in the notice of Brewer's later book. In the section on Victorinus of Pettau (§ 58), the spelling 'Poetouio' has been omitted, and it is hardly satisfactory to say that perhaps the *Anonymi Chiliastae in Matthaeum fragmenta*, published in this JOURNAL vol. v 218-241, are the work of Victorinus, without saying at the same time that the present chronicler argued for Ambrosiaster and has been supported by Zahn,¹ and—what is more important—that Haussleiter decisively rejects the

¹ Both Mercati (privately) and Turner (publicly) have wavered in their original attribution to Victorinus.

theory of Victorinus's authorship in his article in Herzog-Hauck's *Real Encyclopädie*. In § 61, 4 (p. 213) for 'Ommaney' read 'Ommanney'. The very considerable additions to the papyrus of Cyril of Alexandria's *De Adoratione in Spiritu et Veritate*, reported by Serruys in the *Revue de Philologie* for 1910, were probably announced too late to be mentioned by Dr Bardenhewer (§ 66, 4, p. 235). There are misprints at the foot of p. 301. In § 92, 8 for 'Caius' read 'Gaius', as is done in § 93, 1. In § 94, 3 the fresh tractate of Priscillian, discovered by Turner, and published by Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine* for July 1909, is overlooked. In § 95, 10 Turner's review of Burn's *Niceta* in this JOURNAL vol. vii 203 ff, should also have been mentioned. On p. 441, l. 23 surely '1885' is a mistake for '1895'. It is with real reluctance that I have to refer again¹ to the fact that the statement that Cassiodorus's 'Auslegung des Römerbriefes, welche namentlich auch den Pelagianismus bekämpfte' is lost (p. 547), is over four years out of date at least, and to point out that it is none other than that published long since under the name of Primasius. No scholar has questioned the correctness of this view, so far as I know, which Mr Turner first suggested in this JOURNAL in October 1902, in a review of Zimmer's *Pelagius in Irland*, and which it was my good fortune to establish by irrefutable reasoning in my tractate on *The Commentary of Pelagius* (London 1907) p. 20. In accordance with this fact § 121, 7 can be made more explicit.

Les Pères Apostoliques II, Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens, Homélie du II^e Siècle . . . par HIPPOLYTE HEMMER. (Picard, Paris, 1909.)

Les Pères Apostoliques III, Ignace d'Antioche et Polycarpe de Smyrne, Épitres, Martyre de Polycarpe . . . par AUGUSTE LELONG. (Picard, Paris, 1910.)

Justin, Dialogue avec Tryphon . . . par GEORGES ARCHAMBAULT, 2 Tomes. (Picard, Paris, 1909).

Eusèbe, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Livres V-VIII . . . par ÉMILE GRAPIN. (Picard, Paris, 1911.)

THESE five volumes all belong to the admirable series, 'Textes et Documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme, publiés sous la direction de Hippolyte Hemmer et Paul Lejay'. In my 'Chronicle' for October 1909 I took occasion to point out the excellence of this collection, and it is by this time, I hope, well known to readers of the JOURNAL. The features of the series are texts with complete translations in French, adequate introductions and commentary, and good indexes, at a very moderate price. The work is thoroughly scientific and worthy of the best French traditions. Having thus commended the series most heartily to all who have begun, or think of beginning,

¹ See the JOURNAL vol. xi (1909-10) pp. 135 f.

patristic study, I can now proceed to add some supplementary notes, which may prove of some use for new editions.

The edition of the two Clementine works deserves especial commendation, and is doubtless the handiest in existence. It is the first in which the recently discovered Coptic version of First Clement has been used. I miss references to Neumann's *Der römische Staat- und die allgemeine Kirche* and Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire* on page ix, *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford 1905), on p. xlii; reference would now be made to Burkitt's article on *Codex Alexandrinus* (in the JOURNAL xi (1909-10) 603 ff) on pp. liv, lix; *Florinensis* (p. lvi) should rather be, I fancy, *Florenensis*; on p. lxxi Dr Bartlet's article, attributing 'Second Clement' to Alexandria (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* vii (1906) 123 ff; Proceedings of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology for 1905-6) has been overlooked. On page 33 *léger* is rather a free translation for τὴν τυχοῦσαν. The Pauline ὑπερεκπερισσῶς (xx 11) is wanting from the index. There are misprints in the following places:—γαγῖν (p. xxiv), *Maredsoliana* (p. lvii), τὸν (p. 8, l. 7), κήρυξ (p. 16, l. 3), εὐλογοῦσαν (p. 34, l. 14), 'Ἠλίαν (p. 40, l. 7).

The volume containing the writings of Ignatius and Polycarp, if, perhaps, not of such striking erudition, is none the less a thoroughly competent piece of work. The translation of Ignatius, almost of necessity, is more paraphrastic than that of other writers, on account of the obscurity of his style. On page xv the exact reference to the *phrase célèbre* might have been given, namely iv 1: on page lxxix for 'Randel' read 'Randell'; on page 15 '*Astron.*' is not a proper abbreviation for the *Mathesis* of Firmicus, and on p. 157 correct 'Caius' twice to 'Gaius'.

The two volumes containing Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* are particularly welcome, as Otto's edition is a wearisome book to use, and Dr Archambault is a thoroughly competent editor, who has re-collated the sole MS of value. One of the happiest features of this edition is the abundant reference made to up-to-date editions and treatises. One or two errors may be pointed out. The editor has stumbled, like many others, at the name 'Phillipps' (p. xvi and note); on p. lxi note, line 1, it should have been made clear that it is not the third volume of the series, but the third volume of Tertullian in the series (similarly, p. 25, note 7); p. lxxviii, note 1, accent *Mārκε*; p. xcvi, l. 4, read '1902' for '1982', line 5 from foot, '*griechische*' for '*griechischen*'; p. xcvi, read 'Parsons' for 'Parson'; p. 62, l. 6, read σκῦλα. Perhaps πλήρης of the MS ought to be kept (xxvii 2) as the indeclinable use, but compare xxxi 6. There is a misprint on p. 174, first line of notes, as also in the corresponding position on p. 238; p. 245, second last line, read

Abraham for *Abrahamo*; lviii 8 εἰς γῆν of the MS could perhaps be kept, in view of the late use of εἰς = ἐν; p. 322, fifth line from foot, a misprint; lxx 1, I prefer γεγενῆσθαι of the MS; lxxiii 1, note: Ambrosiaster *Quaestiones* should have been given, earlier in date as he is than all those referred to, except Tertullian. In vol. ii p. 16, note, for CSEL read GCS; lxxxi, 2 Dr Archambault does not appear to have grasped the distinction, substantiated by the papyri, between γενήματα (of the vegetable world) and γεννήματα (of the animal world), or he would not have here deserted the MS; p. 43, notes, l. 1, for 'Horn' read 'Hort'; p. 79, note, l. 2, read *evangelistarum* and cite from the Vienna edition; p. 118, note 1, l. 7, correct *Autolychos*; p. 152, note, l. 14, read *Bruchstücke*; cxix 4, read Ἀράβων; p. 219, l. 2 from foot, read *ciuitate*; p. 301, note, read *Literat.* In the index the following improvements can be made:—ἀνὴρ for ἄνηρ, ἀνθρώπου for ἀνθρώπου, ἀπειλεῖν for ἀπειλῶν, ἄσβετον for ἀσβέτον, ἀσώματος for ἀσώματος, ἄφθαρτος for ἀφθάρτος, διαδοχή for διαδόχη, add δοξολογεῖν vii 2, read ἐγγράφως for ἐγγράφως, Ἐλαιών for Ἐλαίων, ἐλεεῖν for ἐλέειν, πολιτεία for πολιτεία (under ἔνομος), correct misprint on p. 338, col. 1, line 3 from foot. Lack of care in reading in the proofs is, in fact, the only defect of the book which I have observed.

The first volume of Grapin's *Eusèbe, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, containing books i–iv, I have not seen, and it is not accessible to me at the time of writing. I cannot therefore give readers of the JOURNAL any account of his Introduction. The text printed is practically that of Schwartz in the Berlin series (1903 to 1908), which is a great advance on its predecessors. I have noted the following inaccuracies: p. 86, § 4, remove the , from Ἀγκύρα to Γαλατίας; p. 192, § 1, l. 4, a comma is absolutely necessary after ἐπιστολᾶς; p. 215, § 3, read 'Gaius', and be consistent with p. 329, especially as 'Caius' never had any existence; p. 318, l. 8 from foot, read πειθαρχεῖν; p. 320, § 8, l. 5, read Γαλλιανῶ; p. 352, read THUCYD. The notes are in this case printed at the end of the volume, and fill fifty pages as against two hundred and fifty of text. Of course, a scholar might very well spend a lifetime composing an adequate commentary on the *Ecclesiastical History*, and the notes of such an edition as the present must necessarily be brief. The editor has exercised restraint in this matter, and yet has contrived to refer to a very large number of interesting points, textual and other. References to modern literature, particularly to Duchesne's *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, are frequent. On p. 518, l. 4, a *de* has slipped out before *littérature*. On page 525 I miss a reference to Cantarelli's *La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto*. On page 528, line 10 from foot, read 'anointing'. Κατὰ Φρύγας (v 16, 1 &c.) deserved a grammatical note. To say (p. 540), 'Le Novat d'Eusèbe est, en réalité, Novatien,' is hardly to say enough.

May not Eusebius be right? Surely the name of the heretics, *Nouatiani*, can only come from *Nouatus*. The secondary name *Nouatianus* (singular) I am disposed to regard as coming from the plural (*Nouatiani*) by a misunderstanding. A full discussion of these words is, however, desirable.

The Apologies of Justin Martyr, edited by A. W. F. BLUNT. (Cambridge University Press, 1911.)

THIS edition deserves a welcome: it is the first published in England for many a long day. The notes suffer somewhat from the editor's ignorance of the edition by the great Greek scholar Gildersleeve, published at New York in 1877, but the book is a careful piece of work and pleasant to use. There is the less necessity for dealing with it at length here, that I have reviewed it in *The Review of Theology and Philosophy* for August. I find Gildersleeve has preceded me in conjecturing ἀναπήρους for the πονηρούς of *Apol.* i 22 (p. 38, 1). There is an accent wanting on page 40, line 9, and ἀποκόπτουσαι (p. 45, 10) might have been illustrated from *Gal.* v 12, and p. 51, 12 from *Apoc.* vii 14. A reference to the list of *praefecti Aegypti* in Cantarelli's *La Serie dei Prefetti di Egitto* (Rome 1906) might have been given on *Apol.* i 29 (pp. 1 and 47, 7). Mr Blunt would have discovered, if he had referred to this (standard) work, that the date of Munatius Felix is now narrowed down to A.D. 150-153. In fact, the note on p. 47, l. 7, contains several errors. The title *praefectus Augustalis* was not used till 381-382, the first holder of it being Palladius (cf. Cantarelli, part ii [1911] p. 349); Felix's *praenomen* was Lucius, not Gaius. Also, no papyrus records Felix as prefect of Egypt 'in A.D. 148-154'. It is not the way of papyri to record such things. Further, a number of papyri mention him, and it would have been well to cite them from Cantarelli. Ἑγγύς with the dative (36, 16) deserved a place in the index of Greek words.

Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae: Pars i: Epistulae I-LXX. Recensuit ISIDORUS HILBERG [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. liv]. (F. Tempsky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1910.)

No event in the history of the Vienna Corpus is likely to appeal to so many classes of students as the publication of the letters of St Jerome, of which the first half is now before us. It is the custom to praise Vallarsi's edition of the works of St Jerome, but it will not be uncharitable to say that its excellence is chiefly due to the fact that Italian manuscripts were almost, if not quite, exclusively used in its production. Certainly it will not take the reader very long to discover that Dr Hilberg's recension of the letters is infinitely superior to Vallarsi's. Nor could it be otherwise. As a preparation for the present edition

Dr Hilberg obtained complete and exact information as to the contents of every MS in Europe known to contain any letters of St Jerome. From the information thus obtained, an infinitely wider basis than that at the disposal of all previous editors of Jerome put together, he was able to select the authorities of value for the construction of his recension. No doubt he will tell us later something of the groups in which the letters first appeared, as Dr Hans von Soden did some years ago for the Cyprianic correspondence.

The oldest manuscripts at the disposal of the editor appear to be a sixth-century fragmentary MS at Lyons (no. 600), another at Lyons (602), and a MS at Paris (nouv. acq. lat. 446); the next in age are Verona MS xvii 15 and Naples MS vi D 59, both of the seventh century. The bulk of the MSS are of the eighth and ninth centuries, but the editor descends as far as the fifteenth for his authorities. It is not surprising that the bulk of the large fifteenth-century MSS are rejected as valueless. The most interesting MS of all is probably the well-known Épinail 68, which came there through Moyennemoutier from Murbach.¹ Dr Hilberg does not seem quite to have realized that this MS and the Autun MS 17 A (saec. x) are the best he has got, at least in orthography: he ought to have followed them much more constantly than he has done. The orthography of Épinail 68, in particular, shews that it is directly copied from a fifth- or sixth-century MS.

The immense superiority of this edition over that of Vallarsi can hardly be better shewn than by taking a passage which it occurred to me to look out, when I was studying the *clausula* in Mr A. C. Clark's paper *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin* (Oxford 1910), published before the appearance of Hilberg's edition. Mr Clark takes a passage of Jerome's *Epistle* xxiii to illustrate Jerome's usage in regard to the *clausula*. The passage he quotes contains only eighty-one continuous words; yet there are eight alterations to be made, some of them quite serious. Before going on to consider one direction in which this new edition is rather defective, I will just pay the deserved tribute to the Latinity of the editor's preface, express some regret that the (approximate) dates are not affixed to each letter, as in Vallarsi (whose order is kept), and call attention to the fact that the symbol ς (= previous editors?) is not explained. The apparatus is a mine of valuable information to the student of Latin orthography.

Nothing is more important about Jerome than his connexion with

¹ Dr Hilberg might, in fact, have added 'Murbacensis' to its description, just as he has added 'Augiensis' to a Karlsruhe MS and so on. He adds 'Augiensis' also to a Zürich MS. If this means 'of Reichenau', it may stand, as there are some Reichenau MSS in the Rheinau collection at Zürich; but if it means 'of Rheinau', he should have used Rheinaugiensis.

the Latin Bible. It is, therefore, desirable that every echo of Biblical language in his writings should be carefully registered. If Dr Hilberg has not completely succeeded here, it must be remembered that he is primarily a classical scholar—and an eminent one too—and we must not expect too much from an editor whose services to the text itself cannot be overpraised. I seek, then, here, for the sake of the study of Jerome and the Latin Bible, to add certain references to those given in the book.¹ Page 4, 2 cf. Verg. *Aen.* iv 449; p. 15, 1 cf. Hor. *Carm.* ii 17, 5, i 3, 8; p. 15, 12 cf. Ps. cxxv 5; p. 21, 7 cf. 1 Cor. v 3; p. 40, 9 cf. 2 Cor. iv 7; p. 42, 3 add *Iac. iv 6; p. 51, 3, surely a tag from a poet (cf. Verg. *Aen.* i 738–739); p. 55, 9 cf. 1 Cor. ix 13; p. 63, 10 cf. Verg. *Buc.* v 37; Mal. 4, 2 (3, 20); p. 69, 22 cf. 1 Cor. viii 11; p. 85, 1 cf. Ps. xviii 5 (Rom. x 18); p. 124, 5 cf. 1 Cor. viii 11; p. 132, 18 cf. Iob xiv 4–5; p. 136, 13–14 cf. Col. i 16; so p. 139, 21; p. 147, 5–6 cf. Ioh. xiv 30; p. 149, 16 cf. 2 Cor. vi 4–5; p. 155, 16–17 bracket Ex. 32, 6 and add 1 Cor. x 7; p. 169, 1–2 cf. Lucr. v 226–227; p. 170, 6 cf. Matt. x 10, Luc. x 4; p. 174, 14 cf. 1 Thess. v 17; l. 15 cf. 1 Cor. vii 3; p. 175, 12–13 cf. 1 Tim. v 21; p. 191, 2 cf. Hebr. xii 17 &c.; p. 201, 9 cf. 1 Thess. v 17; p. 204, 17 cf. Iac. ii 25; p. 210, 15–16 should also be spaced (Apoc. xiv 4); p. 212, 6 cf. 2 Cor. iv 7; p. 215, 8 cf. Gal. i 15 (rather than Eph. i 4); p. 216, 15 cf. Matt. xix 26 &c.; p. 246, 15 cf. 1 Tim. iii 15; p. 247, 4 cf. Phil. i 23, Luc. xx 36; p. 249, 6 cf. Rom. xvi 20; p. 270, 9 cf. Gen. iv 14; p. 276, 4 cf. 1 Cor. ii 13; p. 284, 3 cf. Hebr. ii 15; p. 290, 18 cf. Rom. xiv 8; p. 294, 3 cf. Hor. *Carm.* i 3, 18; p. 297, 14–15 cf. Iob i 21; p. 309, 14 cf. Hor. *Carm.* i 3, 18; p. 328, 6 cf. Matt. xii 24 &c.; p. 332, 5 cf. 1 Cor. xv 45; p. 334, 14–16 cf. Hebr. ix 3–5; p. 338, 20 cf. 2 Cor. v 10; p. 340, 1 cf. Verg. *Buc.* i 66; p. 340, 14–15 cf. Matt. xix 30 &c.; p. 346, 22 cf. 1 Cor. xv 8; p. 352, 21 cf. 1 Tim. iv 3; p. 372, 14 cf. Col. i 16; p. 375, 13 cf. Phil. iii 14; p. 387, 1–2 cf. 1 Tim. v 9 &c.; p. 426, 11 cf. Matt. xiii 46; p. 426 in rubric, read 13 for 14; p. 436, 14 cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii 2, 20; p. 439, 12 cf. 1 Tim. v 14; p. 443, 13 cf. (?) Verg. *Buc.* i 66; p. 463, 4 cf. 2 Cor. viii 18; p. 478, 7 cf. Matt. xiii 46; p. 525, 7–8 cf. the well-known proverb; p. 530, 10–14 cf. Ioh. iv 23–24; p. 530, 15–16 cf. Matt. viii 11 &c.; p. 531, 3 cf. Luc. xiv 27 &c.; p. 536, 16 cf. 1 Tim. vi 8; p. 551, 9–10 cf. Rom. vii 6; p. 561, 1–2 cf. 1 Tim. v 2; p. 561, 12 cf. Iuu. xi 154; p. 574, 7 cf. Verg. *Aen.* x 197 &c.; p. 589, 9 cf. Matt. xv 17 &c.; p. 590, 12–13 cf. 1 Tim. vi 8; p. 591, 14 cf. Rom. v 12; p. 592, 1 cf. Apoc. iii 20; p. 592, 13 cf. 1 Tim. v 6; p. 595, 17 cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi 15; p. 597, 19 cf. Hor. *A. P.* 180; p. 612, 1 cf. 2 Tim. ii 2; p. 618, 3 cf. Matt. xii 42 &c.; p. 645, 4 cf. Matt. xxviii 19; p. 684, 19 f cf. 1 Tim. v 11; p. 687, 9–10 cf. C. H. Turner *Ecclesiae Occiden-*

¹ I have also added some references to classical literature.

talīs Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima I; p. 693, 22 cf. Hebr. xi 32 &c.; p. 697, 7 cf. Phil. iv 16; p. 704, 11 cf. 2 Tim. iii 15.

There are places in which I do not agree with the editor's conclusions. First, as to text. Page 51, l. 7 I should unhesitatingly read *idololatrās*; a review of a considerable body of evidence has convinced me that the syncopated form was not used till after Jerome's period; p. 103, 2, 4 read *Sileam* (*Silea*), the regular Old-Latin form (*Study of Ambrosiaster* p. 208); p. 115, 13 I should regard simply as an anacoluthon of a kind not unexampled; p. 123, 4 *idolio* certainly; Jerome knew the difference, if his scribes did not; so also with *Betsabee* (159, 12), *Bersabee* being due to scribes, a not unparalleled confusion (cf. Ps.-Aug. *Quaest.* p. 431, 19); p. 165, 5 I prefer Engelbrecht's suggestion; p. 189, 2 read *Beliab* with G d and Pelag. (comm.); p. 239, 18 get rid of the barbarous expansion 'octuaginta' and read LXXX; p. 305, 10 certainly *Melanius*, comparing Abbot Butler's comprehensive notes in his *Lausiac History of Palladius* vol. ii pp. 222 f, and remembering that this form is not only the best attested for Jerome, but the most difficult; p. 350, 6 undoubtedly read *Apologeticus* (λόγος being understood), again the better attested and the more difficult reading; p. 365, 9 print *leuitico* with small l, as deacons (or subdeacons) are referred to in contrast to priests; p. 389, 11 πνευματόφορος proparoxyton, as the epithet comes from the Western text of Acts xv 29; p. 488, 13 read *esca* with best MSS, and thus, at the same time, be consistent with p. 589, 9, where it is read; p. 592, 11 omit the *et*, and thus bring closer to the Greek of 1 Pet. ii 9. Second, in illustration of what I have remarked above about orthography, no one who had made a special study of fourth-century orthography would, I fancy, disagree with me that the following forms should be put in the text as genuine forms of Jerome's period; *Eleazarus* (pp. 171, 19. 301, 10. 303, 5. 551, 15, perhaps elsewhere; compare Mr C. H. Turner in the JOURNAL vol. ii (1900-1901) 600 ff); *balbutire* (pp. 188, 14. 549, 8; all words of this form are better spelt with double t); *formonsus* (p. 311, 4. 9); *hordiacius* (p. 373, 15); *Ambrosi* (p. 374, 7); *Ezechiel* (pp. 386, 11. 649, 3 &c.); the other is the Vulgate form, introduced into the text by scribes); *Isac* (pp. 415, 10. 551, 7); *obsetrix* (p. 419, 13, cf. Ambr. *expos. Luc.* iii 20 (ter); not *obstetrix*, due to a false etymology: the word is from *ob* and *satum*); *subolem* (p. 482, 23); *Eseias* (p. 484, 17, a plentifully attested Old-Latin form); *t(h)ensaurus* (p. 485, 2); *Xerses* (p. 573, 6. 16; correct in classical authors also); *Istrahel*, &c. (pp. 595, 17. 602, 9. 702, 11). There are misprints in the following places: pp. 128, 16 (read *calciani*), 208, 14. 361, 1. 401 rubric (transfer bracket from the second to the first line); 402, 10. 417, 9. 480, 16 (rubric); 586, 13 (rubric, insert 3, the number of the chapter); 651, 19 and apparatus (correct the Greek accents); 675, 11.

Tyrannii Rufini Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni Novem Interpretatio,
 IOHANNIS WROBELII copiis usus edidit et Prolegomena Indicesque
 adiecit AUGUSTUS ENGELBRECHT. [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol.
 xxxvi.] (F. Tempisky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1910.)

THE delay in the publication of this volume, which, as the reader will see, is number forty-six in the series, is due to the death of the appointed editor, Professor Wrobel, of the University of Czernowitz, Bukowina, in which University Dr Isidor Hilberg, the editor of St Jerome's Epistles, is also a Professor. Certain indications which reveal themselves here and there lead one to conclude that it has been decidedly for the advantage of the edition that Professor Engelbrecht, the supervisor of the *Corpus*, should have seen it through the press. The edition is, in fact, Engelbrecht's work.

Hitherto there have been various difficulties in studying Rufinus. One was the comparative inaccessibility of his works. The present volume, for instance, contains matter which many good patristic scholars can never have seen, for the works have only been twice printed, and the second issue took place nearly four hundred years ago.¹ Rufinus's real greatness, too, has been overshadowed by that of his enemy Jerome. Further, his freedom in translating Greek works is alien to the exact and critical spirit of the present age. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that we now have a scientific edition of one section of Rufinus's voluminous works.

A severe sifting of the numerous manuscripts, most of them of respectable age, has left the following only as of adequate merit to be used in constituting a recension: Vaticanus Reginensis 141 (saec. ix), Oxoniensis Laud. Misc. 276 (probably of Bavarian origin) (saec. ix), Atrebatensis 621 (saec. x), Augiensis cxviii (saec. ix-x), and Vindobonensis 759 (saec. xi). The readings of four other MSS are given in the apparatus to Rufinus's preface, to shew what their character really is. The apparatus is very easy to use. The original Greek has been fully taken into account in constituting the text, and the editing is, of course, worthy of the best traditions of the Vienna series.

Valuable features of the present edition are the long and most valuable introduction, and the indexes of scriptural and other passages, of names and things, and of words and expressions.² Engelbrecht felt

¹ First edition by J. A. Mulingus, printed at Strassburg in 1508; the second published edition appeared at Leipzig in 1522.

² Rules of the Vienna series have been broken both in this volume and in Hilberg's. According to the plan of the series, each volume of an author's works is intended to contain an index of scripture passages, but other indexes are deferred to the end of the author's works: yet Hilberg's volume contains no index of scripture passages, and Engelbrecht's contains all three indexes, though each is the first published volume of an author's works.

himself bound to make a special study of Rufinus's style and language, as a necessary preliminary to an estimate of the comparative value of the various *codices*. The first part of the introduction, which is absolutely indispensable to all serious students of Rufinus's works, is divided into four parts, concerned respectively with (1) the estimate of Rufinus's translations held by ancient writers; (2) the number of Gregory's discourses translated by Rufinus, and the exclusion of the tractate *De Fide* from this collection; (3) the date of the translation; and (4) the nature and character of the translation. Jerome, Gennadius, Augustine, Leo, &c., all shew the highest esteem for the translation. The manuscripts are easily classified by the number of discourses they contain, because some comprise eight, others nine, while yet a third class exists containing ten. The tenth is the *De Fide*, a native Latin work, now almost unanimously attributed to Gregory of Elvira. The similarity of name explains how in some copies a short tractate got combined with the nine discourses of Gregory of Nazianzus, and the varying position in which it is found in this collection at once convicts it as an interloper. But even Augustine appears already in 413 to have had the *De Fide* in his collection, because in his epistle cxlviii he quotes some words from it as by 'Gregory, an Eastern bishop'. Engelbrecht is, in my judgement, quite right in supposing that Rufinus himself had nothing to do with this insertion. In the matter of the date which he assigns to the translation, early in 399 or 400, he appears to me to have rightly interpreted the evidence. The second part of the introduction discusses the manuscripts thoroughly, and considers some special passages in detail, and the third part the *editio princeps*, and the plan of the present edition.

A few notes may be given: page xii, l. 17 correct *uenditatum*; p. xiv, l. 20 I should prefer *etiam* for *certe*, and *quidem* or *præcipue* for *ipsum*—but Prof. Engelbrecht's Latinity is excellent:—p. xxxix, l. 23 I do not know any authority for 'Lincoloniensis', and should suggest 'Lincolniensis' or 'Lindensis'; p. xlv note, correct the misprint; p. 137, 3 cf. Matt. v 16; p. 170, 6 cf. 1 Pet. v 8.

In every way an epoch-making edition.

S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae. Recensuit et Commentario Critico instruxit AL. GOLDBACHER, *Pars iv: Ep. CLXXXV–CCLXX* [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. lvii.] (F. Tempisky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1911.)

WITH this volume Dr Goldbacher has completed the editorial part of what is one of the biggest pieces of critical work on a Latin author achieved in our generation. And it has all been done in a manner which reflects the highest credit on his finished scholarship. Of this consummate edition of the Epistles of St Augustine there remain only

the preface and six indexes, which are promised within a year and a half from now. For those who know the three earlier parts of the work there is no need of any words of commendation.

The manuscripts used range in date from Paris B. N. 11641 (saec. vi) and Bamberg B iv 21 (saec. vi) down to the fifteenth century. The number employed is, of course, very large, and the symbols used for them are given separately at the beginning of the apparatus to each letter. It is needless to say that the improvement on the Maurists' text is not seldom very noticeable. An interesting case, where the Biblical text is involved, is the quotation of Eph. i 15 in *epist.* ccxvii 28, where *dilectione* is proved to be an insertion of the editors, as it is absent from all the MSS.¹ It is but little I have to say by way of criticism about this volume. Page 82, 15 perhaps contains an unrecognized reference to 1 Ioh. iv 20; p. 158, 11-16 recognizes the quotation from Pelagius, but does not supply the reference in *Rom.* v 15. The quotation is reasonably accurate, as are all Augustine's citations from Pelagius, but it is more paraphrastic than the others; the following variants occur: *non est ex traduce* (l. 11); *caro*] add. *ipsa* (l. 11); *sola*] *praem. et ipsa* (l. 12); *ergo* om. (l. 12); *est enim*] *esse dicentes* (l. 13); *quia*] *dicunt etiam* (l. 14); *concedi* (l. 15); *propria*] add. *homini* (l. 15); *remittit* (l. 15); *unum* om. (l. 15); *aliena* (l. 16); pp. 227, 263, misprints; p. 446, 14 read *Mediolanii*, the correct form of the locative, though not of the genitive (cf. *Brundusii* in Ennius); p. 454, 11, cf. Gal. i 22; p. 583, 4 unquestionably *Beliar*, on general grounds, but also because *Belial* is Vulgate, and Augustine did not use the Vulgate of the Pauline Epistles. Some matters of orthography will perhaps be explained in the orthographical index; for example, why the editor prints *haereticus*, *Manichaeus*, instead of *hereticus*, *Manicheus*. On page 536 *ὑποούσιον* should certainly have been printed as Latin.

Un Anonyme Ancien De Decem Virginibus. D. A. WILMART. (Librairie Lecoffre, Gabalda, Paris, 1911.)

THIS brochure is a reprint from two numbers of a learned periodical recently launched, to which the attention of our readers ought to be called. It is called the *Bulletin d'archéologie et de littérature chrétiennes*, and has made an excellent start. The tractate on the Ten Virgins fills only about two and a half pages with apparatus, but Dom Wilmart has provided a full and learned discussion of it in all its bearings, so that the whole article extends to thirty-two pages. The work survives only, as it appears, in the famous Épinal MS 68, above referred to in connexion with the letters of St Jerome, for which it is probably the most valuable

¹ I ought perhaps to refer to my discussion of the significance of the true text of Eph. i 15 in the *Expositor* for August and October.

surviving textual authority, and has only once before been published, namely, by the late Léopold Delisle in 1878. One interest of the tractate lies in the fact that it preserves an Old-Latin text of St Matthew xv 1-13. The fragment displays the allegorical method in exegesis, and is also interesting from the point of view of Latinity. What, however, will attract most readers is a reference to the Apocalypse of Peter¹ side by side with Daniel, as if it were a canonical work, for the 'river of fire'.¹ Dom Wilmart is no doubt right in regarding the fragment as having formed part of a set of *Quaestiones*, as the title of one following 'Why Zacharias did not believe the angel Gabriel, &c.' suggests. As author he suggests Victorinus of Pettau, and I think the suggestion very probable. If it be accepted, it is certainly fatal to the claims of the 'Anonymus Chiliasta' to be Victorinus,² as the two fragments are certainly not by the same author.

A few notes may be added to this little work of Dom Wilmart's, which is a model of investigation at once learned and neat. On p. 16, note 3, reference might have been made to the fifth and sixth edition (the last) of Jülicher's *Einleitung* (1906); on p. 17 for *Vetus Latinum* I should prefer the usual *Vetus Latina*; p. 18 read *Rehdigeranus*; p. 19 Pseudo-Jerome might have been left out, as the printed text is practically illegible; so far from its being Fortunatian, I should regard it as a mediaeval Irish compilation, based on what is practically a Vulgate text; p. 24, why does Dom Wilmart attribute St Jerome's commentary on Matthew to 387,³ when the authorities are unanimous for 398? On p. 32 he has forgotten Victorinus on the Apocalypse; he would have found there an interesting parallel to the exegesis of our passage; the 'seven women' of Isaiah vi 1-4 are also 'churches'.

Die Frage um das Zeitalter Commodians, von HEINRICH BREWER (Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte, herausg. v. A. Ehrhard u. J. P. Kirsch, x. Bd., 5. Heft). (Schöningh, Paderborn, 1910.)

FATHER BREWER, in a work of which a lengthy account was given in the JOURNAL for October 1907, gave a learned and—in the view of the present chronicler—a convincing exposition of his view that Commodian's poems belong to Gaul and to the middle of the fifth century. His view found much support, but also a certain amount of opposition. It was not to be expected that all scholars would consent to be deprived of the 'earliest (African) Christian poet' without a protest. In particular, Lejay in the *Revue Critique* for September 16, 1907, a young

¹ For which see Dr M. R. James in the JOURNAL xii (1910-1911) pp. 41, 43, referred to by Wilmart, p. 32.

² See above, p. 144 (in the notice of Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*).

³ Mr C. H. Turner by a slip in his article in vol. xii (1910-11) p. 99 does the same.

scholar named F. Zeller (*Die Zeit Commodians*, 1909, reprinted from the *Theologische Quartalschrift* of that year), and Zahn (*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* Bd. xxi pp. 228-241) have argued for the older view.¹ Brewer has in the work now under consideration replied to his critics, and has received the support of Dräseke (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, June 10, 1911), and Rauschen (*Literarische Beilage der Kölnischen Volkszeitung*, [March 9, and] April 13, 1911).² What is of more importance even than the assent of these noted patristic scholars, in the eyes of the present writer at least, is the fact that the late Professor J. E. B. Mayor, to whom I sent a copy of Brewer's first book, expressed his 'entire concurrence' with Brewer's view, in what was probably the last article he wrote before his lamented death on December 1 last.³ Probably no one else had Mayor's comprehensive knowledge of Latin literature, joined to sanity of judgement, and I confess that for myself his opinion closes the question. He mentions a point in Brewer's favour, unknown to Brewer himself, namely Maass's 'proof' that Commodian depends on Firmicus Maternus *De Errone Profanarum Religionum*. This at once sends Commodian to the second half of the fourth century at the earliest. Incidentally Mayor also solves the mysterious 'gaseus' in the subscription to the MS of Commodian; it has nothing to do with Gaza, as we were inclined to think, but = arcarius gazae, keeper of the church treasure. The present work of Brewer contains eighty pages, and includes both the further assertion of points previously made, and what appears to me a successful refutation of points raised by Lejay and Zeller against the arguments of the previous work. The whole question seems settled in Brewer's favour. The certain emendation *ballatur* (for *bellatur*)⁴ in i 34, 12, gives us another instance of a late Latin word unknown outside Gaul, and confirms the conclusion reached on general grounds.

A. SOUTER.

¹ I have to thank Profs. Lejay and Zahn for copies of their articles.

² I am indebted to Father Brewer's kindness for my knowledge of these two articles which would otherwise have escaped me.

³ *Classical Review*, December 1910.

⁴ P. 69.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1911 (Vol. lxxii, No. 144: Spottiswoode & Co.). H. KELLY Community work and the Church of England—W. R. MATTHEWS The Morals of Immoralism—Glimpses of the Church of England in the eighteenth century—W. ST CLAIR TISDALL Reincarnation—H. D. OAKELEY Poetry and Freedom—Oxford five hundred years ago—The Poetry of Ireland—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1911 (Vol. ix, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). O. LODGE The Christian idea of God—J. W. MARRIOTT The kingdom of the little child—B. W. BACON The mythical collapse of historical Christianity—P. H. WICKSTEED 'Magic': a contribution to the study of Goethe's Faust—J. DEWEY Maeterlinck's Philosophy of life—J. DEVON The criminal, the criminologist, and the public—C. F. THWING The American family—A RESIDENT IN JERUSALEM Religion in Jerusalem at the present hour—O. J. BIERBAUM Dostoyeffsky and Nietzsche—R. H. COATS Lancelot Andrewes and John Bunyan—J. DAWSON The invasion of the sky—W. WOODING The pre-Christian Jesus—S. UDNV Dante and the New Theology—Discussions—Reviews—Recent books and articles.

The Expositor, July 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 7: Hodder & Stoughton). A. S. LEWIS The text of the Sinai Palimpsest—J. H. MOULTON The Gospel according to Paul—J. R. HARRIS The thirty-eighth Ode of Solomon—H. A. A. KENNEDY The Hellenistic atmosphere of the Epistle of James—J. STALKER Studies in conversion: 5. Thomas Halyburton—R. WINTERBOTHAM The Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood—W. M. RAMSAY Dr Moffatt on the literature of the New Testament.

August 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 8). A. H. SAYCE The Jewish Garrison and Temple in Elephantinê—J. DENNEY Criticism and the parables—A. SOUTER The Epistle to the Ephesians not a secondary production—W. M. RAMSAY Dr Moffatt on the literature of the New Testament—J. T. STODDART The new Melanchthon literature—J. STALKER Studies in conversion: 6. John Newton—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher.

September 1911: Eighth Series, No. 9. J. MOFFATT The
problem of Epiphany—H. M. WILNER Samaritan Septuagint Massoretic
Text—J. DENNETT Christus and the Fathers—A. BUCHLER Private
services before the Jewish Day of Atonement—B. W. BACON The
Odes of Solomon: Christian elements—W. M. RAMSAY Iconium and
Antioch—J. H. MORTON and G. MILLMAN Lexical notes from the
Papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1911 (Vol. xv, No. 3:
Chicago University Press). E. B. WARFIELD The 'Two Natures' and
recent Christological speculation: I The Christology of the New Testa-
ment writings—D. C. MACINTOSH Is belief in the historicity of Jesus
indispensable to Christian Faith?—B. W. BACON The Resurrection in
primitive tradition and observance—K. KOHLER Pothus, the Samaritan
heresiarch, and his relations to Jewish and Christian doctrines and
sects—J. A. FAULKNER A word of protest: must Christians abandon
their historic faith?—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1911 (Vol. ix, No. 3:
Princeton University Press). C. R. EHRMAN The making of the English
Bible—J. FOX The influence of the English Bible on English literature
—F. W. LOEWSCHER The English Bible in the spiritual life of the
English-speaking people—D. BEARON Notes on the history of the
Authorised Version of the Bible in Scotland—W. J. BEECHER Con-
cerning the Incarnation and the Atonement—Reviews of recent
literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, July–October 1911 (Vol. xxviii, Nos. 3–4: Abbaye
de Maredsous). H. QUENTIN Manuscrits démembrés—P. BIHLMAYER
Un texte non interpolé de l'apocalypse de Thomas—J. CHAPMAN
Cassiodorus and the Echternach Gospels—G. MORIN I Liturgie et
basiliques de Rome au milieu du viii^e siècle d'après les listes d'Évangiles
de Würzburg: II Le Pseudo-Bède sur les Psaumes et l'*opus super
Psalterium* de maître Manegold de Lautenbach—A. WILMART I Le
Psautier de la Reine No. 11: sa provenance et sa date: II L'âge et
l'ordre des messes de Mone—P. DENIS D. Vincent Marsolie, 4^e supérieur
général de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur—G. MORIN I Le *De VIII
quaestionibus* du Pseudo-Augustin reconnu authentique par Eugippius
cité comme d'un autre par Augustin: II A propos du *Quicumque*:
extraits d'homélies de S. Césaire d'Arles sous le nom de S. Athanase—
P. BLANCHARD Un traité de *benedictionibus patriarcharum* de Paschase
Radbert?—R. ALBERS Les plus anciennes Constitutions de Vallom-

beuse—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE
Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July 1911 (Vol. xii, No. 3: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). J. LEBON La version philoxénienne de la Bible—J. FLAMION Les Actes apocryphes de Pierre: B. Les Actes de Pierre en Orient (*suite et fin*)—P. FOURNIER Le Décret de Burchard de Worms: ses caractères, son influence (*à suivre*)—G. CONSTANT La transformation du culte anglican sous Édouard VI: II Tendances zwingliennes et calvinistes: Le second 'Livre de la prière publique' (1552): L'ordinal anglais de 1550-1552 et la validité des ordinations anglicanes (*suite et fin*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, April 1911 (Second Series, Vol. vi, No. 2: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). M. BRIÈRE Histoire du couvent de Rabban Hormizd, de 1808 à 1832 (traduite du syriaque) (*suite*)—P. DIB Un apocryphe carchouni sur la captivité de Babylone (texte arabe et traduction française)—L. DELAPORTE Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (*suite*)—J. FRANÇON Traduction française de la version éthiopienne de la Didascalie—S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine: III Traduction de Qalementos (*suite*)—F. NAU Traduction française des lettres de Nestorius à saint Cyrille et à saint Célestin et des douze anathématismes de Cyrille—Mélanges: I F. NAU Un manuscrit de Mgr Graffin: l'ancien manuscrit du *Kalila et Dimna* syriaque: II C. BACHA Le deuxième centenaire de la fondation du monastère des religieux basiliens de Saint-Sauveur—Bibliographie: J. Borgomanero *Quaestiones practicae theologiae moralis ad usum missionariorum* (O'BRIEN): G. Graf *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abû Qurra, Die Philosophie und Gotteslehre des Iahjâ ibn 'Adî und späterer Autoren* (F. NAU): F. Nau *Nestorius d'après les sources orientales* (M. BRIÈRE): C. von Orelli *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (M. BRIÈRE): G. Diettrich *Die Oden Salomos* (F. NAU): J. Linder *Die heilige Schrift für das Volk erklärt* (S. GRÉBAUT)—Courtes notices: I. Guidi *Vocabolario Amarico-Italiano*: P. Thomson *Die Palästina-Literatur* II: M. Chaine *Un monastère éthiopien à Rome*: N. Giron *Notes épigraphiques*: N. Marini *Le Macchie apparenti nel S. Giovanni Chrisostomo*: *L'Oriens christianus*: Mort de M. Rubens Duval.

Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses, Sept.—Oct. 1911 (New Series, Vol. ii, No. 5: Paris, 62 Rue des Écoles). A. LOISY Le totémisme et l'exogamie—E. C. BABUT Saint Martin de Tours: les ennemis de saint Martin—A. DULAC Bernold de Constance—Chronique bibliographique: XII Littérature de l'Ancien Testament et littérature

rabbinique (*suite*): XIII Littérature du Nouveau Testament: XIV Origines chrétiennes.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xciii, No. 3: Tübingen, H. Laupp).
DÖLLER Isaias' (47, 13) Anspielung auf die babylonische Astrologie—
WEBER Revision gegen die Freisprechung des ungerechten Verwalters—
ERNST Neue Untersuchungen über Cyprian und den Ketzertaufstreit—
BELSER Das Johannesevangelium und seine neueste Beurteilung—
Rezensionen—Analekten.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, August 1911 (Vol. xxxii, No. 3: Gotha F. A. Perthes). ERBES Ursprung und Umfang der Petrusakten II—
HAUCK Kleinigkeiten II—SCHEEL Ausschnitte aus dem Leben des jungen Luther I—KALKOFF Zu Luthers römischem Prozess (Fortsetzung)—Analekten—Nachrichten.

The Journal *of* *Theological Studies*

JANUARY, 1912

THE VALUE OF MYSTICISM IN RELIGIOUS FAITH AND PRACTICE.

THE word 'Mysticism' has been used with many and diverse significations, from what is little more than a fanciful use of an epithet up to an over-mastering experience which has been the guiding power of a life. In speaking, however, of religious mysticism in the usually accepted meaning of the term we are dealing with a kind of consciousness which claims to give the mind a certain knowledge of reality; and hence the discussion of its value must proceed along mainly philosophic lines. And this necessity raises a certain difficulty at the very outset of our task. For Mysticism has often claimed to transcend the intellect and to dispense with logic altogether; while thinkers of the rationalistic type, which the late William James has graphically described as 'tough-minded', are in the habit, whether consciously or not, of upholding the sovereignty of reason in a sense which excludes beforehand the very possibility of mystical knowledge. Thus the common antithesis between Rationalism and Mysticism tends to create a prejudice against the latter, as though belief in it were incompatible with a reasonable theory of the universe. On the other hand, transcendental philosophers from Plato to Hegel and his modern followers have used an intellectualist logic as a means to proving a metaphysic which is almost undisguisedly mystical in its conclusions. Hence the intellect has alternately been employed to shut the door on mysticism altogether and to guarantee absolutely some particular form of it. In modern times, however, the absolute supremacy of the intellect in all matters of knowledge—the assumption on which both these schools of thought implicitly rely—has itself been the object of severe and damaging criticism. Kant was the first philosopher explicitly to maintain that the moral

side of man's nature enabled him to reach a knowledge of reality which pure reason was powerless to gain or to prove: but this side of Kant's teaching was left undeveloped by his immediate disciples. In the world of technical philosophy it has been left for the pragmatist movement to draw full attention to the part played by the will and the emotions in the attainment and testing of knowledge, and to create a widespread and insistent doubt as to the infallibility, or rather the possibility, of a purely intellectual criterion. It would of course be out of place to enter here into the intricacies of philosophic controversy; but it may be broadly stated that the tendency of the most distinctively recent thought has been to assert that the intellect, instead of being the infallible guide to all truth, is but an imperfect human instrument whereby our personality seeks to satisfy its cravings and achieve its ends. It is obvious that this suggestion once admitted takes us far indeed along the path of scepticism. Perhaps the furthest point has been reached by M. Bergson whose method William James so warmly commended in one of his later books.¹ Starting from the inability of the intellectualist logic to give any satisfactory account of causation, activity, and change in general, they suggest that this failure is due, not, as Platonists have thought, to the unreal character of the objective world of sense, but to the limitations of the intellect itself, which in order to work at all must regard its concepts as static and unchanging and so can never represent to itself adequately the ideas of activity and motion. The knowledge of these latter realities does not come to us by the operation of the senses and the intellect upon the external world, but is part of that self-conscious life which we experience in our 'free' actions and which constitutes us persons. It would be irrelevant here to enter into all the difficulties and self-contradictions into which the developement of this theory appears to lead, when it claims to deal with all intellectual knowledge as a necessarily imperfect abstraction from reality itself. It is, however, worth while to notice that competent philosophers are maintaining that the whole self-conscious life of a personality supplies a certain knowledge which the intellect, as being only one function or aspect of that life, is of its nature powerless alike to prove or to deny. In other words, while systems of

¹ H. Bergson *Évolution créatrice*; W. James *A Pluralistic Universe*.

philosophy have always hitherto tended to find the ultimate reality either in abstract Mind or in abstract Matter, the trend of much recent thought has been towards asserting that the personality which abstracts is a more ultimate reality than the abstractions which it makes through reflexion either on its own self-conscious life or on the external world which is the object of its experience. If then personality in this sense is a mystery which transcends the intellect, surely the door is open wider than ever for the discussion of mystical experiences, the claim of which is precisely to deal with the deepest realities of personal life.¹ And we need not be surprised when we find philosophers like William James turning from the abstract God of Theology to the Living Power apprehended in the direct experiences of the religious soul. Now, if ever, religious mysticism has an opportunity of vindicating its claim to make a real contribution to the sum of human knowledge and experience. Even if we refuse altogether to follow either Bergson or James in their constructive theories, we may allow recent criticism the credit of having shewn that the mysticism of transcendental philosophers, such as Plato, Fichte, or Hegel, was at least as much the emotional inspiration of their reasoning as its logical consequence.² Even Mr F. H. Bradley has acknowledged that metaphysics are a satisfaction of the mystical side of our nature.³ Such idealistic thinkers at any rate fight on the side of the religious mystic against the rationalist who would crush the aspirations of the human spirit with the dead weight of a mechanical determinism. And, even in proportion as their dialectical arguments appear to fall short of the rigid and universal cogency once claimed for them, the mystical instinct of so many great minds stands out clearly as demanding recognition and respect.

We may therefore enquire into the content of mystical experience without any *a priori* scruple or prejudice of the intellect

¹ M. Bergson's position is peculiar, and it is only fair to say that his constructive system would exclude such an inference—whether consistently or not, cannot here be discussed.

² In connexion with Hegel this point has been very clearly brought out in an article by G. P. Adams entitled *The Mystical Element in Hegel's Early Theological Writings* which appears in the *University of California Publications in Philosophy* vol. ii No. 4; see especially pp. 92 sqq.

³ Cf. the very interesting remarks in the Introduction to *Appearance and Reality*.

against the validity of what it has to convey. Almost inevitably the first step is to give some rough definition of what we mean by 'mystical'. Giving the term its widest sense we may perhaps safely assert that the claim of all mystical experience is to tell us of some wider reality beyond ourselves which is not directly apprehensible by or through the senses. And since this reality is either apprehended immediately as God, or at any rate cannot but have an intimate connexion with and effect upon the mind's ideas about God, all mysticism has in a sense a bearing upon religion. Hence the examination of the content of mystical experience from the religious point of view (i. e. by putting the question, What does it tell us of God?) cannot do much to limit the forms of that experience which demand our consideration.

To any one who seeks the answer to this question in a candid spirit the results at first sight must indeed appear bewildering. Even the most cursory and limited examination of the records which mystics have left is sufficient to create a doubt whether any truth at all can be extracted from such a mass of contradictions. It is true that in the fold of the Catholic Church is to be found a company of mystics whose direct experiences of the presence of God or Christ may make us feel as never before the beauty and truth of an orthodox Christianity. St Francis of Assisi, St Catherine of Siena, St Catherine of Genoa, our own Juliana of Norwich, and occasionally perhaps St John of the Cross and St Teresa—all these and many others may seem, while we rest under their spell, to guarantee to our minds the Church's revelation. Outside what may be called the classical school of Christian mysticism, spiritual lives undeniably laying claim to a mystical experience, such as those of Bunyan, John Wesley, William Law, and a host of others in various Christian communities, may have a similar effect in confirming our faith. The revivalistic phenomena moreover of which William James has given such a valuable account, for all their occasional lack of spiritual dignity, remain true to broadly Christian teaching. And even the experiences of a religious individual like Tolstoy, who belonged to no church or denomination, shew no vital discrepancy with the central doctrines of Christianity, even where they do not yield them direct support.¹ But what are

¹ I refer to Tolstoy's spiritual experiences as described in *Why I Believe*, not necessarily to his actual faith.

we to say of the vast and organized system of Eastern mysticism which teaches the absorption of the soul in a universal characterless and impersonal Unity? Does not Plotinus, the father of European mysticism, occasionally use similar language,¹ and can we not trace the course of a similar non-Christian experience and doctrine passing through pseudo-Dionysius into the heart of the Catholic Church, where with inconvenient persistency they leave their mark on the writings of some of her most distinguished children?² Can we hope to Christianize wholly the teaching of the *via negativa* even as understood by so devout a churchman as Meister Eckhart, both in its theoretical denial of attributes to God and in its practical consequences of withdrawal from the world of men?³ Then again, turning still further from East to West, and from ancient systems to modern, we are met by the strong body of mystical experience which is the central feature of the American Mind-Cure movement. This again must seem definitely un-Christian in its substitution of a world-life absorbing the individual soul for the Love of God which encircles it.⁴ The problem presented by the pantheistic tendency of mystical thought will engage our attention later. But mere pantheism is by no means the least orthodox belief into which mystical experience can lead us. Records are not wanting of experiences of the Infinite which are definitely evil in character and which leave on the mind an impression of horror which words can never represent. And they are apparently not limited to persons of otherwise unsound mind, though no doubt lunatic asylums could furnish innumerable instances of a similar nature.⁵

In face of the facts the unbiased critic must admit that all these various and conflicting experiences are alike in the objectivity which they claim and in the psychological certainty they

¹ i.e. in his description of ecstasy; cf. Inge *Christian Mysticism* p. 97. The Platonic theory of ideas which is the basis of his philosophic system is naturally opposed to such teaching.

² Cf. Inge *Christian Mysticism* pp. 104 and 114.

³ Cf. *ibid.* pp. 159, 160 note. This tendency in its philosophic form is particularly noticeable in the German mystics of the fourteenth century; cf. *ibid.* pp. 181, 182, and the *Theologia Germanica* cc. ix, xxxi, xxxii, xliii. The subject will come up again later.

⁴ Cf. James *Varieties of Religious Experience* pp. 100 and sqq.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* p. 426; also the case of J. A. Symonds quoted *ibid.* p. 385.

inspire in the minds of those to whom they occur: and he cannot but agree with William James that the mere fact of such experience can be used almost equally well to support any kind of religious or irreligious belief whatsoever.¹ At any rate, then, the inference is inevitable that mystical knowledge carries with it no internal criterion of its own objective validity. It is manifestly impossible even to draw a rigid and immediate distinction between the results of divine and valid and those of diabolic and illusory inspiration; the shades of the experiences are too varied and pass too subtly into one another.

And at first sight, no doubt, the recognition of these facts brings with it a temptation to sweep away the whole claim to mystical knowledge as a snare and a delusion. But a little reflexion should suffice to shew that any such hasty step would only be the result of an intellectual prejudice such as we have already sought to dispel. Of course if the only human way of attaining knowledge is by the reflexion of the intellect on the data of sense-perception, then either mystical knowledge must be imposed from without by some higher power whole and complete upon the mind of man, or it must be some empty illusion of the mind itself probably due to pathological conditions. But if mysticism has its root in a really human means of apprehending reality which differs from the ordinary operation of the intellect upon sense—and to this possibility we have seen no *a priori* objection—it is hard to see why its deliverances must be regarded as either infallible or worthless. Why then should the contradictory beliefs of mystics invalidate the whole of mystical knowledge any more than the conflicting views of experts destroy the value of philosophy and science? Yet if such an attempt is to be of any assistance, certain important admissions are inevitably involved. The mystic's claim to know something of nature of the peculiar sort which his experience has made him discover and mystical knowledge, in so far as it is to have object or worth or merit at all, must like other knowledge be brought to the bar of human criticism. And it would be idle to pretend that the immediate givenness of the mystic's knowledge, the source in which it claims and the intense psychological state in which it says we do not make

¹ *Lectures on Pragmatic Philosophy*, p. 102.

the distinction in it of degrees of truth and falsehood a peculiarly difficult and doubtful task.

Before, however, proceeding further with the enquiry how the mystical experience is to be tested and what after all it has to convey, it may be well to notice another line of argument which, if its conclusions were established, would make our trouble superfluous. Quite apart from the contradictoriness of mystical revelations, minds of a healthy and Philistine type have sought to discredit all such abnormal phenomena as being merely pathological in origin. In support of this contention it is asserted that, while, in the dwellings of the apparently sane and righteous, mystical experiences are occasionally to be met with, quite similar cases are the routine of the lunatic asylum or may readily be excited by the liberal use of particular drugs. Moreover, it is pointed out that even in the case of the most revered and saintly mystics these abnormal experiences are usually associated with peculiar psycho-physical and nervous accompaniments, which bear a remarkable resemblance to the admittedly morbid conditions of hysteria. Further, stress is laid generally on the eccentricities of behaviour to which holy men have frequently been addicted. It is not necessary here to say much in reply to such reasonings. In its cruder form such question-begging carries with it its own refutation, and its more plausible suggestions have been quite adequately met by W. James and Baron von Hügel.¹ It would therefore scarcely be worth while to enter into any discussion of the questions how far the vision of the mystic and the hallucinations of the insane may be said to resemble and pass into one another, and up to what point the practices of self-mortification and detachment by mediaeval saints are and are not to be condemned as 'morbid'. For the present, at any rate, it is perhaps enough to point out that, if mysticism represents a genuine human faculty, the possibility of its corruption is no argument against its value. And it may well be that the most finely-tempered spiritual organism is the most liable to be strained or broken, and the price which it has to pay may be the very measure of the preciousness of that which it has to confer.

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience* Lecture i; *The Mystical Element in Religion* ii c. ix. I have nothing to add to these discussions.

If then we may assume that the pathological boggy has been laid, on what principles and by what criteria are the data of the mystical consciousness to be judged? Perhaps it may be of service first to state some of William James's very interesting conclusions and to consider how far these represent a satisfactory method of dealing with the facts.

(1) William James, as we have already noticed, interprets the varieties of content displayed by mystical experience as shewing that 'the mystical feeling of enlargement, union and emancipation has no specific intellectual content whatever of its own. It is capable of forming matrimonial alliances with material furnished by the most diverse philosophies and theologies, provided only they can find a place in their framework for its peculiar emotional mood.'¹ Hence, 'no authority emanates from mystical states which should make it a duty for those who stand outside of them to accept their revelations uncritically.'²

(2) Nevertheless 'these states' (including presumably the intellectual content they convey or presuppose) 'when well developed usually are and have the right to be absolutely authoritative over the individuals to whom they come.'³

(3) Although no one specific intellectual content can be extracted from them, yet their form usually follows a certain well-marked type and is attended by definite emotional results. The 'nucleus of agreement' is found in the feeling of the subject that his higher self is 'conterminous and continuous with a More of the same quality which is operative in the universe outside of him and which he can keep in working touch with and in a fashion get on board of and save himself when all his lower being has gone to pieces in the wreck'.⁴

(4) Differences of theological belief—apparently within the very vague limits just sketched—do not matter in practice.⁵ Let every one abide in the beliefs to which his own experiences tend,⁶ and meanwhile a comparative study of religions may in the slow and purely hypothetical manner appropriate to scientific thought gradually proceed to frame the general theories which

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience* p. 425. In stating James's conclusions I have rearranged them to a considerable extent for the purposes of the present discussion. I do not think, however, that I have misinterpreted his meaning.

² *Ibid.* p. 422.

³ *Ibid.* p. 504.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 422.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 488.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 508.

shall best fit the facts and which can then be recommended for universal acceptance.¹

What criterion then does James supply? In the first place he rules out altogether the claim to objective validity of all harmful and depressing experiences, either because of their exceptional character (which is perhaps not quite sufficiently established) or for the more pragmatic reason of their negative value for life. In spite, however, of all admission of exceptions the chief criterion on which he relies is the internal criterion of agreement. His method is to find a common nucleus of unanimity in mystical experiences, and to disparage the claim of 'over-beliefs' as secondary.²

But careful reflexion on the facts seems to shew that neither from the religious nor from the scientific point of view is this a satisfactory solution.

(1) It will not really do to distinguish between a primary and objective nucleus which in the last resort is little more than a comfortable feeling of expansion, and the secondary and subjective beliefs of a more or less theological nature which vary in different cases, and are only valid for the person who has the experience. For to the mystic himself the sole value of the experience often consists in the assurance it brings him of the universal truth of his own particular 'over-beliefs'. Hence, whatever the logical order of validity may be, psychologically speaking the comfortable feeling of expansion which James calls primary depends for its existence on the supposed truth of the 'secondary' over-belief. And this is most true precisely in the case of the greatest religious geniuses. For it is obvious that in religion more than in any other branch of knowledge the mind requires an absolute assurance. The spiritual force working through the religious life absolutely depends for its effectiveness on the strength of the convictions which on the human side of the relationship are its source. As Herrmann says, 'only that which overwhelms us with the force of undoubted reality has power over our inmost life.'³ As long as we confine ourselves to abstract debate we may talk of the need of regarding all our religious over-beliefs as the merest hypotheses liable at any

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 510, 511.

² See especially p. 504.

³ *Communion of the Christian with God*, 2nd English edition, p. 82.

moment to complete reconstruction : but how would our scientific caution appear to men like St Paul, St Francis of Assisi, Luther, Wesley, Isaiah, Mahomet, or Buddha, or indeed to any one who has really done great things in the religious world? Yet these men are after all the experts in religion, and their views must command respect. The plain truth is that if my religion can *only* satisfy *my* needs it cannot even begin to satisfy my need for religion. Hence all the religious persecutions, oppressions, and intolerance the world has ever seen. No doubt such exhibitions are in the highest degree regrettable; but it would be strange indeed if they did not have their source in some genuine need of the human soul. James indeed does seem dimly to realize the difficulties of his position, when he admits that 'the science of religions may not be an equivalent for living religion, and if we turn to the inner difficulties of such a science we see that a point comes when she must drop the purely theoretic attitude, and either let her knots remain uncut or have them cut by active faith'.¹ It is precisely this active faith, which all great mystics have possessed, that is the source of all religious power, and which James's doctrines if believed would inevitably destroy. Of course it would be unfair to press a practical difficulty too hard on a scientific theorist. But on purely empirical grounds we may conclude that James has failed to reckon with the sweeping objectivity of the claim made by the religious 'over-belief' and its inseparability (no matter how various in different cases its content may be) from the highest and most effective forms of mystical experience. To call the 'over-belief' as such secondary is really a quite uncritical proceeding. Perhaps it is almost the only conclusion which all mystics would unite to condemn.

(2) This conclusion is further strengthened by a doubt which suggests itself whether after all James has not been too hasty in discovering a nucleus of agreement common to all mystical states. This highest common factor he describes as a feeling of the subject that his own highest self is 'conterminous and continuous with a More of the same quality which is operative in the universe outside of him and which he can keep in working touch with and in a fashion get on board of and save himself when all his lower being has gone to pieces in the wreck'. Now it is

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience* p. 489.

evident that this language is very carefully chosen and that it really does cover a very great deal of ground. It is excellently suited to the phenomena of the American Mind-Cure movement, e.g. to the case of the lady who describes herself as feeling 'one with Omnipotence' and 'a conscious part of the Deity'.¹ At the same time it is obviously in accord with leading ideas of Hindu, Buddhist, and Mohammedan mysticism. Lastly it receives undeniable and striking support from one whole side of the teaching developed by the classical school of Christian mystics. The doctrine of the deification of the soul which early found a place in Christian theology, and the theories of the soul's absolute union with God in virtue of the divine nature of the 'spark' within it (teaching which occurs in most Catholic mystics and schoolmen), all seem to have remarkable affinities to William James's description.² But is there not another equally important aspect of Jewish and Christian experience for which that description cannot legitimately find a place? Can the phrase 'a More of the same quality continuous with the self' ever include the intense and vital sense of otherness involved in the relationship of the creature to the Creator? Surely it would be an abuse of language to say that the Hebrew prophets (Ezekiel, for instance, whose prophecies shew clear traces of mystical consciousness³) experienced God as of the same quality with their own higher selves. No doubt they had an anthropomorphic conception of God; but even in proportion as they employed human categories to describe Jehovah's nature they attributed to it an infinitely higher quality than man could ever reach. 'As the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways and My thoughts than your thoughts.' And this feeling of infinite otherness is a necessary constituent of that combination of love and reverence which is the distinctive feature of the Christian attitude towards God. It is not quite satisfactory to treat all the extravagant expressions of self-abasement before God and of our utter difference from Him, with which the writings of Christian mystics teem, as merely representing the experience of contact with a More of the same quality as their highest selves.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 104.

² Cf. Inge *Christian Mysticism* Appendix C.

³ On this point cf. Baron von Hügel *op. cit.* ii p. 45, and Dr. G. C. Joyce *The Inspiration of Prophecy* pp. 114 sqq.

Moreover James's remarks on the eternal unanimity of Hindu, Neoplatonist, Sufist, and Christian mysticism¹ require considerable qualification. No doubt, if we follow the popular terminology and confine the term 'mystic' in the Church to those holy men and women whose lives most nearly resemble those of the oriental contemplatives, the similarity is indeed remarkable; though even here the Christian conception of God as Love forms a glaring contrast with the oriental notion of impersonal unity. But if we call 'mystical' any direct consciousness of God's presence and nature, and so consider more generally the types of religious experience found in the Christian and the oriental religions, the difference becomes at least as striking as the resemblance. The truth seems to be that the more pessimistic ideal of an absorption in an eternal unity, where salvation consists only in the escape from life, and the optimistic ideal of a union of love, where the equally vital elements of unity and otherness are held in an eternal balance, really constitute two principles irreconcilably opposed, however much intermediate forms may be found to mingle with and interpenetrate each other. It is perhaps possible to distinguish two main conceptions of God in the religious experience of the highly developed human consciousness. There is on the one hand the more anthropomorphic and transcendent God, the God of love and power, and on the other hand the more impersonal and immanent spirit of the Universe.² In the first case, in proportion as God is conceived as like man, He is held to be distinct from and utterly above him; and in the second case, in proportion as all human and personal attributes are denied to God, He is held to be the underlying and immanent reality of the self. It is this complication which gives the phrase, 'a More of the same quality continuous with the self', its undoubted plausibility. Now it is the glory of Christianity to hold together *the best* in both conceptions: for the doctrine of the Trinity expresses both the immanence and the transcendence of God, and the teaching of the *via negativa* is always complementary to 'the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father'. But William James's phrase seems an unsatisfactory and ambiguous piece of terminology which mediates between the two without including

¹ Op. cit. p. 419.

² Cf. the contrast brought out between Jehovah and Brahma in *The Creed of Buddha*, by the author of *The Creed of Christ* c. i.

either, or else can only be stretched to include both at the cost of losing its own significance.

On the whole then it would seem that the distinction of a primary nucleus of agreement from secondary and varying over-beliefs is misleading; and that the over-belief instead of being an excrescence really goes down to the very root and centre of mystical experiences. If indeed all these experiences agree in anything it would be fairer to maintain that in all of them some Universal Life or Power is apprehended, except that this would contradict James's own metaphysic of pluralism.

The internal criterion then has broken down and we are driven to seek some means, external to the experiences themselves, of discriminating between their truth and falsehood. But if the mystical experience were our sole means of knowing God, our task would be hopeless. For we could possess no other standard by which to correct our data. It is, however, of the essence of the religion of the Incarnation to declare that we may see and know God, not only immediately in our inmost selves, but also mediately and externally, first in the record of our Lord's life, and then in whatsoever things on earth are pure, lovely, and of good report. Further, besides the general test of life, we must reckon with the authority over belief claimed by various organs of institutional religion. It would be out of place to plunge into the mazes of theological controversy, but at least we have in the Church a store of tried and tested experience which has arisen out of the constant interplay and friction of the mystical, moral, and intellectual activities constituting religious life, and should serve as a check on individual extravagance as well as an inspiration to individual endeavour. In other words our method is to test God's inward revelation of Himself to the individual soul by His outward revelations of Himself both as embodied in human life at large and as crystallized and formulated by the religious society. The first test will tend to be moral and practical, the second theological and speculative: for the formulations of the Church must primarily be the work of the intellect and take an intellectual and abstract form. Of course it would not be justifiable to limit God's wider revelation of Himself to morals and theology. The secular reason both in science and in philosophy also claims, and claims legitimately, a certain right in the

criticism of mystical, as of other, phenomena, though the previous argument will have suggested that by itself, and considering the mystical data only, it can establish no positive result. Something further, therefore, will have to be said of the relation of the secular intellect to mysticism in general. Now all these criteria are in a sense external to the mystical experience itself; but it cannot be too strongly insisted that for the Christian, at any rate, none of them is irrelevant. For if the principle of Incarnation is once admitted, God is in a measure revealed by every human action in so far as it is really good, and by every human speculation in so far as it is really true. To limit all knowledge of Him to the particular form of immediate mystical experience cannot but lead to a barren obscurantism which would hinder and mar the fulfilment of every human faculty in Christ.

(1) Our Lord's great practical criterion, 'By their fruits ye shall know them', is as applicable to mystical states as it is to individual lives. It is of course a mere truism that the test of good life provides the oldest, surest, and most universal witness to God in the world. Not every one has mystical experiences, not every one is learned in theology or belongs to a Church, but every one has some notion of the difference between a good and a bad life: and this is why the human conscience is the final and ultimate court of appeal for all religions. A higher revelation, whether contained in Buddhism, in Confucianism, or in Christianity, can only gain man's adherence and belief because it convicts him of sin in contrast with the higher ideal which it sets before him. We may therefore confess boldly that our reason for rejecting some mystical experiences as morbid, harmful, or illusory is that they do not tend to make life better; they do not stimulate the moral faculties and other healthy branches of human activity, but rather undermine character, weaken vitality, and diminish the forces at war with evil in the world. No doubt certain experiences derived from the use of drugs and some hallucinations of the mentally unsound claim a complete objectivity and inspire an intense conviction; but their truth is not verifiable in the world at large, they will not stand the test of application to human life. They are therefore to be

combated and avoided, and we cannot admit that they have the right to be authoritative even over those to whom they come. But no theory more flagrantly violates the facts than that which would disparage the mystical form of experience as a whole on the ground that it has no value for practice. Even if we confine the term 'mystic' to the more completely contemplative type of mind, so as to exclude men of action like St Paul, Luther, and Wesley, such a conclusion seems to gain hardly more support. At any rate it cannot be disputed that in Indian, Greek, and Hebrew history the highest moral teaching has gone hand in hand with mysticism. The blending of these two characters in the person of Buddha is too obvious to need illustration. There is a strong vein of mysticism in the profoundly ethical genius of Socrates, who constantly felt the guidance of his daemon, and was apparently subject to a peculiar form of trance. Moreover, it certainly seems that the mystery-worship was the only serious and organized attempt made in Greek history to connect morals with religion. It is evident again that some kind of abnormal experience inspired the fervour of the Hebrew prophets; and it is perhaps worth while to remark that Ezekiel, whose peculiar psychophysical constitution seems to resemble most nearly that of the mystic-saints,¹ was at the same time the first Hebrew to perceive and formulate the fundamental postulate of ethics that the individual is responsible for that which he himself has done. And when we turn to the Christian saints the amount of practical energy and ability, as well as of moral fervour, shewn by some of those in whom mystic states are of most frequent occurrence, is a phenomenon which compels attention. The most obvious instances which at once spring to the mind are those of St Francis of Assisi and St Catherine of Siena, whose lives are too well known to bear more than a passing allusion. Of St Francis we may certainly say in the words of his latest biographer, 'au lieu de s'abandonner à l'ivresse de la contemplation il se demanda bien vite comment il rendrait à Jésus amour pour amour, à quelle action il emploierait cette vie qu'il venait d'offrir.'² And the great

¹ See above p. 171 n. 3.

² Paul Sabatier *Vie de St François d'Assise* p. 63.

movement of reform which he instituted, even if its immediate effect was short-lived, is still felt as an inspiration to lives of self-sacrifice in the service of God and man.¹ St Catherine of Siena is famous as the inspirer of the papal policy during a critical period in its history. It is true that the bold advice she offered was most imperfectly carried out. Often in the then condition of society it may have seemed impracticable, and certainly at times her judgement was warped either by the partisanship of the doctrinaire or by the simple-mindedness of the child of light.² Still it will hardly be disputed that in the main her counsel was as sound and statesman-like as it was undoubtedly the fruit of her inward communing with the unseen. Even her ineffectual advocacy of a Crusade displays a wise principle of practical policy, and may be compared with efforts of Cimon's party at Athens to avert civil strife among the Greek states by uniting them against the barbarian foe. In her unflagging zeal for the reform of the Church she suffered only through being in advance of her times, and the fearless idealism with which she approached the most unscrupulous politicians of her day is at least a noble example of that charity which often succeeds because it believeth all things.³ The less celebrated St Catherine of Genoa affords another example of the influence for practical good of the mystic character. Baron von Hügel draws a most attractive picture of the circle of friends who gathered round her; and the courage and efficiency with which she and her disciple Ettore Vernazza, a Genoese physician, dealt with the most appalling outbreaks of plague give proof of attention to method no less than of heroic self-sacrifice.⁴ Again, the society of German mystics of the fourteenth century known as the Friends of God, however dangerous in certain directions their teaching may have been,

¹ The Brotherhood of the Imitation recently founded in India by Mr Stokes is distinctly Franciscan in its aims and character.

² See her letter to the ruffianly mercenaries who were fighting the Pope's battles: 'If you survive you have made a sacrifice of yourselves voluntarily to God and will be able to keep what you possess with a good conscience': quoted in Gardner's *Life of St. Catherine of Siena* p. 311.

³ See her letters to Bernabo and Beatrice Visconti and the Queen of Naples, *ibid.* pp. 115, 117, 139, &c.

⁴ Baron von Hügel *op. cit.* i pp. 143 sqq., 330 sqq.

at least stands out as a group of pure and noble lives in the midst of uproar and corruption. The truth seems to be that the contemplative spirit of mystical piety, where it does not lead to excesses of quietism and detachment, issues in a serene, steadfast assurance, unappalled by horrors and unshaken by failure, which is one of the strongest forces at work in the world. The familiar story of St Catherine of Siena and Niccolò di Toldo,¹ to take a single instance, cannot fail to impress the most unmystical of minds; and when we reflect that this wonderful power was combined in Catherine's case with all the shrewd sympathy and affection displayed in her letters, we cannot be surprised at the little company of men and women who were ready to follow wherever she might lead. St Teresa is in some respects perhaps a less admirable character; but the serene sympathy and spiritual insight of the following passage from her Letters will perhaps justify the quotation of it. 'I am not saying', she writes, 'that men should not seek to be devout nor that they should not stand in great reverence in the presence of God, but only that they are not to vex themselves if they cannot find even one good thought; for we are unprofitable servants. What do we think we can do? Our Lord grant that we understand this, and that we may be those little asses who drive the windlass I spoke of. These, though their eyes are bandaged and they do not understand what they do, yet draw up more water than the gardener can draw with all his efforts.'²

This width of view on the part of one who believed herself to be receiving direct communications from God is indeed remarkable, and leads on to a further point which, in dealing with practice as a test of mystical phenomena, must on no account be overlooked. Many of the greatest mystics have expressly recognized that the test of the truth of mystical experience lies in its influence for good on practical life. William James remarks that 'the Vedantists say that one may stumble into superconsciousness sporadically without the previous discipline, but it is then impure. Their test of its purity . . . is

¹ This story is told by Gardner *op. cit.* p. 379.

² *Life of St Teresa*, tr. by D. Lewis, p. 170.

empirical. Its fruits must be good for life'.¹ Baron von Hügel quotes passages of more vital importance from St Teresa and St John of the Cross. 'I could not believe', says St Teresa, 'that Satan if he wished to deceive me could have recourse to means so adverse to his purpose as this, of rooting out my faults and implanting virtues and spiritual strength; for I saw clearly that I had become another person by means of these visions.'² And on another occasion it is recorded in her Life that 'she never undertook anything merely because it came to her in prayer. For all that her Confessors told her that these things came from God, she never so thoroughly believed them that she could swear to it herself, though it did seem to her that they were spiritually safe because of the effects thereof'.³ 'All visions, revelations, and heavenly feelings,' says John, 'and whatever is greater than these, are not worth the least act of humility bearing the fruits of that charity which neither values nor seeks itself, which thinketh well not of self but of all others.'⁴ Again, on another occasion St Teresa alludes to a passage from St Vincent Ferrer about raptures, which runs in the Latin: 'Si dicerent tibi aliquid quod sit contra fidem et contra scripturam aut contra bonos mores, abhorreas eorum visionem et iudicia tanquam stultas dementias et eorum raptus sicut rabimenta.'⁵

It is of course true that many mystics have by the practice of self-mortification crippled themselves mentally and physically in a way which the modern conscience would condemn. It may freely be admitted that here lies the besetting sin of what may be called orthodox mysticism; and certainly it is idle to follow pessimizing critics, with whose ill-concealed complacency we are nowadays so familiar, in ascribing our dislike for such performances to the luxury of a materialistic age. At least,

¹ *Varieties of Religious Experience* p. 401. I have only James's authority for the latter part of this assertion and am not in a position to verify its accuracy. Vivekananda, whom he quotes just before, is a modern writer affected by European notions, and the very favourable opinion of Yoga quoted from Karl Kellner (p. 401 note) hardly agrees with the account given by J. C. Oman in *Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India*.

² Baron von Hügel *op. cit.* ii p. 48.

³ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 51.

⁵ *Life of St Teresa*, tr. D. Lewis (edition 1888), p. 152 note, quoted from St Vincent Ferrer *de Vit. Spirit.* c. xii § 14.

however, the mystic has always borne witness to the principle of utter self-sacrifice which is the foundation of all practical ethics. In times of intellectual stagnation and material self-indulgence he has furnished the startling example which alone could pierce dull ears and blinded eyes: and if in so doing he has sometimes forgotten that the end of this renunciation should be to lead men to God and establish peace on earth, at least as much as to save his own soul 'so as by fire', yet at any rate overwhelming evidence can be brought to prove that this form of vicious detachment is no integral part of the mystic character. Indeed, the day when this reproach could carry weight is already past.

Lastly, Baron von Hügel has shewn that although well-marked mystical experiences may often be accompanied by peculiar psycho-physical and nervous conditions, occasionally of such a nature as to undermine the subject's health, it by no means follows that the experiences as a whole are harmful. We must not forget, as he reminds us, 'that physical health is not the true end of human life, but only one of its most important means and conditions . . . Hence, the true question here is not whether such a type of life as we are considering exacts a serious physical tribute or not; but whether the specifically human effects and fruits of that life are worth that cost.'¹ And on the whole it seems that this question may be answered in the affirmative, especially when we contrast the inward peace enjoyed and the actual good accomplished by such lives with the nervous depression and lassitude which would probably have been their lot, had their mystical instincts been checked and stifled.² Only it must be remembered that the outward form and conditions of mystical states matter nothing for religion; it is the spiritual value of their content which alone makes them worthy of reverence or of contempt.

(2) But, granted that the good life is the final and ultimate criterion which in a sense embraces all others, it does not follow that the purposes of good life will best be served by the immediate and exclusive application of practical tests to all mystical phenomena. The problem is by no means so simple. Suppose a mystical experience is found to make the life of the

¹ *Op. cit.* ii p. 57.

² *Ibid.* p. 59.

person to whom it comes happier and better. That is good ; but obviously its claim to truth will be further established and its practical results widened and intensified, if at the same time it agrees with and throws light upon a theology which the religious intellect approves as the best expression of the nature of God to the mind of man. But can theology venture to suggest to the mystic the terms in which his experiences should express themselves? The plain fact is that it inevitably does so. For it is clear, as William James implies, that the mystical experience tends to take its form from the doctrines of the society in which it occurs. Thus Hindu and Buddhist experiences lead on the whole to belief in an impersonal Godhead, while Christian mystics speak of an intense feeling of the love of God or Christ, and, in Roman Catholic countries particularly, visions of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints are of not infrequent occurrence. We have seen that the abnormal form of the experience must not be taken as guaranteeing the theological doctrine. But it by no means follows that we should therefore disparage the theology as being a mere accompaniment of purely secondary importance. On the contrary it seems proved that just as mysticism may give new life and meaning to theology, theology up to a point inspires and determines the form of mysticism. Hence we should naturally expect that the highest theology would tend to produce the best mysticism ; and instead of seeking to discount all the theological element in mystical experience, we should strive rather to use theological beliefs to procure the highest developement of mysticism.

And perhaps this proceeding seems less arbitrary when it is recognized that all mystics agree in declaring the ineffability of the mystic state. Its content is admitted by them to be extremely difficult to formulate in language at all, to formulate adequately quite impossible—and indeed it may very well be that the particular mystic himself is by no means the person best qualified to make the attempt. To take an example of this difficulty, the teaching of the *via negativa*, which would deny all attributes to God, seems to take from Him all character and reality ; but it has often been pointed out with much truth that the mystics themselves only meant these denials to represent an intensity of character and reality beyond all human

expression. A recent English writer makes much of this point in regard to Hinduism. The Upanishads use 'the language of paradox and negation' about the Divine, only because, 'dwelling at the heart of man as the unbeholden essence of all things . . . he is at once too subtle to be grasped by any effort of mental analysis, and too vast to be encompassed by any flight of imaginative thought'.¹ Certainly the description of God in negatives, which the Christian mystics borrowed from pseudo-Dionysius, was intended to be understood in some such sense, and was in their case corrected by teaching of a more positive character.² Still, when all allowances are made, it is clear that some mystics, especially in the East, have been led into actually treating God as a characterless and all pervading unity into which all things are to be merged. The ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας persistently tends to pass into what for moral purposes is οὐκ ὄν. Others, on the other hand, and especially Christians, have represented God's goodness and love as so utterly real and intense as to be a distinct personal force excluding absolutely every taint of evil. Thus the mystical experience seems balanced on a razor edge between two extremes. Again, the mystical doctrine of the soul's union with God is often expressed in terms which seem to exclude the reality of the individual person altogether, and here too mystics have been led by this negation both to speak and to act as though they themselves were unreal, and to represent the end of life as the attainment of complete absorption in the All. Yet mystics who at times use just this language about the individual often seem, nevertheless, to presuppose a consciousness of this union on the soul's part, which already implies an otherness; and further, Christian mystics speak of and feel this union as an ecstasy of love, which must mean in some sense the eternity of personal distinction.³ And if it is objected that this is never clearly expressed, it must not be forgotten that in an intense emotional consciousness of union, the unity would be the only aspect felt and recorded, whereas

¹ *The Creed of Buddha*, by the author of *The Creed of Christ*, pp. 176, 177.

² Cf. Inge *Christian Mysticism*, on Augustine, Erigena, Eckhart, Tauler, &c.

³ I am aware that a writer like the author of *The Creed of Buddha* quoted above, can speak of 'the impersonal passion of universal love' (p. 87). I can only say that to me such an expression is meaningless. Herrmann's remark 'all love is joy in personal life' seems much nearer the truth (*Communion with God* p. 275).

the otherness is logically presupposed in the feeling—a reflexion which suggests that the pantheism, of which even Christian mystics are not unnaturally accused, may in part be due merely to confused expression. However that may be, here again mystical experience is balanced on a razor edge between the eternal reality and the complete nothingness of the human personality.¹ It is in cases like these that theology, representing the general religious experience of the society as a whole, may perform a real and legitimate service in correcting the balance. It is by theology that mysticism may be, and has been, saved from falling, in its eagerness to escape the phenomenal world, into an exclusive and therefore empty and unfruitful unification of all things. And in so doing, theology may perform the further function of mediating between the experiences of the individual mystic and the minds of other members of the society. In correcting the balance of mysticism it may also interpret it and express it in categories which the ordinary mind can grasp and appreciate. Thus too, mysticism itself will be further encouraged and inspired.

William James, however, seems to imply that any such intervention of theology is at least superfluous, because mystical states have the same value for life, whatever be the theological beliefs with which they ally themselves. 'Saints,' he says, 'whether Buddhist, Christian, or Stoic, are practically indistinguishable in their lives.'² But the truth of this assertion is by no means self-evident. Perhaps if we compare the external actions of Gautama with those of some Christian mystics, we shall find that in similar circumstances they react, on the whole, in much the same way. But looking closer at the whole trend of Buddhist and Christian saintship we are struck by a difference. In the Christian Church we have a magnificent succession of more or less mystical personalities, who not only instituted religious orders, but also exercised a most important influence in practical fields, such as politics, education, and the care of the sick. On the other hand, oriental mystics, while leading

¹ The controversy whether Nirvana means eternal life or complete annihilation is not yet settled. And there is the further problem, which of these union with, or absorption in, the All most nearly approaches.

² *Varieties of Religious Experience* p. 504.

pure and noble lives, tend to cut themselves off from men and to survey the world with a superior, though kindly, pity, which can only withdraw itself from the evil it knows to be invincible. The difference lies really in the whole spiritual power breathing through these two types of life: the active power of the love of God on one side, and the passive stability of union with the All on the other. In other words, the Christian mystic is inspired by a better theology than the oriental. The Incarnation is a more fruitful principle than pantheism.

As an illustration of the possible influence of an orthodox theology upon mystical experience, we may perhaps quote the reason given by Dr Joyce for the fact that Greek divination, as contrasted with Hebrew, never rose to the heights of prophecy, but remained on the lower level of magic. 'It was', he says, 'one of the many noxious consequences which issued from the medley of Greek polytheism. The power to whose action the wonders of divination were attributed by the Greeks was no one God, personal and holy, but a mixed crowd of gods and goddesses of all ranks, grades, and characters . . . It was thus debased theology which rendered the Greek religion incapable of producing from among its seers any one worthy of the title of prophet.'¹ Certainly it cannot be denied that the Church of Rome, where the influence of orthodoxy is strongest, has also been the richest of all Christian communities in the best and noblest type of mysticism, as well as in its more degenerate and superstitious forms. Moreover, mystical saints, for the most part, emphasize the need the spiritual life has of external guidance. St John of the Cross, St Teresa, St Catherine of Siena, and St Catherine of Genoa, all feel intense dread of deception and delusion in raptures and visions; and would regard such mysticism apart from ecclesiastical authority as dangerous in the extreme.² St John at times seems to treat these experiences almost with contempt; and the others certainly adopt a more or less critical attitude towards them and are much influenced by their confessors and spiritual superiors.³ All this tends to shew that

¹ Dr G. C. Joyce *Inspiration of Prophecy* p. 41.

² This dependence is specially characteristic of St Teresa, and instances of it occur again and again in her life.

³ Most remarkable passages from John of the Cross have been collected by Baron von Hügel *op. cit.* ii pp. 50, 51. For Catherine of Genoa cf. *ibid.* i pp. 206, 207, 247. The attitude of Catherine of Siena is substantially the same.

the mystic state 'having no specific intellectual *content of its own*', needs to be united with the best theology in order to reach its highest development.

As a final instance we may perhaps refer to the American Mind-Cure movement.¹ Its leaders have indeed grasped a genuine and permanent aspect of mystical truth and applied it in a way which the Church may have ignored to her cost. But it is difficult to imagine that exhortations 'to realize one's own Divinity' and 'feel oneself a conscious part of the Deity' who is all things, will either meet with a wide response or inspire the noblest form of saintliness. Might not the influence of an orthodox theology have preserved the practical efficiency of this teaching, while preventing its expression in terms which are not only intellectually absurd in the sense that they utterly fail to support the practical inferences drawn from them, but also jar most harshly on the sense of reverence inseparable from the highest type of religious mind?

We may conclude, then, that we have a right to use theological tests of mystical experiences. But of course to say this is by no means to justify the suspicion with which mystics have often been regarded by ecclesiastical authorities, or the actual persecution to which they have at times been subjected. For indeed, from the point of view of the society, the value of mysticism lies in its power of giving life to theological doctrines, and it can only perform its function if it is free to express itself as it pleases, at any rate within such very wide limits as have already been suggested. Even the least intellectual of great mystics, Mother Juliana of Norwich, was able to suggest the profoundest view of eternal punishment in the words 'to me was shewed no harder hell than sin'.² Catherine of Genoa attempted a somewhat similar spiritualization of the doctrine of purgatory.³ It is the spiritual liberty of the mystic which has preserved the life of the Church in times of theological formalism and ecclesiastical oppression. It would be a difficult task to estimate the enormous power gained at critical periods by the Western Church through the lives of Francis of Assisi, Catherine of Siena, Teresa, and

¹ See James *Varieties of Religious Experience* pp. 94 to 126.

² *All shall be well* (Selections from Juliana of Norwich) p. 15.

³ Cf. Baron von Hügel *op. cit.* i pp. 283 sqq.

John of the Cross, or that which it lost by its treatment of Molinos and Fénelon. And how far was the rejection of our Lord Himself due to the fact that the free and ethical mysticism of Ezekiel had either been stifled by Pharisaic formalism or driven to seek refuge in extravagant visions of a material restoration?

(3) As regards the relation of mysticism to philosophy in general something has already been said, and since philosophy is not so much a department of our life and thought as a criticism of the whole, all discussion in a sense presupposes the value of the philosophic criterion. The special problem of the relation of mysticism to the intellect cannot further be considered here; but it has already been pointed out that the mystical instinct has itself been the inspiration of most great systems of metaphysics. As a matter of fact the opposition to mysticism usually comes from minds of the scientific as opposed to the metaphysical type; and since it is in relation to science that mysticism possesses what is perhaps its special religious value at the present day, it may be worth while to say a few words on the subject.

Psychology during recent years has made a considerable advance towards furnishing an 'explanation' of the form of mystical experience by referring it through the hypothesis of the subconscious self to the process known as automatism or auto-suggestion. And it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance such explanation may have for religion. For in proportion as any experience is inexplicable it remains from the human point of view not only miraculous but fortuitous, since we can know nothing of the conditions under which it arises or the principle on which it is bestowed. So long as conversion remains merely a miracle, *we* cannot help the sinner to attain it; and, in a world where mind and body interact so continuously on one another, any neglect of the physical side of experience is sure to bring its own nemesis. All scientific explanation, then, is to be welcomed; but it must never be forgotten that in the last resort such explanation can only deal with the form, method of transmission, and conditions of the experience, whereas, to repeat our former conclusion, it is the spiritual value of the content which alone is of importance for

religion and alone proves that the birth of such knowledge is of heaven rather than of men.¹

But, apart from the services of psychology in explaining forms of mysticism, the leading ideas of mysticism and science do sometimes seem to come into collision with each other. The immediate aim of science is to assist the human control of nature, and hence its method is to find the general laws governing the phenomena which are its subject-matter. It is of the essence of science to generalize: the particular is nothing to it except as an example of the universal. Hence science inevitably regards all the particulars with which it deals as *specimens*. And we have to ponder before we realize how deeply this method of thought is ingrained in the modern mind. It would be interesting to estimate how far depression, culminating sometimes in suicide, and the general lassitude, indifferentism, and lack of driving power so common at the present day, may be traced to the half-conscious feeling of the individual that after all he himself is only a specimen which may serve for the exemplification of general laws, but can possess no unique and eternal importance of its own. How in the last resort can it matter in the course of the universe

¹ An objection may here occur. If the form of mystical experience is entirely due to an automatism, in the sense that it is but the reflexion of present and past states of emotional conviction, then the mystical experience, however healthy and beneficial, is worth no more as an experience of reality than the convictions which gave it birth. Hence either the specific character and value of mystical experience must be altogether abandoned and its special claim to be an immediate apprehension of reality acknowledged to be illusory, or else some importance must be attached to the form of the experience and its explanation by automatism denied. This objection, however, involves a double misapprehension. (1) All that is meant by asserting the unimportance of the form in comparison with the content is that the form cannot be used to guarantee the validity of the content. But that the form is important in the sense that it *may* provide a knowledge or inspiration otherwise unattainable, is not denied. (2) This does not really bring us into conflict with scientific explanation by automatism. All science can do is to point out that in the phenomena of automatism we have experiences claiming to proceed from powers other than ourselves, which as a matter of fact come to us *through* the workings of our subconscious self, and our knowledge of the imperfections of this instrument must make us very critical of all such revelations. But, as Dr Joyce says (*op. cit.* p. 79), 'when once we have fully grasped the principle that the authority of a revelation is not really authenticated by the circumstances of its communication but by the nature of its contents, we shall no longer feel ourselves bound in the interest of revealed religion to demand that divine truth should have entered the soul of man along a channel reserved for its own peculiar use.'

precisely what John Smith does or fails to do? The fatal consequences of this scientific realization of the cosmos have never been more vividly depicted than in the fiery protests of Nietzsche.¹ But even Nietzsche, with all his contempt for scientific knowledge, does not get clear from the scientific point of view. For him it is the great characters, the self-assertive geniuses, who alone count; the rest of humanity exist simply to make their production possible and to serve their ends when produced. Hence the vast majority of mankind, even for Nietzsche, have no ultimate and individual value; they remain specimens of humanity. Now the very antithesis of this point of view is represented by mysticism. For the mystic, if he falls in any way short of an absolute pantheism in which the individual is completely merged and lost, must assert strongly the capacity of the soul to enjoy union with the universal Power, and hence by implication he claims an eternal and infinite greatness for every human person.

It is clear then that mysticism on its spiritual side does not come into such close touch with science as with morals and theology. Science, therefore, for which the particular and individual, the really active and undetermined, have no meaning, cannot directly criticize a mystical experience the reality of which lies in the depths of the spiritual person. The spirit bloweth where it listeth, and science may hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth—so, quite rightly, she ignores it. Mysticism and science then represent two opposite sides of truth, and fully to correlate them would be to explain the universe—a task to which the finite mind must ever remain unequal. Meanwhile their value for each other is indirect and practical rather than directly critical. Each furnishes a corrective and a supplement rather than a criterion of the other's truth, and we have no right to demand that the pronouncements of the one should give direct support to those of the other. Mysticism can lighten the load of the material universe when it seems almost to crush the mind in whose thought, in a sense, it exists. And, as Baron von Hügel insists, science supplies to the mystic

¹ I refer especially to the essay on the 'Use and Abuse of History' in *Thoughts out of Season*.

'a manly and bracing humiliation',¹ an intense realization of his littleness and of his need which all his asceticism and self-detachment is apt rather to obliterate. For science can give him a sense of littleness, not only in relation to God, but also in relation to His creatures. It cannot but soften that note of appropriation of the Almighty which seems to sound through some of the extravagances of mystical literature. Lastly it forces on the attention alike the supreme need of practical method and the reality of intellectual difficulty and doubt, aspects of life which all but the greatest mystics tend most fatally to ignore.

We have seen that the mystical side of our nature can only claim to represent one human faculty among others, and that the experience which it gives us cannot be superior to criticism from all the other sides of human life. It is a platitude, but a platitude too often overlooked, that all the different forms of our experience and of our thinking must criticize each other, if the whole man is to 'grow to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ'. We have endeavoured to see how, when once this principle is recognized, mysticism can establish its claim to give us a real knowledge of reality and to form a necessary constituent of the best human nature; and in dealing with the operation of other aspects of life upon it, we have suggested in general terms something of its value for each. It now remains in conclusion to consider the whole subject from a more directly personal point of view. What part has mysticism to play in the religious life of the individual? How far and in what sense should every religious man be a mystic?

It would seem to follow, as a result of the foregoing discussion, that the most general and necessary function of mysticism is to keep the eternal before us in our earthly and temporal life. After all, the main difficulties in religious life are probably more often spiritual than directly intellectual. It is not really so impossible to give an intellectual assent to the fundamental propositions of a Christian theology. At any rate the average man with 'intellectual' objections would not in all probability find the Absolute of a Hegelian metaphysician

¹ *Op. cit.* i p. 44 sq.; ii pp. 330, 331, 377 sqq.

one whit easier of acceptance. But it is intensely difficult to realize eternal truths in the midst of actual living. It is hard to feel oneself constantly in the presence of God, to make real to one's mind His love, His mercy, and His justice. And it is just this experience of the eternal which mysticism provides.

But the average man may be incapable of mystical experience, and the mystic's assurance can then only influence him at second hand. We must then make a distinction between mystical experience and faith. No doubt all states of strong faith and emotional conviction tend to pass into something very hard to separate from the vaguer forms of mystical experience; and hence the line of demarcation is by no means easy to draw. The difficulty is indirectly brought out in Dr Herrmann's striking book, *Communion with God*. Herrmann will have nothing of Christian mysticism and strongly opposes even Kaftan's attempt to distinguish its legitimate from its illegitimate forms. 'The Christian', he says, 'can never even wish that God should specially appear to him or speak down to him from Heaven. He receives the revelation of God in the living relationships of the Christian brotherhood, and its essential contents are that personal life of Jesus which is visible in the Gospel and which is experienced in the lives of the redeemed.'¹ 'There can be no such thing as communion with the exalted Christ.'² But elsewhere the same writer insists 'that we must regard as revelation only that which brings us into actual communion with God'. 'Thus', he continues, 'all that can be the object of Christian doctrine is summed up in religious experience, and first gains satisfactory definition in that communion. But on the other hand we can describe as religious experience only that turning towards God which takes place under the influence of the revelation of God within us and can be expressed in doctrines of faith.'³ Now this distinction between mystical experience and the experience of faith is really a very subtle one, and in actual fact is probably less rigid than Herrmann would have us believe; and certainly his somewhat dogmatic estimate of the com-

¹ *Communion with God*, English translation (2nd edition), p. 193.

² *Ibid.* p. 291.

³ *Ibid.* p. 37.

parative value of the two experiences will not meet with general acceptance.¹ Still the difference does exist, and to identify, as William James suggests, the mystic state with the faith state² would be to confuse the issue by unduly limiting the scope of the term faith. Without entering on the intricacies of psychological description it will perhaps be enough to affirm that the belief of all religious people is in a sense mystical, but not the experience of all. Is this fact then wholly to be regretted? It would be a mistake to return too hasty an answer in the affirmative.

The truths of eternity, God and immortality, furnish as it were the background to the lives of ordinary religious men and of many who could hardly even be called religious. All great and good pleasures with which a man for a time identifies his whole self claim eternity in a very real sense beyond the limits of their actual duration. To realize at the time their inevitable transiency and the ultimate oblivion into which they must fall cannot but be fatal to their enjoyment. More especially is this the case with those pleasures in which the society of those we love plays a leading part. When we reflect, the very experience of them seems to imply a God of goodness who is Himself the crowning glory and living guarantee of their immortality; and we feel that no heaven in which they are not preserved is worth our attainment. At times the emotional claim may be so strong in sensitive minds that death itself seems degraded to a mere hoax, foolish if it were not so ghastly, perpetrated by the Devil on those who lack eyes to see and hearts to feel.

‘Fool! all that is at all

Lasts ever past recall.

Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure.’

But reflexion on the eternity claimed by the best and most intense human joys seems also to convince us that this eternity is after all but the everlastingness of the temporal. We love experiences and people as they are, and if we attempt to abstract from their temporal and earthly appearance

¹ For a criticism of the Ritschlian position with regard to mysticism cf. Edgehill *Faith and Fact*, especially pp. 195 sqq.

² *Varieties of Religious Experience* p. 424.

we cannot but lose much of what seemed most precious in them. Often in the case of persons, some particular kind of life we lived with them with all its material conditions is inextricably interwoven with themselves. Perhaps there is some sympathy in all of us with the feelings which Pater attributes to Marius sitting by the death-bed of his friend Flavian. 'It was to the sentiment of the body and the affections which defined . . . that he clung. The various pathetic traits of the beloved suffering Flavian, so deeply pondered, had made him a materialist, and with something of the humour of a devotee.' Often certainly it is the method of the expression of the personality hardly less than the personality itself, the loss of which seems intolerable. Moreover, with all our enjoyments their variety in time-succession seems a necessary condition of their pleasantness.

Now all this is really in startling contrast with the conception of eternity expressed by the mystic who claims direct experience of its truth.¹ The religious mystic invariably represents eternity as the union of the soul with God; and in order to realize this union he tends more and more to turn away from the human and temporal altogether and not only from its lower and more material forms. Even in the case of those mystics who have been most devoted in the service of men, their desire and aim is only to bring them also to know the one love of God which embraces all things. They are absolutely silent as to any eternal preservation of particular love between human persons, and *a fortiori* of any joy connected with the material and earthly conditions of human life. For them God seems so entirely to fill the whole horizon of eternity as to exclude all the human joys for which alone the natural man in his weakness postulates his immortality. 'He who loves any other thing together with God', declares St John of the Cross, 'makes light of Him, because he puts into the balance with Him that which is at an infinite

¹ A. B. Sharpe's criticisms of Dr Inge forcibly illustrate the present point (*Mysticism its True Nature and Value*, 1910, c. i). 'There would seem', he says, 'to be little in common between the suggestive and symbolic aspect of things in which the world appears as the true manifestation of God, and that in which the same world is felt to be the one great obstacle which conceals the eternal reality from the sight' (p. 11).

distance from Him.'¹ 'My father,' says St Teresa on one occasion, 'as he had now risen to great heights of prayer himself, never remained with me long; for when he had seen me he went his way, saying he was wasting his time.'² And of her life in the new convent of the reformed Carmelites which she founded, she writes: 'It is the greatest consolation to me to find myself among those who are so detached. Their occupation is to learn how they may advance in the service of God. Solitude is their delight; and the thought of being visited by any one even of their nearest kindred is a trial, unless it helps them to kindle more and more their love of the Bridegroom. Accordingly none come to this house who do not aim at this; otherwise they neither give nor receive any pleasure from their visits. Their conversation is of God only; and so he whose conversation is different does not understand them, and they do not understand him.'³ The *Theologia Germanica* puts substantially the same idea in philosophic terms. 'Where (the true) Light is, the man's end and aim is not this or that, Me or Thee, or the like, but only the One, who is neither I nor Thou, this nor that, but is above all I and Thou, this and that; and in Him all Goodness is loved as one Good.'⁴ Truly the Lord God of the mystics is a jealous God.

It is as though the goodness of life were a picture of which eternity forms the canvas and human joys and affections the colours which lie on it. The ordinary man in his absorption with the colours does not enquire about the nature of the canvas, which is nevertheless their necessary ground and support; while the mystic seems to him, in his passion to reach the canvas itself, to wipe off the colours which it exists to uphold. Both ordinary man and mystic believe in a God of love, and to both His relation to evil is essentially the same. It is in the valuation of human goods and the conception of God's relation to them that we find the fundamental contradiction. To the religious mind which has little or no abnormal experience God and immortality are the

¹ *Ascent of Mt. Carmel* i 5 § 4.¹

² *Life*, translated by Lewis, p. 44 (edition 1888).

³ *Ibid.* p. 314.

⁴ *Theologia Germanica* xliii (tr. Winkworth).

background of many various and special goods ; while for the mystic God and immortality themselves absorb the whole field of consciousness to the exclusion of all lesser objects of joy and love.

It is obvious that from an intellectual point of view the mystic's position is far the easier to maintain. For the mystic at any rate has some clear idea of what he means by Heaven ; whereas it is the essence of the ordinary man's belief that Heaven remains a background and implication of other conceptions rather than a definite conception in itself. Reflexion seems to shew that he cannot even say clearly what he demands from it and what he wishes it to be. Even were it possible that the everlastingness of his temporal joys should in some inconceivable way be guaranteed to him, no imaginable fulfilment of his hopes could prove finally satisfactory. On analysis the claim to immortality, which still is essential to the best human enjoyments, tends to vanish in a fundamental self-contradiction. Again, the very idea of an everlasting existence in time is philosophically almost inconceivable ; and if we try to postulate existence not in time, it is evident that some one unvaried experience, which we may call the fruition of God's presence, will best suit the conception, for all variety will be found to imply consciousness of succession.

Yet the general religious consciousness of mankind refuses to be satisfied with a unification of eternal life which excludes rather than includes the elements of variety and differentiation.¹ We catch an echo of this protest even in St John of the Cross. 'All that is wanting now', he writes to one of his penitents, 'is that I should forget you ; but consider how that is to be forgotten which is ever present to the mind.'² And we have the emphatic witness of almost universal Christian belief and human need that all our highest joys and affections, various and particular as they are, shall find preservation and fulfilment in the life of the world to come. Should we then seek to make all our ideas of eternity conform exclusively to the experience of the mystics ? Or has the ordinary religious

¹ Cf. Baron von Hügel *Mystical Element in Religion*, especially i p. 66 sq.

² Quoted by Baron von Hügel, *ibid.* ii p. 353.

consciousness grasped a side of the truth which the experts have tended to ignore? And in the latter case how are we to reconcile the paradox that just those minds which know most of eternity tend to divorce it most completely from all that really appeals to many of our deepest convictions? The most that can be done in answer to these questions is to suggest very tentatively the general lines along which an ultimate solution seems most possible.

In the first place, it is worth noticing that it seems possible to trace two views of eternity, or life after death, running at any rate through the three leading religions of the world, and the inconsistency between them which we have remarked in Christianity, has arisen in a somewhat different form both in Hinduism and Islam. To go back to the simile already suggested: in the one view the canvas predominates, in the other the colours; and they may be called respectively the mystical and the popular view. The Hindu mysticism of the Upanishads and the Buddhist mystic in his conception of Nirvana remove all colour from eternity far more completely than the Christian contemplative, for whom the intense and fiery hue of God's love absorbs and blots out all other shades. On the other hand, in more popular Hinduism the doctrine of metempsychosis, which Buddhism also has incorporated in its creed, brings down anthropomorphic notions of a future life completely to earth by representing it merely and only as a series of earthly lives stretching out into an indefinite future. In Mohammedanism the corresponding contrast is to be found in the very carnal heaven of the Koran and the teaching of Sufis, which reproduces all the essential features of oriental mysticism. Mohammedanism has attempted no synthesis between the conflicting points of view; but Buddhism, in proportion as the contrast between them is more complete, has found the task of reconciliation an easier one. The series of human lives through which the soul transmigrates has only to be represented as the road by which it is to reach the final mystic state of Nirvana.

What, then, does Christianity contribute to the solution of the problem? In the first place, through the principle of Incarnation it has suggested a much deeper and more spiritual truth in the popular view. The Christian believes that God has revealed

Himself as man, that there is therefore something essentially man-like in the nature of the Godhead itself, and that this truth does not depend on any vain construction of an anthropomorphic imagination, but is part of God's own revelation of Himself to man. Hence, all the highest of man's life here on earth, all wherein it approaches most nearly to Christ's life, must find a counterpart and a fulfilment in eternity. And not only do we find our Lord constantly using popular notions about the hereafter, as though they at any rate represented some important aspect of the truth, but in His life, if anywhere, we notice an intense care for human individuals in their individuality, and a wonderful value set on the commonest tasks and modes of life through which personality is expressed. And, as might be expected, it is precisely the Incarnation which of all the great Christian doctrines seems to have been least realized by the classical school of mystics. They certainly tend either to ignore our Lord's life on earth altogether, or, if they mention it, to dwell exclusively on His sufferings and crucifixion. The *Theologia Germanica* is an excellent example of the latter type. It is full of allusions to the life of Christ, but only with the purpose of dwelling on the atonement wrought and the example set by what He suffered. St Catherine of Siena is continually speaking of the Jesus of history, but never without immediate reference to the saving blood. St Teresa indeed does regard it as a deadly error to seek to pierce beyond the Sacred Humanity in the highest forms of contemplation¹; but for the guidance of such spiritual exercise she gives the most instructive direction that if a sensitive mind finds continuous meditation on the story of the Passion unendurable, it may occasionally turn for refreshment to the risen and glorified Christ.² It is never even suggested that any incident of our Lord's life except His actual sufferings could form a subject for religious contemplation. The eternal importance and dignity imparted by the Incarnation to ordinary temporal human life is completely ignored. Of the best mystics it would not be true to say that the specifically human has no value for them; we have seen something of their keenness and efficiency in practical spheres, and certainly their missionary

¹ *Life*, tr. D. Lewis, p. 163 (edition 1888).

² *Ibid.* p. 166.

zeal is often unquestionable. But to them, human activities and characteristics are, speaking generally, only a means to an ultimate union with a Divine Love which is altogether super-human and even inhuman in its seeming exclusion of the temporal and the various. The human is transitory, the divine is eternal. The transitory is a means to the eternal, the human to the divine. But the antithesis is rigid: there is no hint of an eternal and absolute value within the transitory itself or of a human nature within the Divinity which should uphold and guarantee it. This is the almost universal¹ false antithesis of Christian mysticism which it is one glory of the Incarnation to overcome. Baron von Hügel indeed calls attention to the fact that even one of the most austere mystics, John of the Cross, does occasionally rise above the level of his more habitual point of view. 'No one', writes St John, 'desires to be loved except for his goodness; and when we love in this way our love is pleasing to God and in great liberty; and if there be attachment in it there is greater attachment to God.'² But in the light of other passages it is but natural to conclude that St John, if pressed, would have admitted the rightfulness of such particular affections to be but a concession to human weakness, a passing phase, incidental to our earthly sojourn, of that one pure love into which they must shortly disappear. Neither here nor in the already quoted passage addressed to one of his penitents³ do we find any recogni-

¹ Catherine of Siena seems to have been a genuine exception in her practice, and in one of her letters she writes, 'The perfect soul rejoices at everything and she does not judge the servants of God nor any rational creature; nay, she rejoices at every state and every way that she sees, saying, "Thanks be to Thee, Eternal Father, who hast many mansions in Thy House." And she rejoices more at the diverse ways she sees than if she saw all going along one path.' (Quoted by Gardner *op. cit.* p. 97.)

² Quoted by Baron von Hügel *op. cit.* ii p. 353. A passage of similar import occurs in the *Dark Night of the Soul* i 4 § 8: 'When the love and affection we give to the creature is purely spiritual and founded on God, the love of God grows with it; and the more we remember the earthly love, the more also we remember God and desire Him; the one grows apace with the other.' Passages taking the lower point of view are of constant occurrence.

³ See p. 193. Surely Baron von Hügel's interpretation of this passage (*op. cit.* i p. 68; ii p. 354) is a little forced. To take it as shewing that 'affection as pure as it was particular was . . . fully accepted and willed and acknowledged to its immediate object as entirely conformable to his own teaching', is to ignore the first half of the sentence. The words 'all that is now wanting is that I should forget

tion of the eternal and ultimate value of the specifically human and earthly. We must conclude that the mystic has missed something of the profound and unique meaning of the doctrine of Incarnation in its highest development. This is the real truth underlying the somewhat exaggerated and indiscriminating attacks on Roman Catholic mysticism, which are associated with the names of A. Harnack and W. Herrmann. It would be an exaggeration to assert with Harnack that the mystics 'always lacked their full momentum so long as they took any notice of whatever was outside of God and the soul',¹ or with Herrmann, that when the mystic has 'found God', he has 'left Christ behind'²; but it is undeniable that the mystics never realized the full significance of the fact that God's supreme revelation of Himself took the form of an ordinary human and temporal life in the world.

But on the other hand, Christianity does a great deal more than furnish a vague support of the popular view of eternity: it also supplies its corrective by emphasizing the complementary truth grasped by the mystic. Christianity could never allow popular imagination to depict heaven as simply the intensification of all it happens to find most pleasant on earth. And it provides an objection to such wild ideas deeper even than their intellectual absurdity. For, side by side with the Incarnation which is the guarantee of self-realization, it sets the Cross, the symbol of self-denial. If Christianity teaches anything clearly, it teaches that all human visions and aspirations are clogged and marred by sin. Hence, whatever we may ultimately keep in eternity, we must abandon all to possess it. We must give up our very lives if we would save them. The kingdom of God is a pearl of great price which cannot be bought for less than all that the merchant has. While this sacrifice is being accomplished we must see in a glass darkly, and every human imperfection is but another speck of dust which clouds and blurs the vision. This truth may be realized in a fervour of

you' seem to shew that after putting his penitent in the path of salvation, John had decided scruples about continuing the acquaintanceship. The case then is very much in point.

¹ *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* iii p. 382, quoted by Herrmann *The Communion of the Christian with God* p. 23.

² Herrmann *op. cit.* p. 30.

religious humility or in the colder fit of common sense : but it remains the first great lesson to be learned by all. This the mystics have seen with overwhelming clearness : and, not despairing, they have caught the glow of everlasting hope which lurks in its fullest appreciation. They have felt with an intense conviction that the love of God is the one ground and support of eternal life, and that indeed there are many human colours which can by no means be made to lie on such a canvas. Popular faith may, in virtue of the Incarnation, legitimately claim that this teaching taken by itself and in an exclusive sense is one-sided, and that all the best in human individuality and particularity must be preserved. But the very same religion, which alone supports its claim, forbids it to pretend to know how much eternity can keep or how the mortal can put on immortality.

In any case, it must always be recognized that one supreme problem which confronts any church claiming catholicity is to combine in the society, if never completely in the individual, the heroism of the mystic path of renunciation with the no less divine normality of the ordinary religious life. Both elements are essential to a true religion ; yet each seems to exclude the other. There are three conceivable ways in which a harmony might be effected.

The first, and perhaps the most obvious, is to make the experience of the mystic in all cases finally normative, and to assign a merely educational, though very real, value to those popular beliefs which tend to find eternity in and through the purest forms of earthly attachment and desire. This view indeed is at once defensible and attractive ; and no doubt it has been widely held by thoughtful and Christian minds. The only real objection to it lies in the suggestion the foregoing pages have put forward, that the general religious feeling of mankind seems to centre in a claim which the Gospel-story appears in a measure to admit and justify, but for which the mystical heaven cannot be stretched to find a place. If this is so, it is difficult to represent the mystical view as simply a higher level of religious thought up to which the popular mind can naturally expand and develope. And then the terrible danger begins to shew itself, of admitting two doctrines and two lives, an exoteric and

an esoteric way, within the fold of the Christian faith ; and we become entangled in all the evil duplicity of the system which Clement of Alexandria so light-heartedly set forth.

The second solution is to adopt a boldly anti-mystical position and, while admitting the value abnormal experiences may have for certain oddly constituted individuals, to declare roundly that to consider them as in any sense special manifestations of God's presence is, broadly speaking, a mistake. This conclusion, however, would be contrary to the whole bent of true Catholicism ; and we have seen that, once mysticism is rightly understood and criticized, neither ethics, nor science, nor theology, could justify us in disparaging a side of religious experience the worth of which has been so abundantly proved in the past, and for which there is still such ample scope in the present. It is just the loss of that sense of direct contact with the eternal which is perhaps the most dangerous weakness of the modern world.

It has been the task of this essay very dimly and uncertainly to suggest that the theology of the Cross and the Incarnation seems to make a third way of reconciliation possible, a way in which these two sides of religion, which seem so profoundly opposed, may in the end be found true complements of each other. The Cross represents the negative side of the Christian call, the aspect of renunciation and suffering. The Incarnation and the Resurrection convey its positive gospel of consecration and life. To all Christian lives both elements are essential, and, indeed, in one very real sense they are inseparable from each other ; for the renunciation which belongs to the Cross is rooted in the grand affirmation of God's all-sustaining love and presence, while consecration is only possible on earth through self-denial. Yet it may well be that some are called to set forth more especially than others the life of renunciation ; and it would appear that it is only at the level of renunciation, when the realization of the Cross absorbs the consciousness almost to the exclusion of other aspects of Christian truth, that man attains a special and mystic sense of contact with the Divine. Certainly in a sinful world it is not hard to understand why an experience of eternity which transcends the Cross cannot be granted to the human soul. The mystic apprehension of Christianity, therefore, though supremely true, is partial ; and

it is the failure to recognize this incompleteness which has sometimes led mystics into an inhuman detachment hardly less repulsive than ordinary sin. In using this language it is not for a moment implied that the normal Christian life, which seeks to consecrate rather than to renounce, is on a higher plane than the mystic's. Only, as the life in the carpenter's workshop found its true fulfilment not on Calvary but in the Resurrection, so the ordinary Christian's life is not fulfilled in the mystic's visions. Both look, or should look, for a consummation beyond the highest flight of the human spirit upon earth.

We must, then, accept to the full the tremendous teaching of the Cross. We must insist as strongly as any mystic that the man who loves anything on earth more than Christ is unworthy of Him, and that the Christian, whether in the workshop or in the monastery, must take up his Cross daily to follow his Lord. Yet we need not forget that it was in the workshop of the carpenter that the Son of God first revealed Himself as man. However much the life of utter renunciation may inspire us, we may yet doubt whether it has entered even into the mystic's heart to conceive all the things that God hath prepared for them that love Him. And, finally, in religious matters it must always be borne in mind that sometimes it is the mouth, not of the expert, but of the babe, which is uttering the deepest truth.

O. C. QUICK.

JOHN WORDSWORTH, BISHOP OF SALISBURY, AND HIS WORK ON THE VULGATE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE death of John Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, on the 16th of August last, deprived the English Church of one of its foremost theologians. Born in 1843, he was not yet old either in years or in mental activity, and his physique, which was stronger than the average, seemed to promise many more years of study and labour. But the heavy work which was habitual with him when he was well, and which he forced himself to do when he was ailing and weary, told on him at length; the early part of 1911 was marked by a long illness; and though he seemed to have recovered fairly well by the summer, he was still weak and easily tired; then there came a sudden heart-attack, and he was dead.

Other pens have borne witness to his greatness as a ruler in his diocese, and as a leader and counsellor in the Church; to the many-sided activities of his crowded life; to the earnestness and simplicity of his character, and to the affectionate disposition which made him, in spite of a somewhat cold and preoccupied manner, a man of many friends. In this JOURNAL it may not be amiss to call attention to the services he rendered to the study of Theology. The long list of books and pamphlets following his name in Crockford's Directory includes work in almost every department of that study, in apologetics, Church history, dogmatics, liturgica, and textual criticism; in every one of these he had made contributions of permanent value to the subject; it is sufficient, as proof of this, to mention his Bampton lectures, his Hale lectures on the Swedish Church, his *Ministry of Grace*, his addresses on the Holy Communion, his numerous pamphlets on Anglican orders and Ordination problems, his treatises on *The Ministry of Penitence* and on *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer Book*, and his share in the exhaustive report on *The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers* which was published by a sub-committee of Convocation in 1908. But it was in the work of textual criticism that his talents especially lay, and it is by what he achieved here that he will be longest remembered. The name of John Wordsworth will always be connected with the series of Old-Latin Biblical Texts, and with the Oxford critical edition of the Vulgate; and it is in the hope that other scholars may wish to know something of what he did and of his methods in doing it that I have ventured to write the following account.

It was as long ago as 1877-8 that the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, acting upon the representation of several distinguished theologians, resolved to produce a critical edition of the Latin Vulgate New Testament, and entrusted the task to John Wordsworth, then tutor of Brasenose College.

He at once set to work to collect materials and to form a general plan for the edition, being greatly helped not only by the article 'Vulgate' in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, but by personal consultation with its author, Dr Westcott. The result of these preliminary studies appeared in an admirably concise and clear pamphlet, *The Oxford Critical Edition of the Vulgate New Testament*, published privately in 1882; and it is no small testimony to the thoroughness of his study and the soundness of his reasoning, that nearly thirty years of continued work have not seriously modified his conclusions. We may not now rate the critical worth of the Theodulfian recension or of the mediæval *correctoria* quite so high as he was disposed to do, and Dr Burkitt's views as to the 'Italic' revision of the Old Latin are adopted by many leading scholars; but there is little else to alter. I venture to quote at length Dr Wordsworth's description of what he thought a critical edition should provide:—

'The first and main object of this edition is naturally to restore the text of St Jerome's version as far as possible, and to give students the means of controlling the editor's judgment by an exhibition of the variations of the best MSS. It is, however, difficult to draw a line sharply between Vulgate MSS and others of a mixed character. St Jerome's work in the New Testament was, it must be remembered, wholly one of revision, not of retranslation, and was work of rather an uncertain character. We know that he revised the Gospels at the request of Pope Damasus in A.D. 382, and he tells us something of the principles which guided him, but as to the other books, we can only infer the bare fact that he revised them from inscriptions in MSS and the language of his letters. . . . The use of the old versions went on for several centuries side by side with his revision, and even when they were nominally superseded, fragments of them, sometimes very numerous, found their way into probably all existing MSS. Sometimes we find a very pure Hieronymian text interspersed with such relics of earlier versions, notably in the British Isles. The history of these mixed texts and of their revisions is in itself very interesting. They often seem to represent local or provincial recensions, sometimes anonymous, sometimes published under the editorship of famous men. The two best known of these, those of Alcuin and Theodulfus in the ninth century, could hardly be neglected in any edition claiming comprehensiveness: and the less known of the two, that of Theodulfus, is of great critical value. Some notice also may naturally be expected of the *correctoria* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which shew a knowledge of Greek as well as of Latin MSS. . . .

Considering, then, the historical interest of these different types of text, and the extreme difficulty of finding MSS wholly and purely Hieronymian, it has seemed desirable not only to attempt to restore St Jerome's own revision, but to give specimens of these later recensions and corrections from selected and characteristic MSS.

'In order further to assist the historical study of the subject a collation or text will be given, when possible, of at least one specimen MS, of the 'Italic' revision, such as St Jerome may be supposed to have had before him, as well as the readings of a late MS of the current corrupted text,¹ and of the four most prominent types of the printed Vulgate, that of R. Stephens (1540), the Hentenian (first published at Louvain in 1547), the Sixtine (1590), and the Clementine (1592). . . .

'Use will also be made of the collections of Bentley and his assistants, John Walker, who worked in Paris in 1719-20, and David Casley, who collated Oxford MSS in 1721.'

The pamphlet closed with a list of the MSS to be used, and a tentative classification of them into families.

Meanwhile he was hard at work collating Vulgate MSS. He had several copies of the Codex Amiatinus, in Tischendorf's edition, interleaved and bound, the blank pages being divided perpendicularly into three columns, each destined to receive the variant readings of a MS in coloured ink; blue, red, and black were regularly employed, and sometimes when it was desirable to include the readings of a fourth or fifth MS, green and brown ink were also used; this, however, was not often done, partly because the pages became too crowded with collations, and partly from the danger of confusing the colours on a dull day or by artificial light. Indeed it soon became evident that work at the edition must be prosecuted only by daylight, to which restriction probably the editors owed it that after years of application their eyesight was not appreciably weakened.

Dr Wordsworth planned his collating tours with considerable foresight. When he visited libraries far away, at Naples, Rome, or Madrid, he collated their MSS right through the New Testament, so as to render a second visit unnecessary; MSS nearer home were collated for the Gospels only, so as to get as many done as possible, and expedite the preparation of the first volume. In all these journeys he was much helped by Mrs Wordsworth, who would share in the actual collating, or sometimes succeed in persuading jealous librarians to allow her husband fuller opportunities of examining their treasures.

He always collated in Latin; a practice I have continued, as I find that it is clearer and more concise than English. He certainly combined the two principal virtues of a collator—accuracy and rapidity; I have hardly ever detected him in a mistake, and very rarely in an omission; the only criticism I can pass upon his work is that in his desire for rapidity and brevity he occasionally made his notes too short, or abbreviated his words almost as much as a mediaeval scribe.

¹ The MS selected, on the suggestion of Dr Westcott, was the thirteenth-century Latin Bible written by Wm. de Hales, 'magister Scholarum Sarum', numbered Reg. 1. B. XII in the British Museum, and cited in the edition as W.

A collator should remember that private signs or compendia which are intelligible to him when he composes them may not be equally clear to him—still less to others—a dozen years later; it is better to be too full than not full enough.

But the visits to foreign libraries brought him into touch with their librarians, and never did scholar more rapidly gather round him a band of valuable friends; Léopold Delisle, Henri Omont, Dr Bollig, Dr Ceriani, most of all Samuel Berger—these are but a few of the Continental scholars who were as ready to help him as he was to help them. It is a pleasant task to repeat the acknowledgements he so frequently made of the consistent kindness and generosity shewn to him by scholars belonging to the Roman Church; in the Vatican he was even allowed to go to the book-shelves and inspect the MSS one after another: the Benedictines of Monte Cassino transcribed for him large portions of the Codex Cavensis, when it was reposing for a time in their library; a presentation copy of the first fasciculus of the critical edition was sent to Pope Leo XIII, and was acknowledged by him in a letter so gracious that it aroused the alarm of some of the more Protestant Church newspapers.

With Samuel Berger a life-long friendship was formed; he stayed more than once with the Bishop at Salisbury, was in constant correspondence with him on Vulgate matters, and was always ready with advice and information; there was a regular interchange of collations, notes, and proof-sheets; and if the materials collected by the Bishop and myself were of use to M. Berger in his great book on the history of the Vulgate,¹ that book in turn has been of the utmost value to us throughout our work at the critical edition. I have dealt more at length on Berger's work and personality in an earlier number of the JOURNAL,² and I will only say here that the friendship of two such men as the Bishop of Salisbury and Samuel Berger has been to me one of the happiest experiences of a very happy life.

My own introduction to Dr Wordsworth was made across the examination table of the Theology School in 1883; in the following year Dr Sanday, with his constant care for the welfare of younger students at Oxford, suggested to him that I might be of use as a collator; and a second and less formal introduction settled for me my principal work in life. I began collating Vulgate MSS in the British Museum, and also assisted in the preparation of the second volume of the Old-Latin Biblical texts, Dr Wordsworth having become convinced that a fuller knowledge of the pre-Hieronymian Latin texts would be necessary

¹ *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*: par Samuel Berger. Hachette, Paris, 1893.

² *J. T. S.* vol. ii (1901) p. 262 f.

to a proper understanding of the Vulgate. He published the Gospel of St Matthew from the Codex Sangermanensis (*g*₁) in 1883, and the MSS known as *k*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *a*₂, *s*, and *t*, in 1886; the series has been continued by myself, and later by Mr E. S. Buchanan, whose excellent edition of *b* appeared only last year; and we hope he may in time be permitted to give as trustworthy editions of *a* and *f*.

By the summer of 1884 enough Vulgate material had been collected to make a beginning, and I joined Dr Wordsworth at Rochester, where we completed the early chapters of St Matthew. Progress was stopped the next year by his acceptance of the Bishopric of Salisbury; but in 1886 I joined him at Salisbury as his chaplain and assistant editor, and the happy literary partnership began which lasted on in unbroken sunshine till his death in August last.

A division of labour was soon decided on. Any one who has consulted the critical edition will see that in the majority of cases there is practically no doubt as to the reading, and that the business of the editors is to give the authorities for each variation as clearly and briefly as possible, with any references that may throw light on the subject or vindicate the reading adopted. This part of the work has always been the more laborious, and often a long morning would hardly suffice to collect and arrange the authorities for a single verse; students alone realize the amount of research that lies behind '*Augustinus (semper)*' placed after a reading. But the collection of data was the easier, the more mechanical, and the less responsible part of the work; far harder was the task of deciding on the right reading where the authorities were evenly balanced, or where the vast majority of the MSS favoured a piece of impossible Latinity. From the first then I became responsible for the collection of the material, the Bishop for the readings adopted. Yet the division was not absolute; constantly his eye for literary neatness and his sound scholarship would suggest a better arrangement in the note or give just the one reference to a classical author that would make it complete; while he would always listen with patience and attention to my views on questions of reading and the general arrangement of the work. Throughout our long association he was always absolutely frank, whether in pointing out mistakes, and mistakes which I ought not to have made, or in giving credit for anything good in what I did.¹

¹ When I had finished my article on 'the Vulgate' for Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, I submitted it to his inspection. He went over it with the utmost care, suggested several corrections and improvements, and returned it with the characteristic criticism, 'I think you have written a very useful article; but it will be of more use to you than to any one else.'

Most of the *Praefatio* and of the *Epilogus* to the Gospels was written by the Bishop, or more strictly speaking, dictated. In Latin composition he would sometimes dictate as rapidly as I could write it down, at other times he would hesitate for long until he got exactly the right word or expression ; and he never despised the use of an English-Latin Dictionary, if it would save him time.

The Gospel of St Matthew was published in 1889 ; St Mark in 1891 ; St Luke in 1893 ; St John in 1895 ; the *Epilogus*, completing the first volume, in 1898 ; the Acts in 1905. It was inevitable that the work should grow as it proceeded ; the footnotes became longer and longer, mainly by the inclusion of the Old-Latin readings. I think, though I am not certain, that this was one of the cases in which the Bishop gave in to my pleading, and that he would himself have preferred a less exhaustive *apparatus criticus* ; and there is no doubt that the edition would have progressed more rapidly had the other Gospels been treated on the same scale as St Matthew.

Naturally, this literary partnership was a most valuable education for the junior partner ; the Bishop introduced me to such books as Goelzer's *Latinité de saint Jérôme*, Draeger's *Historische Syntax der lateinischen Sprache*, Neue's *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache*, and Hand's *Tursellinus* ; these, with Roby's *Latin Grammar*, and the special works of Kaulen and Roensch on the Latinity of the Vulgate, were the books he most frequently consulted, and he taught me how to use them too. As years went on and his time was more and more taken up with other duties, I found myself gradually able to undertake a larger proportion of the work, and he would trust me not only with the preparation of the *apparatus criticus* but with the decision on most of the cases of variant reading. This became still more the case when I left Salisbury for Oxford in 1895 ; thenceforward anything like continuous work in common at the Vulgate had to be confined to the Long Vacations. I used to spend about two months in Salisbury at the Church House, and he would come round there whenever he could escape from Diocesan business, examine what I had prepared, decide on any important case of reading, and very often re-write an entire note. His power of mental abstraction was extraordinary ; he could quit a subject at a moment's notice, plunge into something completely different, and then resume the first again exactly where he left it off ; I have known him leave the Vulgate room at Salisbury with a sentence half finished on his lips, and come back the next day finishing it. Equally extraordinary was his power of always knowing what was the right book to consult on any point, how far a footnote ought to be followed up, and when a reference could be trusted ; only once do I remember him to have been caught napping, and that was during the discussion on the

date of the *Codex Amiatinus* in 1887. It may be remembered that the last piece of evidence connecting that MS with the abbot Ceolfrid was supplied by Dr Hort, from the *Anonymous Life of Ceolfrid*¹ edited first by Stevenson, and subsequently by Giles; the Bishop was delighted at Hort's discovery, but still not a little vexed to realize that he had had the book in his own library all the time, and had never thought of looking at it.

All the time that I was at Oxford, and afterwards in London, I worked on at the Vulgate by myself and sent him the copy, or the proof-sheets, of the different chapters by post; and however busy he was, he rarely let many days pass without returning the sheets carefully annotated and corrected; he especially loved exercising his ingenuity on correcting the proofs and on packing a new note into a page with the minimum of disturbance to the type.

During the preparation of the Acts, we had valuable assistance from the Rev. G. M. Youngman, Vicar of Porton, near Salisbury. Mr Youngman had collated and transcribed several MSS for the Bishop in early days, and during the busy years of parish work in Greenwich had never remitted his Vulgate studies; the comparative leisure of a country parish gave him more time for literary work, and the Epistle to the Romans, now almost ready for publication, owes very much to his supervision and advice. I am glad to be able to state that he is placing his wide knowledge of Vulgate MSS at the service of the edition and that he will co-operate with me in bringing out the future parts of the work.

A word or two remains to be said as to the hand edition, which is to appear with the beginning of this year. More than two years ago the British and Foreign Bible Society opened negotiations with the Bishop and with the Clarendon Press for the issue of a small Vulgate New Testament, the text of which was to be that of the Oxford critical edition, and finally it was agreed that the editors should bring out such a work. As our text, however, was not definitely settled beyond the Epistle to the Romans, we were compelled to determine the text for the remaining books by a rather summary induction from the MSS which experience has shewn us to be of the highest value. We have therefore selected codices *Amiatinus* (A), *Cavensis* (C), *Armachanus* (D), *Fuldensis* (F), *Sangermanensis* (G), *Hubertianus* (H), *Valllicellanus* (V) of the whole New Testament, and in addition *Mediolanensis* (M) and *Harleianus* (Z) of the Gospels; and we have added the variant readings of the Sixtine and Clementine editions throughout. The preparation of this edition (which has caused the delay in the appearance of the Romans fasciculus) has lain almost entirely in my hands; but the

¹ See *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* vol. ii p. 283 f.

Bishop was regularly consulted on the difficult passages. He also read the proof-sheets carefully, and expressed his opinion, with all his wonted decision, on every unnecessary comma or capital letter. He had promised to write the Latin preface; but the material for this was returned to me by his chaplain on the morning of August the 16th, with a note to say that the Bishop was too tired to undertake the task; and before the note was delivered in London I had received a telegram with the news of his death.

H. J. WHITE.

DOCUMENTS

THE COMMENTARY OF ORIGEN ON THE EPISTLE
TO THE ROMANS.

For the purpose of this publication I have been able to compare

I. Vatican Gr. 762 (saec. x) (V);

II. Bodleian Auct. E. ii 20 (B);

III. Cramer's edition of B in vol. iv of his *Catena* (C).

I have had to be content with Cramer's transcript of Munich cod. gr. 23 (now 412) (M) in the few cases where it contains Origen matter.

The history of B is given in the extra vol. of Hastings's *Bible Dict.* p. 522 a, by Mr C. H. Turner of Magdalen College, Oxford, and on p. 488 b he states that it is clear that V is parent of B, a statement completely justified on examination of both. It would appear that the scribe of B had excerpted the quotations of certain authors contained in V and omitted others, e.g. Chrysostom and Photius, as, allowing for omissions *per incuriam*, the quotations from the authors included in B are precisely the same as those in V.

V, except pp. 113-119, is written in a beautiful hand with minute accuracy (pp. 113-119 are in a later hand, written with less care), and, except for literal corrections where obvious, I have preferred to publish a copy of the MS as it stands, noting in the apparatus all variations found in B and C, together with all suggested emendations of the text. In this way will become clear both the good work done by Cramer with imperfect material, and the inferiority of B as an authority for a text of Origen. The punctuation follows V: Cramer's is hopeless: B's is haphazard.

For the photographs of V I am indebted to the Trustees of the Revised Version Surplus Fund, and to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for the passages incorporated from the *Philocalia* (ed. 1893), and to the Very Rev. the Dean of Wells for permission to use his work.

Much of my obligation to Mr Turner will appear in the apparatus, but I am bound to add an expression of gratitude for his constant help and encouragement from beginning to end.

I have followed the example set by the Rev. J. A. F. Gregg in vol. iii of the JOURNAL, of printing in heavy Clarendon type words commented upon, and quotations from other parts of Scripture in uncials.

References are given to Rufinus's 'translation' of Origen (De La

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Rue, Paris, 1759), but with rare exceptions Rufinus is little or no help towards a reconstruction of a perfect text.

Figures in heavy type in the margin refer to pages of V, of which MS the photographs will become available hereafter in the Bodleian Library.

I.

i 1 ἀφωρισμένους εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ.

Τρίτον ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀφωρισμένους εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ· καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας ὁ ἀπόστολος περὶ ἐαυτοῦ τοιαῦτά φησιν· ὅτε δὲ εἰδὼς ὁ θεός, ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου, ἀποκαλέσθαι τὸν γίον αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί. ἐπιλαμβάνονται δὲ τῶν τοιούτων λέξεων οἱ μὴ συνιέντες τὸν ἐκ προγνώσεως
 5 θεοῦ προωρισμένον αἴτιον τυγχάνοντα τοῦ γίνεσθαι τὰ προγινωσκόμενα· καὶ οἶοντα διὰ τούτων εἰσάγειν τοὺς ἐκ κατασκευῆς καὶ φύσεως σωζομένους. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀναιροῦσι ῥητῶν, συγχρώμενοι καὶ τῇ ἀπῆλλοτριώθῃσαν οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ μήτρας ἐν ψαλμοῖς εἰρημένῳ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοῦτο εὐχερῶς ἔστιν ἀπαντῆσαι, ἐρωτῶντας περὶ τῆς ἐξῆς λέξεως· γέγραπται γὰρ
 10 ἀπῆλλοτριώθῃσαν οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ μήτρας, ἐπλάνηθῃσαν ἀπὸ γαστροῦ, ἐλάλησαν ψευδῇ· ὁμολογῶντες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ὄψεως. καὶ πευσόμεθα γε τῶν ὡς σαφῆι τῇ λέξει ἐπιβαινόντων, εἰ οἱ ἀπῆλλοτριωθέντες ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ μήτρας ἅμα τῷ ἐξελθεῖν ἀπὸ γαστροῦ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπλανήθησαν καὶ τῆς σωζούσης ὁδοῦ ἐσφάλῃσαν, αὐτοὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐνεργήσαντες. πῶς δὲ οἱ ἀπῆλλοτριωθέντες
 15 ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ μήτρας ἀπὸ γαστροῦ ἐπλανήθησάν τε καὶ ἐλάλησαν ψευδῇ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ δείξουσιν ὅτι ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι ἐναρθρον φωνὴν προήκοντα, ψευδῇ τινὰ προφερόμενοι. ἀλλ' εἰ προσέχομεν τοῖς προτεταγμένοις τοῦ προορισμοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐξεταζομένῃ ἐπιστολῇ λεγομένοις, δυνήσομεθα, τὰ περι-
 20 τοῦ θεοῦ δόγματος καθελόντες, ἀπολογίσασθαι περὶ τοῦ ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἀφορίζοντος καὶ εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ ἀφορίζοντος τὸν δούλον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κλητὸν ἀπόστολον Παῦλον. οὕτω δὲ ἔχει τὰ ῥητά· οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεόν πάντα γυνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν· ὅτι οὖς προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ γιοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι
 25 αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· οὖς δὲ προώρισεν, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν· καὶ οὖς ἐκάλεσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν· οὖς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν.
 πρόσχωμεν οὖν τῇ τάξει τῶν λεγομένων. δικαιοὶ ὁ θεὸς καλέσας πρότερον, οὐκ ἂν δικαίως οὖς μὴ ἐκάλεσεν· καλεῖ δὲ πρὸ τῆς κλήσεως προορίσας, οὐκ ἂν καλέσας οὖς μὴ προώρισεν· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἀρχὴ τῆς κλήσεως καὶ

I R. iv 462 ff Philocalia. cap. xxv (Robinson, pp. 226-231)

I 2. Gal. i 15 f 8. Ps. lviii (lvii) 3 10. Ps. lviii (lvii) 3 f 22. Rom. viii 28 ff

I 12. σαφεῖ] ἀσαφεῖ 13. τῷ] τὸ 22. ῥητά] ῥήματα om. δὲ (sec)
 23. εἰς] + τὸ οὖσι κλητοῖς 25. οὖς δὲ] καὶ οὖς 27. δικαιοῖ] + γὰρ : hic
 inc cat M 28. μὴ M : οὐκ cat

τῆς δικαιοσύνης οὐχ ὁ προορισμός· οὗτος γὰρ εἰ ἦν ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐξῆς, καὶ 30
 πῶς αὐτὰ ἐκράτουν οἱ παρεισάγοντες τὸν περὶ φύσεως ἄτοπον λόγον·
 ἀντίρρως δέ ἐστι τοῦ προορισμοῦ ἢ πρόγνωσις· οἷος γὰρ προέγνω, φησί, καὶ
 προώρισεν σχηματίζων τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ γιοῦ αὐτοῦ. προανατενίσας οὖν ὁ θεὸς τῷ
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ κατανοήσας ῥοπὴν τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῶνδ' ἐκ τινων ἐπὶ εὐσε-
 βειαν καὶ ὁρμὴν ἐπὶ ταύτην μετὰ τὴν ῥοπὴν, καὶ ὡς ὅλοι ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδιδώσουσι τῷ 35
 κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν, προέγνω αὐτοὺς, γινώσκων μὲν τὰ ἐνισταμένα προγινώσκων
 δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα· καὶ οὗς οὕτω προέγνω, προώρισεν συμμόρφους ἐσομένους
 τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἔστιν οὖν τις ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκὼν τυγχάνων
 τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, καὶ τούτου εἰκὼν ἡ λεγομένη εἰκὼν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ·
 ἥτις νομίζομεν εἶναι ἣν ἀνέλαβεν ψυχὴν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνην, 40
 γενομένην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκόνα. ταύτης δέ, ἣν οἰόμεθα
 εἰκόνος εἰκόνα εἶναι [τοῦ υἱοῦ] τοῦ θεοῦ, συμμόρφους προώρισεν γενέσθαι ὁ
 θεός, οὗς διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν πρόγνωσιν προώρισεν. οὐ νομωτέον τοίνυν
 εἶναι τῶν ἐσομένων αἰτίαν τὴν πρόγνωσιν τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔμελλεν
 γίνεσθαι κατ' ἰδίαν ὁρμᾶς τοῦ ποιούντος, διὰ τοῦτο προέγνω, εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα 45
 πρὸ γενέσεως αὐτῶν· καὶ ὡς εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὸ γενέσεως αὐτῶν τούτῳ μὲν
 τῶς προέγνω καὶ προώρισεν συμμόρφους ἐσομένους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ
 αὐτοῦ, ἄλλους δὲ εἶδεν ἀπηλλοτριωμένους. εἰ δέ τις ἀνθυποφέρει πρὸς
 ταῦτα, εἰ δυνατόν ἐστι μὴ γενέσθαι ἅ τοιαῦτα ἔσεσθαι προεγίνωσκεν ὁ θεός·
 φησομεν ὅτι δυνατόν μὲν μὴ γενέσθαι· οὐχὶ δέ, εἰ δυνατόν μὴ γενέσθαι, 50
 ἀνάγκη μὴ γενέσθαι ἢ γενέσθαι· καὶ γίνεται οὐ πάντως ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ
 δυνατὸ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ αὐτὰ μὴ γενέσθαι. τῆς δὲ λογικῆς ἔχεται ἐντρεχείας
 τε καὶ θεωρίας ὁ περὶ τῶν δυνατῶν τόπος, ἵνα ὁ σμῆξας ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὄμμα τῆς
 ψυχῆς δινηθῇ τῇ λεπτότητι τῶν ἀποδείξεων παρακολουθήσας κατανοῆσαι, πῶς
 καὶ μέχρι τῶν τυχόντων οὐκ ἐμποδίζεται τὸ εἶναι τι εἰς πολλὰ δυνατόν, ἐνὸς ἐκ 55
 τῶν πολλῶν ὄντος τοῦ ἐσομένου, καὶ οὐ κατὰ ἀνάγκην ἐσομένου· προεγνω-
 σμένου τε οὕτως, ὅτι ἔσται μὲν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης δὲ ἔσται, ἀλλ' ἐνδεχομένου
 τυγχάνοντος τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ἔσται τὸ οὐ στοχαστικῶς εἰρημένον ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς
 προγνωσμένον.

μὴ νομιζέτω δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τὸ κατὰ πρόθεσιν σεσωπηκέναι ὡς θλίβον ἡμῶν 60
 τὸν λόγον· ἐπεὶ φησιν ὁ Παῦλος οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαθῶσι τὸν θεὸν πάντα
 σμερρεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οἷσιν. ἀλλὰ προσεχέτω ὅτι τοῦ
 κατὰ πρόθεσιν εἶναι κλητοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀποδεδωκεν εὐθέως,
 εἰπὼν ὅτι οἷος προέγνω, καὶ προώρισεν σχηματίζων τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ γιοῦ αὐτοῦ.
 καὶ τίνα γε μᾶλλον ἐχρὴν ἐγκαταχωρισθῆναι εἰς τὴν δικαιούσαν κλήσιν τῇ 65

I 32. Rom. viii 29

38. Col. i 15

61. Rom. viii 28

64. Rom. viii 29

I 30. ἦν] + ἡ καὶ πῶς. ἐκρ.] πῶς. ἀν. ἐλεγον M 31. ἀτόπως 35. ὅλους M
 38. πῶς. M τυγχάνων. om. M 39. καὶ τούτου] τούτου δὲ M 40. νομίζω M
 42. τοῦ υἱοῦ delend. vid. 46 καὶ ὡς . . . αὐτῶν. om. 49. προεγίνωσκεν]
 + ἐσόμενα 50. δυνατόν] conl. Robinson: ἀδύνατον MSS ἀδύνατον (acc)
 52. δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ M 53. τε. om. M τῶν. om. M 55. καὶ. om. 58. τὸ
 om. M 62. προσέχετε 65. μᾶλλον] ἄλλον

προθέσει τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτόν; πάντῃ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν αἰτίαν παρίστανσι τῆς προθέσεως καὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τὸ οὐδὲν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν. σχεδὸν γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι πάντα συνεργοῦντα εἰς ἀγαθόν διὰ τοῦτο συνεργεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοὶ εἶσι συνεργίας οἱ 70 ἀγαπῶντες τὸν θεόν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐρωτήσωμεν τοὺς τὰ ἐναντία λέγοντας, καὶ ἀποκρινάσθωσαν ἡμῖν πρὸς ταῦτα. ἔστω καθ' ὑπόθεσιν εἶναι τινα ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐροῦμεν αὐτοῖς ἀναירוῦσι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἕως ἐκ τῆς διδομένης ὑποθέσεως ἐλεγχθῇ αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος οὐχ ὑγιῆς ὢν. ὄντος δὲ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἐπιβαλὼν τῷ εἰρμῷ τῶν ἐσομένων προγνώσεται τὰ πραχθίσόμενα ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' 75 ἡμῖν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἢ οὐ προγνώσεται; τὸ μὲν οὖν λέγειν οὐ προγνώσεται, ἀγνοοῦντός ἐστι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι νοῦν καὶ τὴν μεγαλωσύνην τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰ δὲ δώσουσιν ὅτι προγνώσεται, πάλιν ἐρωτήσωμεν αὐτούς, ἄρα τὸ ἐγνωκέναι αὐτὸν αἰτίων ἐστι τοῦ ἔσεσθαι τὰ ἐσόμενα, διδομένου τοῦ εἶναι τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν; ἢ ἐπεὶ ἴσται πρόεγνω, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν αἰτία αὐτοῦ ἢ πρόγνωσης τῶν 80 ἐσομένων ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐκάστῳ; δυνατὸν οὖν ἦν τῶνδὲ τινων ἀπαντησάντων μὴ τὸδε ἀλλὰ τὸδε ἐνεργῆσαι τὸν δημιουργηθέντα αὐτεξούσιον.

τούτων οὖν καὶ τοιούτων ἂν λεχθισομένων, σώζεται καὶ τὸ εὔγε, ἀγαθὲ δοῦλε καὶ πιστέ· ἐπὶ ὀλίγα ἡς πιστός, ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω· εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν χάριν τοῦ κυρίου σου· καὶ πᾶς ἔπαινος. σώζεται δὲ καὶ τὸ εὐλογον τοῦ πονηρῆ δοῦλε καὶ 85 ἐκνηρέ, ἔδει σε βαλεῖν τὸ ἀργύριόν μου εἰς τράπεζαν. οὕτω δὲ σωθήσεται μόνως τὰ δικαίως λεγόμενα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν δεῖτε πρὸς με οἱ ἐγλοημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, κληρονομῆσατε τὴν ἡτοιμασμένην ὑμῖν βασιλείαν ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου· ὅτι ἐπέινασα, καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐξ εὐωνύμων πορεύεσθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ οἱ καθηραμένοι εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ αἰώνιον, τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ 90 διαβόλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἐπέινων, καὶ οὐκ ἐδώκατέ μοι φαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴπερ τὸ ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ καὶ τὸ ὁ ἀφορισκόμενος με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἀνάγκην τινα περιείχε, πῶς ἂν εὐλόγως ἔφασκε τὸ ὑποπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ δογματίζω, μήπως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι καὶ τὸ οὐαὶ γάρ μοι ἐστὶν ἂν μὴ ἐγαγγελίζωμαι; σαφῶς γὰρ ἐκ τούτων 95 παρίστανται ὅτι εἰ μὴ ὑπεπίαζεν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐδουλαγωγεί οἷον τε τὴν αὐτὸν ἄλλοις κηρύξαντα ἀδόκιμον γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅτι δυνατὸν ἦν οὐαὶ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰ μὴ εὐηγγελίζετο. μήποτε οὖν σὺν τούτοις ἀφώρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός, καὶ ἀφώρισεν αὐτὸν εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ, σὺν τῷ ἐωρακέναι τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ δικαίου ἀφορισμοῦ, ὅτι ὑποπίασει τὸ σῶμα καὶ δουλαγωγῆσει εὐλαβούμενος 100 μὴπως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένηται, καὶ ὅτι, εἰδὼς οὐαὶ αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι ἂν μὴ εὐαγγελίσῃται, φόβῳ τῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πρὸς τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ

I 67. Rom. viii 28 82. Matt. xxv 21, 23 84. *ibid.* 26 f 86. *ibid.* 34 f
89. *ibid.* 41 f 92. Gal. i 15 93. I Cor. ix 27 94. *ibid.* 16

I 68, 69. *eis* + τὸ *bis* 68. πάντα + τὰ 69. συνεργήσεως 71. ἀποκρινέ-
σθωσαν M 76. *om.* τὴν 77. ἐρωτήσωμεν 78. τοῦ εἶναι τὸ M : τι
εἶναι τοῦ u εἶναι τι τοῦ 81. αὐτεξούσιον + εἶναι ; *hactenus* M 82. εὐ
δοῦλε ἀγαθὲ 86. *om.* πρὸς με 89. αἰώνιον] ἐξέτερον 92. περιέχει
93. ὑποπιάζω 95. ἐαυτοῦ 99. ὑποπιάσει

οἳ οὐκ ἐσιώπα ἄλλ' εὐηγγελίζετο. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἑώρα ὁ ἀφορίζων αὐτὸν ἐκ κοι-
 λίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀφορίζων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ εὐαγγέλιον, ὅτι ἐν κόποις
 ἔσται περισσοτέρως, ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσευόντως, ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἐν
 θαλάτοις πολλάκις· ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν λήψεται, τρίς 105
 ῥαβδισθήσεται, ἀπαξ λιθασθήσεται· καὶ τάδε τινὰ πείσεται καγχῶμενος ἐν ταῖς
 θλίψεσι καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται καὶ ὑπομένων. διὰ ταῦτα
 δὲ ἄξιον ἦν αὐτὸν ἀφορισθῆναι εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ προγινωσκόμενον ἔσεσθαι,
 καὶ ἀφορισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἀφορίζετο εἰς εὐαγγέλιον 1 v
 θεοῦ οὐ διὰ τὴν φύσιν ἔχουσάν τι ἐξαίρετον καὶ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ ὑπὲρ 2
 τῶν τῶν μὴ τοιούτων φύσεις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς προεγνωσμένας μὲν πρότερον 111
 πράξεις ὕστερον δὲ γενομένας ἐκάστην ἐκ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως
 τῆς ἀποστολικῆς. νῦν δὲ ἀποδιδόναι εἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ῥήτὸν οὐκ ἦν
 εἰκαιρον, παρεκβατικὸν γὰρ ἦν· διὸ εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν θεοῦ διδόντος
 ἀποδοθήσεται, ὅταν τὸν ψαλμὸν διηγώμεθα. ἀρκέσει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα 115
 πεπλονασμένα εἰς τὸ ἀφωρισμένους.

II.

ἰ 9-11 μάρτυς γάρ μου ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ᾧ λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου ἐν τῷ
 εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνησθῆναι ὑμῶν ποιούμαι πάντοτε ἐπὶ
 τῶν προσευχῶν μου δεόμενος εἴπως ἤδη ποτὲ εὐδοιωθῆσμαι ἐν τῷ θελήματι
 τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρὶς θελήματος θεοῦ ἡκεῖν πρὸς τινα, ὥσπερ ὁ Βαλαὰμ ἀπῆκει 5
 πρὸς τὸν Βαλὰκ καταρασ(ό)μενος μισθοῦ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ· οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ πᾶς
 ἰθνηκός, ἢ ὅπως ποτε τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀλλότριος, μὴ διακονούμενος ἀγίοις τῶν
 λυσitelων τι αὐτοῖς, οὐ καὶ ἐν θελήματι θεοῦ εὐοδοῦται γίνεσθαι πρὸς οὓς
 γύεται, εἰ καὶ εὐοδοῦται ποτε· ἐστὶ γὰρ φησὶν ἡ γραφή ἐν κακοῖς εὔδοια ἀνδρός. 5

III.

11, 12 ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς·
 τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ συμπαρηκληθῆναι ἐν ὑμῖν διὰ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πίστεως ὑμῶν τε
 καὶ ἐμοῦ.

ὡς ὅντος δὲ χαρίσματος μὴ πνευματικοῦ ἡγοῦμαι ὅτι ἀναγκαίως πρόσκειται· 5 v
 ἔστι γὰρ τινα χαρίσματα, οὐ πνευματικά, ὡς καὶ ὁ γάμος· τὸ γὰρ πνευματικὸν

II R. 469^a A III R. 469 D

I 104. 2 Cor. xi 23 ff 106. Rom. v 3 f 113. sc. Ps. lviii (lvii) 3, cf. l. 8
 supra II 2. Num. xxi 5. Ecclus. xx 27 III 2. Cf. I Cor. vii 5

I 104. περισσοτέροις περισσεύοντας] περισσοτέρως 109. καὶ ἀφορίζετο] ἀφορίζεται
 ἢ V (quae hic inc) 111. μὴ om. C 112. ἐκάστην om. V 113. ἀπο-
 στολικῆς hactenus V ἀπὸ τοῦ] αὐτοῦ II 1. ἔστι] ἐτι BC 2. τὸν B.]
 τὸ B. BC καταρασόμενος] καταρασάμενος V BC ὅτι om. BC 3. ὅπως ποτε
 VB : ὅπως δὲ ποτε C διακονούμενος] Lucian, too, uses the middle voice of this verb
 in the sense of the active 4. οὐ καὶ] perhaps οὐκ, Turner 4, 5. εὐοδοῦται bis C :
 εὐοδούνται VB III 1. δὲ VB : καὶ C

οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐμποδίσαι προερχή· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σύνοδος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς κωλύει. ὅτι δὲ χάρισμα ὁ γάμος δηλοῖ ὁ ἀπόστολος φήσας θέλω πάντας
5 ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἑμαυτὸν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἰδίον ἔχει χάρισμα ἐκ θεοῦ· ὃς μὲν ὁρίως, ὃς δὲ ὁρίως.

IV.

ἰ 13-15 οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πολλάκις προσέθην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν, Ἑλληνσί τε καὶ βαρβάρους· σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί, οὕτως τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελισασθαι.

7 [ἔστιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καθ' ὑπερβατόν, ὃ ἐὰν μὴ τηρηθῇ μάχεται τῇ ἀκολουθίᾳ· τίς γὰρ ἂν εἴποι διὰ τοῦτο κεκωλύσθαι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τὸν Παῦλον ἵνα καρπὸν ἔχῃς; τοῖναντίον γάρ, εἰ μὴ ἐκωλύθη καρπὸν εἶχεν, κωλυόμενος δὲ ἀπεστερέετο τοῦ καρποῦ· πῶς οὖν ἀναγνωστέον;] πολλάκις προσέθην ἐλθεῖν
5 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν, Ἑλληνσί τε καὶ βαρβάρους, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις, καὶ ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο· διὰ τί οὖν ἡγαγέσθην τὸ ὑπερβατόν θείναι; ἐπειδὴ τ(ῶ) ἵνα καρπὸν τινὰ ἔχω ἔμελλε συνάπτειν πολλά (οἶον τὸ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν, Ἑλληνσί τε καὶ βαρβάρους, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί καὶ
10 τὰ ἀκόλουθα) ἵνα μὴ διακόψῃ τῇ συνεχείᾳ, παρενθεὶς τὸ ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο συνήψε τῷ προτέρῳ τ(ῶ) προσέθην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν ἔχω, καὶ οὕτως ἀπέδωκε τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίᾳ τὴν τάξιν.]

V.

ἰ 18 ἀποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὁργὴ θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων.

10 ἔοικε δὲ λέγεσθαι ὁργὴ καὶ ὁ διάκονος τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις πόνων καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τῶν αὐτῶν ὑπηρεταὶ καὶ λειτουργοί, ὡς ὅτε προσετέθη ἐκκαῆσαι ἡ ὁργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτε ἀνασεισθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς Δαγείδ ἐκέλευσε τῷ Ἰωὰβ ἀριθμῆσαι τὸν λαόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον παρίσταται ἐκ τοῦ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς αὐτοὺς
5 θημόν ὁργῆς, θλίψιν καὶ ὁργήν, ἀποστολήν δὲ ἀγγέλων πονηρῶν. ὅτε δ', αὐτοῖς οἱ δι' ἁμαρτίας πόνοι· οὕτω γὰρ ἀκούω τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σκληρότητά σου καὶ ἀμεταμέλητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὁργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὁργῆς, καὶ τοῦ ἐφθάκεν δὲ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἡ ὁργὴ εἰς τέλος.

πρὸς τούτοις ἐπίσκεψαι εἰ τὰ μὲν συμβαίνοντα τοῖς δικαίοις, πειράζοντος
10 αὐτοὺς τοῦ πονηροῦ, ὁργὴ μὲν ἐστὶν οὔτε δὲ θεοῦ οὔτε ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλὰ

IV R. 469 D

V R. 472 A

III 4 f. 1 Cor. vi 7

V 2 f. 2 Reg. xxiv 1

4 f. Ps. lxxviii (lxxvii) 49

6 f. Rom. ii 5

7 f. 1 Thess. ii 16

III 5. δ: VB: δ C

IV om. BC: Ὁριγένους καὶ Σευηριάνου V

I. καθ'

ὑπερβατόν] perhaps καὶ ὑπερβατόν with Ruf. 'est quidem et hyperbaton in hoc loco',
Turner 7. τῷ] τὸ V II. τῷ (sec)] τὸ V V om. BC I. ὁ διάκονος:

i. e. the devil

κάτωθεν ποθεν ἢ τοῦ διαβόλου ἢ τινος τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ· τούτοις δέ τις οὐκ ἐπιθάνως ἀνθυποῖται τὸ εἶναι ἡμῖν τὴν πάλιν πρὸς τὰ πνευματικά τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπογραφήοις· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα δόξει ὀργιζόμενα τοῖς ἁγίοις παλαίειν καὶ ἐτάγειν αὐτοῖς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὀργήν. μήποτε οὖν ἔστι τις ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὀργὴ καὶ ἑτέρα κάτωθεν ὡς ἀποδέδεικται, οὕτως καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ὀργὴ θεοῦ 15 ὥστιν, ἑτέρα δὲ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ μὲν οὐ θεοῦ δέ; εἰ δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ λόγῳ ἀφορμῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐφανερώσεν, καὶ τὸ γνωστὸν ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος κεχώρηκεν ὅτε τὸν λόγον συμπεπλήρωκεν, δηλονότι ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται διὰ πάντα τὰ ἀσεβῶς γεγεννημένα καὶ ἀδίκως πεπραγμένα, τοῖσδε μὲν πλείονα τοῖσδε δὲ ἐλάττωνα, κατὰ ἀναλογίαν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῆς 20 ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.

VI.

ii 7-9 τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομοιήν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσι ζωὴν αἰώνιον· τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἐριθείας καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι μὲν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ πειθόμενοι δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακὸν Ἰουδαίου τε πρώτον καὶ Ἑλληνος.

ὀργὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπόμενος τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ πόνος· θυμὸν δὲ 16 ὀρίζονται ὀργὴν ἀναθυμωμένην καὶ διουδαίνουσαν· οὗτος δὲ ὁ θυμὸς ἔργον ἔχει τὸ ἐλέγχειν, ἡνίκα ἂν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας πάσχωιν τινά, ἥτοι τῆς συνειδήσεως αὐτῶν πληττομένης ἢ ἀκολουθούντων ἐπιπόνων τινῶν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ θλίψις ἔπεται τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οὐχ ἡ ὑπομονὴν κατεργαζομένην, οὐδὲ εἰ νῆστις ὢν 5 καυχῆσται, ἀλλ' εἰ συνέζευκται στενοχωρίᾳ. οὐκ ἂν δέ τις ἐστενοχωρήθη εἰ πεποιήκει τις αὐτῷ ἀπὸ σοφίας πλάτος καρδίας καὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγοντος πλατύνθητε καὶ ἡμεῖς. συνάγειν γὰρ εἴωθεν καὶ στενοῦν τὴν ψυχὴν τὰ κακά, ὡς τὸν διάβολον ὡς ἐν ὁπῇ κατὰ τὸν ὄφιν ἐμφωλεύειν.

VII.

ii 10, 11 δόξα καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρώτον καὶ Ἑλληνι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

ὁ τοῖνυν ἐργαζόμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τίμιον ἑαυτὸν ἀποφαίνων τιμὴν λήψεται, 18 διὰ τῆς μετανοίας ἀναβαίνων, ἐξ ἧς ἐξέπεσεν ὁμοιωθεὶς τοῖς κτήνεσι τοῖς ἀνοήτοις 16 καὶ τὰ ἀφθαρσίας ἀξία πράγματα νοήσας ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ εἰς αἰώνιον ζωὴν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ ἐστὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀπερίσπαστος καὶ μὴ περιελκόμενος ὑπὸ τινος ἄλλο τι νοεῖν ἢ ποιεῖν παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, κατὰ τὸ καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ 5 ὁρογῆρει τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ νοήματα ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ εἰρήνην

VI R. 482 f VII R. 484

V 12 f. Eph. vi. 12 VI 5. Rom. v 4 7. 3 Reg. iii 1 (ii 35 a Swete) 8. 2 Cor. vi 11, 13 VII 2. Ps. xlix (xlviii) 13 3. 1 Cor. xv 43 5. Ph. iv 7 6. 1 Pet. i 2

V 14. μήποτε οὖν] perhaps add καθάπερ, Turner 18. τὸν λόγον συμπεπλήρωκεν] the same phrase recurs below, XIV 10 πᾶς ὁ συμπληρώσας τὸν λόγον ἄνθρωπος VI 1. The definition of θυμός is not that of Chrysippus 3. πάσχωιν τινά V B C : perhaps πάσχωσιν τινες 5. ἡ om. B C εἰ νῆστις V B C : ἐν αἷς τις cf. Rom. v 3 Turner 6. εἰ V B C : ἡ Turner 7. αὐτῷ B C VII om. B C

ἡμῖν πληθυνθεῖν, καὶ τὸ εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ἡμῖν· φησὶν δὲ καὶ ὁ προφήτης
πληθος ἔσεσθαι εἰρήνης ἐν τῇ ἐπίδημί τοῦ κυρίου ἕως ἀνταναιρεθῇ ἡ σελήνη,
ἵνα μηκέτι νόθον ὑπάρχῃ φῶς καὶ νυκτερινόν.

VIII.

ii 12, 13 ὅσοι γὰρ ἀνόμως ἤμαρτον ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολούνται· καὶ ὅσοι ἐν
νόμῳ ἤμαρτον διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι
παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται.

- 17 κριθῆναι μὲν ἔστι κατὰ νόμον καὶ διὰ νόμου· τὸ δὲ ἀπολέσθαι οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται
17 ὁ νόμος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος τις αὐτοὺς ἀπολεῖ, ἵνα κρίνῃ αὐτοὺς νόμῳ ἀπωλείας,
ἀλλ' ἔχεται τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἀμαρτήσασιν ἀπώλεια· ὅσοι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ ἤμαρτον μὴ
πάνυ ἀποστατοῦντες αὐτοῦ ἀλλ' ἦτοι παρορῶντες ἢ καὶ νικώμενοι, μετὰ τοῦ
5 προτίθεσθαι κατὰ νόμον ζῆν, οὗτοι δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου κριθήσονται.

IX.

ii 15, 16 συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων τῶν
λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς
τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

- 18 [ἢ καὶ οὕτως] κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· ὅπερ εὐαγγέλιον Παύλου
ἐστίν, καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἀξίους ἑαυτοὺς πεποιηκότων οὐδενὸς
σκυθρωποῦ ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ χαίρειν χρή. διὸ αὐτῶν ἔστι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον σὺν τῇ τοῦ
θεοῦ κρίσει διακόνῳ κεχρημένῃ.

X.

ii 21-25 ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκεις; ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ
κλέπτειν κλέπτεις; ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύεις; ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ
εἰδωλα ἱεροσυλεῖς; ὅς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν
θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις; τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὧν βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι
καθὼς γέγραπται· περιτομή μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης· ἐὰν δὲ
παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν.

- 20 ζητῆσαι χρή ποσαχῶς ὁ νόμος λέγεται, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ἵνα
μὴ δόξῃ ἐναντιοῦσθαι ἑαυτῷ· ποτὲ μὲν εἰ περιτέμνεσθε, Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν
ὠφελῆσει· ποτὲ δὲ περιτομὴν ὠφελεῖν ἐὰν νόμον τις πράσσῃ. ἔστιν οὖν νόμος
καθ' ἓνα τρόπον ψιλὸν τὸ Μωσέως γράμμα, καθ' ὃ σημαίνόμενον εἰρηται τὸ εἰ
5 ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε· καὶ τὸ ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν
ἔγενεν εἰς Χριστόν. ἔστι καὶ ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα νόμος κυρίως ὀνομαζόμενος, καθ'

VIII R. 485 IX R. 487 X R. 490-493

VII 7. Jn. xiv 27 8. Ps. lxxii (lxxi) 7 X 2. Gal. v 2 5. Gal. v 4 Gal. iii 24

VIII om. BC 2. ἀπωλείας V mg.: ἀπολέσαι V IX 1. ὅπερ εὐαγγ. om.
BC 2 ἔστιν VB: ἔτι C X 2. ποτὲ V: ποτὲ (sic) BC 6. ἔτι BC

ὁ εἶρηται ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία. ἔστι καὶ ὁ φυσικός, καθ' ὃ
 εἶρηται ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῇ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.
 λέγεται νόμος καὶ ἡ Μωσέως ἱστορία, ὡς ὅταν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Γαλάτας φάσκη
 λέγετέ μοι οἱ τὸν νόμον ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀκούετε, γέγραπται γάρ,
 Ἀβραὰμ δύο γίους ἔσχεν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καλεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰ προφητικά νόμον, ὡς 10
 ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις καὶ ἐν χεῖλεσιν ἑτέροις λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τοῦτῳ
 ἐν Ἡσαΐα. μήποτε δὲ καὶ τὴν Χριστοῦ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων διδασκαλίαν νόμον
 καλεῖ, ὡς ὅταν φάσκη ἑαυτὸν μὴ ἀνόμον εἶναι θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐννομον Χριστοῦ. ὅταν
 οὖν φάσκη οἵτινες ἐν νόμῳ δικαιοῦσθε τῆς χάριτος ἐξεπέσατε, ἀνατρέπει ἡμᾶς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Μωσέως γράμματος. περιτομὴν οὖν, ἣν αὐτός φησι νῦν, ἔτεραν 15
 λέγει παρὰ τὴν κατατομὴν καὶ νόμον, τὸν πνευματικόν. δύναται δὲ νῦν νόμος
 νοεῖσθαι καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὰς φυσικὰς ἐννοίας· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς βελτίωσιν
 ὁ πνευματικῶς περιτεμνόμενος ὠφελεῖται κατὰ τὴν τῶν φαύλων περιαιρέσιν,
 διὰ δὲ τοῦ πράττειν τὸν νόμον τὰ πρακτέα ἐργαζόμενος. δύναται δὲ τις καὶ
 κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν ἐκτὸς ἀναγωγῆς ἐξηγήσασθαι τὸ ῥητόν, καὶ φησιν ὅτι πρὸς 20
 τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων διαλεγόμενος τοῦτο φησιν· ἐγένετο γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς
 Ἰουδαῖος ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσῃ, περιτεμὼν τὸν Τιμόθεον καὶ κειράμενος καὶ
 καθαυρόμενος κατὰ νόμον, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ 20 ν
 ὠφελεῖ ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν διαλεγόμενος ταύτην κωλύει,
 μὴ ἐναντιούμενος ἑαυτῷ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶρηται ἐν τῷ περὶ ταύτης λόγῳ τῷ 25
 Ἀβραὰμ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν περιτέμνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀπὸ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ
 τοὺς οἰκογενεῖς καὶ ἀργυρωνήτορας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ περὶ τῶν
 νιῶν Ἰσραὴλ εἶρηται μόνον· οὐκ ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους τοῦτοις
 προσυπακούεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἰδικῶς νενομοθετημένα, ἢ τὰ
 περὶ τῶν ἱερέων, ἢ τὰ περὶ τῆς γερονσίας προσυπακούειν αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ 30
 ἑτέρους. ὅταν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους βούλεται τι διαπράττεσθαι, ἰδικῶς
 καὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται, ὡς ὅταν περὶ θυσίας φησίν. ἀμέλει καὶ συνεστηκός
 τοῦ καλουμένου ἁγιάσματος προσέφερον καὶ προσήλυτοι· ὡς καὶ περὶ τῶν
 δέκα λεπρῶν τῶν καθαρθέντων ὁ κύριος ἔφη πορευθέντες δεῖξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς
 ἱερεῦσιν· ἀφ' ὧν σαμαρείτης εἰς ἡν. ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὁ σωτὴρ φησιν οὐχὶ οἱ δέκα 35
 ἐκαθαρίσθησαν; οἱ δὲ ἐννέα ποῦ; οὐχὲν γέγραπται ὑποστρέψαντες δόξαν δοῦναι τῷ

X 6. Rom. vii 12 7. Rom. ii 14 9. Gal. iv 21 11. 1 Cor. xiv
 21 13. 1 Cor. ix 21 14. Gal. v 4 15, 16. Cf. Phil. iii 2, 3
 21. 1 Cor. ix 20 22. Cf. Act. xvi 3, xviii 18, xxi 26 26. Gen. xvii 12, 13
 27. Lev. xii 2 31. Lev. xvii. 3-9 34. Lc. xvii 14 ff

X 6. ἐτι BC 7. ποιεῖ BC 10. ἔσχε BC 13. αὐτὸν... φάσκη om.
 BC 14. ἐξεπτάσατε C: ἐξεπετάσατε B 19 δὲ 1°] perhaps omit, Turner
 20. φησιν] perhaps φήσει, Turner 26. περιτέμνεσθαι] probably some omission
 has taken place here, such as τοὺς μὴ ἀπὸ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄλλους
 τοὺς τῷ τῆς περιτομῆς νόμῳ ἐνόχους εἶναι, comparing Ruf. 491 B 'quod sane
 etiam ex alienigenis, id est qui minime ex Abraham stirpe dicuntur, circumcidi
 uelit', and 492 C 'non alius quisquam circumcisionis lege constringitur, nisi sit
 uel ex Abraham originem trahens uel uernaculus eorum aut pretio emptus', Turner
 27. τοὺς ἀργ. BC 28. τοὺτους C

θεῷ εἰ μὴ ὁ ἄλλογενὴς οὔτος. εἰ δέ τις τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑξόδου ἀνθυποῖσι περὶ τῶν ἐσθίων τὸ πάσχα βουλομένων προσηλύτων, ὡς δεῖ αὐτοὺς περιτέμνεσθαι, φήσομεν ὡς ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ θύεσθαι τὸ πάσχα προσέταξεν ὁ θεός, τούτου δὲ μὴ 40 ἰσταμένου νῦν περιττῇ ἢ περιτομῇ τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν.

XI.

iii 1-3 τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου, ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς ; πολὺ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. τί γὰρ εἰ ἠπίστησάν τινες ; μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσῃ ; μὴ γένοιτο.

- 22 τὸ πιστευθῆναι τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ γράμματα πιστευθῆναι χαρακτηρίζεται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐναποκείμενα μυστήρια γινώσκεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ὑγιῆ λόγον ὁ σοφὸς νοῆσει τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου στόματος· ἐπὶ δὲ χεῖλεσι φορέσει ἐπιγνωμοσύνην. τοιοῦτος ἦν Μωυσῆς καὶ 5 οἱ προφῆται, Ἰουδαῖοι ὄντες καὶ πιστευθέντες τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἴ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς τούτοις παραπλήσιος. καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι δὲ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἶχον τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου καὶ τὴν τῆς περιτομῆς ὠφέλειαν παρὰ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν μαθόντας τὸν χριστιανισμόν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν πολὺ τὸ περισσὸν παρὰ τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς· ἀπ' ἐκείνων γὰρ 10 ἦρθη ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἵνα δοθῇ ἔθνεσι ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αἰτήσεως. εἰ δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκείνοι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ δεύτερον πιστευθέντες· τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον τινός ἐστιν ἢ τινῶν πρῶτον. τίνες οὖν δεύτερον ἐπιστεύθησαν ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ ᾧ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. εἰ δὲ τις συγχεόμενος ταῦτόν οἶεται τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς 15 γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ, προσεχέτω τῷ λέγοντι ψαλμῷ τὰ λόγια κυρίου λόγια ἀγνὰ ἀργύριον πεπερωμένον δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ κεκαθαρισμένον ἐπταπλασίως. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶμαι τὰ ἀγνὰ λόγια εἶναι τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ ἀποκτείνοντι γράμματι.
- ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ προειρημένοι Ἰουδαῖοι πρῶτοι ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, οὕτως καὶ τινες ἠπίστησαν· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἴτε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εἴτε 20 πρὸς τὰ λόγια αὐτοῦ ἀπιστία τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσῃ. ποίαν δὲ πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ ; πότερον ἢ θεὸς πιστεύει τισὶ τὰ λόγια ; ἢ ἦν οἱ πιστευθέντες τὰ λόγια πιστεύουσι τῷ θεῷ, ὡς Ἀβραὰμ ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αἰγῶ εἰς δικαιοσύνην ; ἐκάτερον οἶμαι λόγον ἔχειν· μεμνησθαι γὰρ δεῖ τὸν τε πιστεύοντα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὰ λόγια αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα ἐν καιρῷ τῆς τῶν 25 ἀπίστων χλεύης ἣν χλευάζουσι τοὺς πεπιστευκότας, τοῦ μὴ καταργεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τῶν ἀπιστούντων.

XI R. 497-499

X 37. Cf. Ex. xii 48 38. Deut. xvi 5, 6 XI 3. Prov. xvi 23 9. Mt. xxi 43 13. 1 Cor. xii 8 15. Ps. xii (xi) 7 17. 2 Cor. iii 6 22. Rom. iv 3

X 39. μὴ om. B C XI 13. ᾧ VB : τῷ C 16. πεπειρωμένον B C
μὲν om. B C 17. ἀποκτείναντι B C 20. ἀπιστία B C

XII.

iii 4 γινέσθω δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης· καθὼς γέγραπται· ὅπως ἂν δικαιοθήης ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου καὶ νικήσης ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε.

τὸ οὖν γενηθήτω εἰρηται ἀντὶ εὐκτικοῦ, ὡς τὸ εἶη τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐγλογημένον 24 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

XIII.

iii 9–18 τί οὖν ; προεχόμεθα ; οὐ πάντως· προητιασάμεθα γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας πάντας ὑπ' ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι καθὼς γέγραπται· οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιών· οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρεύθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός· τάφος ἀνεργμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν· ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν· ἰδὸς ἀσπιδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν· ὦν τὸ στόμα ἀράς καὶ πικρίας γέμει· ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα· σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν· οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

βούλεται ῥῆτὰ συναγαγεῖν πῶς ἅπαντες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίαν 25 ν γεγονέναι, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ καθὼς γέγραπται οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιών, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν· ὅπερ αὐταῖς λέξουσιν οὐχ εὐρομένον πον γεγραμμένον, ἀλλὰ νομίζομεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρισκαίδεκάτου ψαλμοῦ καὶ τοῦ νβ' μεταποιοῦσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὰ ῥήτ'· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ιγ' 5 ψαλμῷ εἰρηται κύριος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκλυσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς γίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστιν κυνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ νβ' ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκλυσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς γίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστι κυνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν. εἰσὶν οὖν νενοημένοι ἰσοδυναμεῖν τὸ τοῦ ἰδεῖν εἰ ἔστι κυνίων ἢ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν 26 τ(ῷ) οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιών, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν. καὶ τὸ οὐκ ἔστι 10 δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς νομίζω γεγονέναι ἐκ τοῦ οὐκ ἔστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός· ὥστε τῇ δυνάμει δις αὐτὸν τεθεικέναι, ἅπαξ μὲν μεταποιοῦσαντα, ἅπαξ δὲ λέξεσι ταῖς αὐταῖς χρησάμενον, καὶ παραλιπόντα τὸ δεύτερον εἰρημένον οὐκ ἔστιν.

τὸ δὲ ἰδὸς ἀσπιδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν, αὐταῖς λέξεσι κεῖται ἡ χρῆσις ἐν τῷ 15 ρλθ' ψαλμῷ· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὦν τὸ στόμα ἀράς καὶ πικρίας γέμει εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ ψαλμῷ οὕτως εἰρημένον οὐκ ἀράς τὸ στόμα ἀγ'τοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου. εἰθ' ἐξῆς τοῦτο ἔστιν· ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα· τοῦτο δὲ ζητήσεις ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα, ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν Παροιμιῶν

XII R. 499 XIII R. 504 f

XII 1. Ps. cxiii (cxii) 2 ? XIII 6. Ps. xiv (xiii) 2 7. Ps. liii (lii) 3 11. Ps. xiv (xiii) 3 17. Ps. x 7 (ix 28) 19. Is. lix 7 Prov. i 16

XII, 1. γενηθήτω] Origen therefore read γενηθήτω (as in the Lord's Prayer), not γινέσθω XIII 3. ἐκζητῶν V : ζητῶν BC 4. ποῦ V ψαλμοῦ om. BC 5. νβ' V : πεντηκστοῦ δευτέρου BC μεταποιοῦσθαι BC 10. τῷ . . . θεῷ om. BC τῷ] τὸ V 13. παραλιπόντα τὸ . . . οὐκ ἔστιν] Origen's text of St Paul therefore omitted these words at the end of Rom. iii 12 (and this is the marginal reading in Westcott and Hort) with B 67** 15. ἐν V : παρὰ BC 17. ἐνάτῳ V : ἐν αὐτῷ B : ἐννάτῳ C 19. ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις τῶν Παροιμιῶν ἐκδόσεις] apparently in Aquila and Symmachus

- 26 ∇ ἐκδόσεσιν, ἐν τῷ ταχεινοῖ ἐκχέαι αἷμα, ὁ μετὰ ἀσπερίσκων προστετέθη ἐν τῇ
 21 ἐκδόσει τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. τὸ δὲ σύντριμμα καὶ τάλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς
 αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ἀνεγνωκώς²¹ οἶμαι δὲ ἐν τινὶ τῶν προφητῶν
 γεγράφθαι τὸ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, ἐν δὲ ψαλμοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ
 ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.
 25 πλήθους δὲ ὄντων ἁμαρτημάτων, οὐ πάντως ἕκαστος ἔνοχός ἐστι τοῖς ἅπασιν,
 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῷδε τῷ ἁμαρτήματι οἱ δὲ τῷδε, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πάντας τοῖς πᾶσιν.

XIV.

iii 19, 20 οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ, ἵνα
 πᾶν στόμα φραγῇ καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῷ θεῷ· διότι ἐξ ἔργων
 νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις
 ἁμαρτίας.

- 27 ∇ τί κοινὸν πρὸς πᾶσαν σάρκα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Μωσέως νόμου; πῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς
 ἁμαρτίας ἐπίγνωσις διὰ τοῦ νόμου Μωυσέως γίνεται, πολλῶν καὶ πρὸ Μωσέως
 ἐπεγνωκότων τὰ ἴδια ἁμαρτήματα; Καὶν μὲν γὰρ φησι μείζων ἡ αἰτία μοι τοῦ
 ἀπεθῆναι με²² οἱ δὲ εἰς Αἴγυπτον καταβάντες πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσήφ πατριάρχαι
 5 λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ πρὸς αὐτοὺς λόγοις τὸ ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐσμέν περὶ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴπερ ὁ Ἰῶβ δείκνυται πρὸ Μωσέως
 γεγονέναι, φησὶν εἰ δὲ καὶ ἁμαρτῶν ἐκογίστως ἔκρηγα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μοι καὶ τὰ
 ἐξῆς. ὥστε δοκεῖ μοι μὴ τὸν Μωσέως νόμον νῦν λέγεσθαι τῷ ἀποστολῇ ἀλλὰ
 10 περὶ τοῦ φυσικοῦ, ὃς καὶ γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τίνες δ'
 ἂν εἴεν οἱ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ; ἢ πᾶς ὁ συμπληρώσας τὸν λόγον ἀνθρώπος; οὐκ εἰσὶ
 γὰρ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ οἱ ἔτι ζῶντες χωρὶς νόμου, ὅποιοι ἦν καὶ Παῦλός ποτε. πλὴν
 οἱ ἅγιοι οὗς προέγνω καὶ προώρισεν καὶ ἐκάλεσεν καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν καὶ ἐδόξασεν
 νόμος εἰς καὶ οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ· διὼπερ οὐ φραγῆσεται αὐτῶν τὸ στόμα, οὐδὲ
 15 ὑπόδικοι γενήσονται τῷ θεῷ, οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶ σάρξ· καὶ εἰ δικαιοῦνται δέ, οὐκ
 ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, νόμος γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου δικαιωθήσεται, αὐτόθεν
 δίκαιος ὢν.

οὕτω δὲ διὰ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας, ὡς διὰ ἱατρικῆς ἐπίγνωσις νόσου, καὶ
 μάλιστα τῆς λαθανούσης καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν νοσοῦντα.

[καὶ ἄλλως δὲ] ὅσον ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ τιμωρηθῆναι τὸν μοιχεύοντα ἐχρῆν καὶ τὸν

XIV 1. R. 509 a D 11. R. 510 a C 17. R. 511 a A

XIII 23. Ps. xxxvi (xxxv) 1 XIV 3 f. Gen. iv 13 5. Gen. xlii 21

7. Job xxxi 33 9. Rom. ii 15 11. Rom. vii 9 12. Rom. viii 29 f

13. Rom. ii 14 17. Cf. Rom. vii 12

XIII 20. ταχινοῖ BC 21. σύντριμμα κτλ.] These words stand in our editions
 of Is. lix 7, 8 (together with ὁδὸν εἰρήνης κτλ.), but it is possible that they did not
 stand in Origen's text 22. ἀνεγνωκώς VC: ἀνεγεγκώς B XIV 2. ἐπίγνωσιν
 BC 3. γὰρ om. BC 10. πᾶς ὁ συμπληρώσας τὸν λόγον] Ruf. 509 b A 'qui id
 aetatis agunt quo discretionem boni malique iam capiant', and cf. 509 b D, 'only
 infants and idiots are outside the sphere of the φυσικός νόμος 12. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν om. C
 17. διὰ 1^o VC: δὴ B 19-25. The introductory words, raise the suspicion that
 this passage may not be Origen's

φονεύοντα κολάζεσθαι βουλομένῳ πάντως, τὸ δὲ κύριος ἀφείλεν τὸ ἀνόμημά σου 20 οὐκέτι βούλημα ἦν τοῦ νόμου ἀλλὰ χάρις τοῦ δωκότος τὸν νόμον. διὰ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς εἰπὼν τὸ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐκ ἐπήγαγε Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ Πᾶσα σάρξ. διαθέσει μὲν γὰρ δικαιούσθαι δυνατόν, ὅταν τῇ προθέσει πρὸς τὸ τοῦ νόμου ῥέπῃ βούλημα, ἔργοις δὲ οὐκέτι δυνατόν· τὰ δὲ ἔργα σαρκὸς ἅπερ ἂν ἔλθῃται ψυχῇ. 25

XV.

21, 22 νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται μαρτυρουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν· δικαιοσύνη δὲ θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας.

ὁ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· οὐχ ὥσπερ διὰ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας, οὕτως 28 καὶ φανέρωσις δικαιοσύνης θεοῦ διὰ νόμου γίνεται, χωρὶς γὰρ νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται· μείζων γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν φυσικῶν ἀφορμῶν, αἵτινες οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτάρκεις πρὸς τὸ κατανοῆσαι δικαιοσύνην, οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ τὰ δικαιούμενα κρίματα ἀνεξερεγνητὰ ἐστί. διὸ 5 νυνὶ χωρὶς νόμου πεφανέρωται ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνη, ἥς διδάσκαλός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ἐν μηδενὶ παραλαμβάνων εἰς παράστασιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνης τὸν τῆς φύσεως νόμον. ἑμαρτυρεῖτο δὲ αὕτη, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν προφητικῶν λόγων ἐξ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀινιγματωδῶς εἰρημένων, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου Μωυσέως νόμου. καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης εἰ δύο σημαυόμενα τοῦ ἐνὸς ὀνόματος 10 τοῦ νόμου ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὲλθῃται τόπῳ· εὐρήσομεν γὰρ ταύτην τὴν συνήθειαν καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις γραφαῖς· ὅλον οὐχ ἡμεῖς λέγετ(ε) ἐτι τετράμηνός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θερισμός ἐρχεται; ἐπάρατε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσαθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λεγκαί εἰσι πρὸς θερισμόν ἡδὴ. δις γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὁ θερισμός ὀνομασθείς, κατὰ μὲν τὸ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν σωματικὸν ἀναφέρεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐπὶ τὸν πνευματικόν. εἴπερ 15 δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος παρὲλθῃται κατὰ τινος, εἰ μὲν χωρὶς νόμου πεφανέρωται οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου μαρτυρεῖται, εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμου μαρτυρεῖται οὐ χωρὶς τοῦ νόμου πεφανέρωται.

XVI.

22-25 οὐ γάρ ἐστι διαστολή· πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ δικαιούμενοι δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι· διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι.

Δίκαιον δὲ παραθέσθαι τοὺς μετὰ αἵματος γενομένους κατὰ τὸν νόμον 20 ἱλασμούς, ἵν' εὐρεθῇ ἐκ τῶν παρατιθεμένων καὶ ὧν ἐστὶ σύμβολα τὰ γεγραμ-

XV 1. R. 511 b C 8. R. 512 a A 15. R. 512 a D XVI R. 515

XIV 20. 2 Reg. xii 13 XV 5. Rom. xi 33 12 ff. Jn. iv 35

XIV 22. τὸ] perhaps τῷ, Turner 24. ἅπερ αν, εληται sic V: ἅπερ ἀνέληται BC: perhaps ἀνέληται ψυχῇ. Cf. R. 513 D Corporales divitiae perniciēs animae XV 2. χωρὶς . . . πεφανέρωται om. BC 3f. τοῦ . . . δικαιοσύνην his B 5. ἐστι VB mg.: εἰσιν BC 7. παράτασιν BC 12. λέγεται V 14. κατὰ V: καὶ τὰ BC 15. τὸ] τὸν V BC 16. δὲ V: δὴ BC

μένα. γέγραπται τοίνυν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως θυσίαν ἐν τῷ Λευιτικῷ
 ἐάν δὲ πᾶσα συναγωγὴ ἀγνοῇ, καὶ λάθῃ ῥῆμα ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς συναγωγῆς, καὶ
 5 ποιήσῃ μίαν ἀπᾶσιν τῶν ἐντολῶν κυρίου ἢ οὐ ποιηθήσεται, καὶ πλημμελήσῃ, καὶ
 γνωσθῇ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἁμαρτία ἣν ἡμαρτον ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ προσάξει ἡ συναγωγὴ μόσχον ἐκ
 βοῶν περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας· εἴτα μετ' ὀλίγα καὶ εἰσίοιει ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ χριστὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ
 αἵματος τοῦ μόσχου εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου· καὶ πάλιν μετ' ὀλίγα καὶ ποιήσει
 10 φησὶ τὸν μόσχον ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησεν τὸν μόσχον τῆς ἁμαρτίας· οὕτως ποιηθήσεται
 αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτοῖς.

XVII.

iii 27 τοῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις; ἐξεκλείσθη διὰ ποίου νόμου; τῶν ἔργων;
 οὐχί· ἀλλὰ διὰ νόμου πίστεως.

30 ἐπεὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐξ ἔργων ἀπεκλείσθη πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καύχησις, διὰ τοῦτο
 30 v πᾶς ὁ ὕψων ἐαγτόν ταπεινωθήσεται, κἀνάληθεύων λέγῃ τὸ ὁ θεὸς εὐχαριστῶ σοι
 ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἑ. διὰ νόμου δὲ πίστεως
 ἐκλείεται πᾶσα καύχησις ἣν καυχῶσιντο ἄνθρωποι μὴ νοοῦντες τὴν ἐκ
 5 πίστεως δικαίωσιν· οὐκ ἐκλείεται δὲ ἡ ἐκ πίστεως καύχησις, ὅποια ἦν ἡ Παύλου
 λέγοντος ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ· μονονουχὶ γάρ φησιν
 ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι ἐπ' οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἣ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ
 κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

XVIII.

iii 28 λογιζόμεθα οὖν πιστεῖ δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.

31 ὅτι δὲ ἀρκεῖ εἰς δικαίωσιν ὁ τῆς πίστεως νόμος καθόλου μηδὲν ἐργασαμένους
 ἡμῖν, ἔχομεν δεῖξαι τὸν συσταυρωθέντα ληστὴν τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ κατὰ
 Λουκᾶν ἀμαρτωλὸν γυναῖκα τὴν κομίσασαν ἀλάβαστρον μύρου καὶ στᾶσαν παρὰ τοῖς
 πόδας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ διαπραξαμένην ἅπερ ἀναγέγραπται πεποιηκέναι. ἐξ οὐδενὸς
 5 γὰρ ἔργου ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πίστεως ἀφέωνται ταύτης αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, καὶ ἤκουσεν τὸ
 ἡ πίστις σοι ἐσώκεν σε παρὰ τοῦ θανάτου εἰς εἰρήνην. ὅτι δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν ἀδικία
 γενομένη ἀθετεῖ τὴν χάριν τοῦ δικαιοῦσαντος σαφῶς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐξ ἑ
 παραστήσει. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι, φησὶν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς πίστεως ἔργα κἂν δοκῇ
 εἶναι δεξιά, ὡς μὴ ἐποικοδομηθέντα καλῶ θεμελίῳ τῇ πίστει, οὐ δικαιοὶ τὸν
 10 ποιήσαντα αὐτά.

XVII R. 517 XVIII R. 516 f

XVI 4. Lev. iv 13 f 7. Lev. iv. 16 8. Lev. iv 20 XVII 2. Lk. xviii 14
 Lk. xviii 11 6. Gal. vi 14 XVIII 2. Lk. xxiii 42, 43 3. Lk. vii 37
 6. Lk. vii 48, 50 9. Cf. I Cor. iii 11, 12

XVI 5. ἀπᾶσιν om. BC οὐ . . . αὐτοῖς om. BC καὶ γνωσθῇ . . . ἡμαρτον add
 C in mg. fr. Lev. iv 14 6. ἦν om. BC XVII 1. ἐπειδὴ BC 2. λέγει BC
 ὁ θεὸς ὁ BC εὐχαριστῶν C 4 f. ἦν . . . καύχησις om. BC 4. ἄνθρωποι] ἀν
 ἄνθρωποι, Turner 5. ὅποια C 6. ἐμὸς B 6 f. εἰ . . . καυχᾶσθαι om. BC
 XVIII 1. δικαιοσύνην BC 5. ἀφίονται BC 8-10. Is not this sentence
 Origen's statement of his own idea? If so, φησὶν was not part of the original text, but
 was inserted by the Catenist, to shew that he himself was not the ἐγὼ of the text
 9. θεμέλια B

XIX.

iii 29, 30 ἡ Ἰουδαίων ὁ θεὸς μόνον; οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐθνῶν; ναί, καὶ ἐθνῶν ἐπεὶ περ εἰς ὁ θεὸς ὡς δικαιοῦσαι περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ τῆς πίστεως.

τίνι διαφέρει ἡ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιομένη περιτομὴ τῆς δικαιομένης διὰ τῆς 32 πίστεως ἀκροβυστίας; οὐ γὰρ νομοστέον ὡς ἔτυχεν Παῦλον ταῖς προθέσει διαφόρως κεχρησθαι. οἷον καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἡ γυνὴ φησιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός. δοκεῖ δέ μοι οἰκειότερον εἶναι τὸ ἐκ τινος τῷ 5 ἐξ οὗ (ἡ) περ τὸ διὰ τινος τῷ δι' οὗ· ἡ μὲν γὰρ γυνὴ πρῶτως ἐξ ἀνδρός ἐστίν, οὐδέποτε δι' ἀνδρός· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου ποτὲ γυνὴ ἵνα γένηται δι' ἀνδρός· καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἀκοῇ τούτων κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ καὶ τὴν Εὐάν, διὰ τὸ τοῦτο νῦν ὅστον ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων μου καὶ σὰρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός μου. ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὐδέποτε ἐκ τῆς γυναικός· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτως ἐξ ἀνδρός ὡν μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται διὰ 10 γυναικός· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἀρμόζει ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὸς ἀνδρός μετ' ἐκείνων. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν εὐγενέστερον περιτομὴ ἀκροβυστίας, δικαιοῦται 15 περιτομὴ ὡς περὶ βέλτιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑπάρχον, τὸ δὲ ὑποδεέστερον ἢ ἀκροβυστία ὁδεύει διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἵνα δικαιωθῇ, οὐκ ἐλθοῦσα ἐκ πίστεως· πιστεύσας γὰρ τις ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν, καὶ μάλιστα ἦν φησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος τὴν ἐν κρητῇ· ὥστε βέλτιον ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθῆναι ἢ διὰ πίστεως, 15 ὡς βέλτιον νοεῖται τὸ ἐξ ἀνδρός καθὼ ἐξ ἀνδρός, (ἡ) τὸ διὰ γυναικός καθὼ διὰ γυναικός. περὶ δὲ τοῦ σωτήρος οὐκ εἴρηται διὰ γυναικός ἀλλ' ἐκ γυναικός· ὅτι ἐπὶ παντὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπου χώραν ἔχει τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ πρὸ τοῦ διὰ γυναικός γέγονεν ἐξ ἀνδρός, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σωτήρος μὴ γενομένου ἐξ ἀνδρός οὐκ ἔχει τὸ γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ γυναικός· διόπερ ἐκεῖ, ἐπεὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκός σὰρξ ἐστίν, ἡ σὰρξ 20 αὐτοῦ, μὴ γενομένη ἐξ ἀνδρός, γέγονεν ἐκ γυναικός καὶ οὐ διὰ γυναικός.

XX.

iii 31 νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ νόμον ἰσχύνομεν.

ζητοῦμεν διατί μὴ εἶπεν Ἐκ πίστεως ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως. τὸ ἐκ πίστεως 32 δικαιοῦμενον ἢ περιτομὴ ἐστίν, καὶ οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλομέν φησιν εἰ μὴ καταργεῖται ἐκ πίστεως νόμος, δικαιομένης ἐκ τῆς πίστεως τῆς περιτομῆς· τῆς δὲ

XIX R. 518 b A XX R. 1

XIX 3. 1 Cor. xi 12 7 f. Gen. ii 23 15. Rom. ii 29 16, 19, 20. Gal. iv 4 20 f. Jn. iii 6

XIX 1. διάφει B 5. ἐξ οὗ . . . δι' οὗ] It looks as though these two phrases are quotations: had Origen quoted 1 Cor. viii 6 εἰς θεὸν ἐξ οὗ . . . εἰς κύριον δι' οὗ in illustration of the difference between ἐκ and διὰ (from Ruf. 518 b A B it is clear that he had quoted Rom. xi 36, 1 Cor. xii 8, Jo. i 3, 4, as well as 1 Cor. xi 12)? ἡ περ BC: εἰ περ V 11. δικαιοῦται . . . ἀκροβυστίας om. BC 12. περιτομή] presumably the words ἐκ πίστεως must have dropped out from the archetype here, Turner 13. ἐκ V: διὰ τῆς BC 15 f. ἐκ . . . βέλτιον om. BC 16. ἡ addidi καθὼ . . . ἐκ γυναικός om. BC XX 1. ἀλλὰ . . . ἐκ πίστεως om. BC 3 f. νόμος . . . διὰ τῆς πίστεως om. BC

ἀκροβυστίας διὰ τῆς πίστεως δικαιουμένης καταργεῖται ὁ νόμος. ἀλλὰ νῦν
 5 νόμον ἐλάβομεν τὸν Μωσέως διὰ τῆς πίστεως οὐ καταργούμενον· ἡ γὰρ πίστις
 ἴστησι καὶ τὸν νόμον ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ ὄντα· πρόδηλον δὲ ὡς περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς
 πίστεως φαμέν. εἰ δέ τις ἀντιθῇσει ἐκ τῆς δευτέρας πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῆς
 τὸ εἰ δὲ ἡ διακονία τοῦ θανάτου ἐν γράμμασιν ἐντετυπωμένη λίθοις ἐγενήθη ἐν δόξῃ
 ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀτενίσαι τοὺς γίους Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον Μωυσέως διὰ τὴν
 10 δόξαν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ τὴν καταργουμένην, ἐροῦμεν ὅτι οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστι τὸ
 Νόμος οὖν καταργεῖται; τῷ νόμῳ οὖν καταργούμεν; οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐνεργεῖ
 ὁ Παῦλος τὸ καταργεῖν τὸν νόμον. εἰ γὰρ καὶ καταργεῖται, ὑπὸ τῆς
 ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ· κύριος γάρ ἐστι τοῦ σαββάτου φησὶν καὶ
 οὐ δεδῶσται τί δεδοσμένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει ὡς πρὸς σύγκρισιν τῆς
 15 ὑπερβαλλούσης δόξης. μένον γοῦν ὠνόμασε τὸ Χριστοῦ· τὸ δὲ μὴ μένον
 καταργούμενον, ἐπεὶ ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἔως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ χρόνου.

XX 8 ff. 2 Cor. iii 7 f 13. 2 Cor. iii 10 Mk. ii 28 14. 2 Cor. iii 10
 15. 2 Cor. iii 11 16. Gal. iii 24 Gal. iv 4

XX 4. νόμος.] I should prefer to point this interrogatively. St Paul does not
 doubt, says Origen, that the Law is not made void ἐκ πίστεως; but is it made void
 διὰ πίστεως? Turner 6. ὡς οὐ. BC ὡς περὶ Turner: ὡς περὶ VBC 11. τῷ
 V: τὸ B: τὸν C ἐνεργεῖ ὁ νόμος ὁ Π. BC 13. ἐστι V: φησι BC φησὶν
 V: ἐστὶ BC 15. ὑπερβαλλούσης VB mg. C mg.: ὑπερβαίνουσας BC μένον
 VB: μόνον C

A. RAMSBOTHAM.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, EPIPHANY, AND BAPTISM.

MOST of this paper was written before Dr Bernard's article on the Odes of Solomon appeared in this JOURNAL in October 1910. His investigation tends to shew that they are nothing more or less than *Hymns of the Baptized*, and to my mind is quite conclusive. It does, however, occur to the reader that what is a commonplace in early Christian literature (as, for instance, illumination in Heb. vi 4 implying baptism, the white robes which accompany it, and many more symbolic phrases and usages) itself demands an explanation, all the more so if it is as early as the time of Justin Martyr. Assuming the date of the Odes to be about A.D. 100, the question arises, how all this wealth of symbolic phrase and usage can be found in its flourishing exuberance around the ceremony of Christian baptism. Could it possibly have grown up in sixty or seventy years? If it did, out of what did it grow?

The train of thought pursued in the following paper may perhaps throw some light upon this question, and in brief it is this. The imagery of baptism has been taken over from that of the Feast of Tabernacles, and more especially from the unique ceremony of the water-bearing from Siloam, the literature connected with it, which is chiefly to be seen in the *Greek version* of Isaiah lx, lxi, lxii, having served as a guide to the tradition.

Of the three great Jewish festivals, two, the Feast of Passover and the Feast of Weeks, have been taken over into the Christian Church, which has transformed them into Easter and Whitsunday; but the third, though 'far the greatest and holiest', as Josephus¹ calls it, has been so far discontinued that we know not what is become of it.² As a document it is neglected. Yet it was the great rejoicing of the year; it was solemnized by memorial and immemorial rites; it was thronged by a huge concourse; it was the most picturesque and the most joyous of the feasts. 'He who has never seen the rejoicing at the pouring out of the water of Siloam'—so ran the proverb—'has never seen rejoicing in his life.'

¹ *Antt.* viii 4. 1.

² 'No counterpart in the Christian year', Edersheim *Life and Times of Jesus* IV vii.

Though the duration of the feast was, strictly speaking, seven days, they were followed by a day of holy convocation, or κλητὴ ἀγία, or what Heb. xii 23 might very well call πανήγυρις, which was sometimes considered an eighth day. The biblical account of the origin of the feast is in Neh. viii 14 ff, 'for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun until that day had not the children of Israel done so.' Now, since the days of Jeshua were precisely those in which the actual practice of dwelling in booths by supposition ended, it is plain that the practice at Jerusalem had never been part of a commemorative feast, in other words, never existed, till the time of Nehemiah, when it was brought into connexion with history by means of a legislative order issued as the Law of Moses. From that moment it received new significance and life.

The first feature that we notice is the reading of the law. A wooden pulpit being erected for the purpose in the Court of the women, the assembly being summoned by trumpet, Ezra reads the law 'day by day from the first day to the last day'. We may speculate on a connexion of Ps. cxix with this fact.

Next, the water-bearing was destined to be connected with ideas of the first importance. On each day of the feast the water was taken from the healing fount of Siloam, and brought by a priest in a golden flagon through the water-gate with the blare of trumpets. At the outer gate of the Temple other priests received it from him with the words of Is. xii 3, 'With joy ye shall draw water from the wells of salvation', the priests and people joining in acclaim. The water was then mixed with wine and poured into a silver basin by the altar, whence it flowed by a pipe to Kedron and so theoretically to Jordan. The reference to this in 'living water' (Jo. vii 37 f) is admitted. R. Akibah gave the reason thus: 'Bring the libation of water at the Feast of Tabernacles, that the showers may be blessed to thee. And accordingly it is said, that whosoever will not come up to the Feast of Tabernacles shall have no rain.' This saying supports the idea that here was an ancient rain-charm. On the other hand R. Levi¹ (*Jerusalem Talmud*) says: 'Why is it called the drawing of water? Because of the drawing or pouring out of the Holy Ghost, according as it is said, With joy,' &c., quoting Is. xii 3.

Thirdly, illumination by night followed the water-drawing. Four huge beacons were erected and lighted up with plenty of oil and yarn, and the priests' disused garments. The reference of the words in Jo. viii 12 is admitted, when on the last day of the feast they went about the altar seven times.

This procession took the place, fourthly, of the torch-dance on the other days, performed by the leading priests and elders and scribes and rulers of synagogues with psalms and trumpets.

¹ Lightfoot *The Temple Service* xvi, ed. Pitman, 1823, vol. ix.

Fifthly, the great Hallel (Ps. cxiii-cxviii) was sung daily, and at the words, 'O give thanks unto the Lord', all the company shook their branches, Ps. cxviii 27: 'Marshal the procession with the boughs up to the horns of the altar', says Dr King, and he shews that *lag* involves a sacred dance.

The use of these branches and the thick boughs will be noticed presently. Meanwhile, we observe that R. Akibah's saying has provided no answer to the question, Why from Siloam? That of R. Levi is a spiritualizing explanation which fails as history. There was no period at which the Jewish people would have been familiar with the notion of drawing the Holy Spirit. On the other hand, we may perhaps learn something from Isaiah, as R. Levi did, by way of answer to our question, Why from Siloam? Following Nehemiah's account we may suppose that the founders of the Feast at that time had before them the solemn warning in Is. viii 6, 'Forasmuch as this people refused the waters of Siloam that go softly . . . now, therefore, behold the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the River, strong and many, the king of Assyria and all his glory . . . and he shall pass through Judah: he shall overflow and pass through.'

Nehemiah and Ezra had resolved to check an unseasonable burst of penitence on the part of the people, and to claim the Feast of Tabernacles for joy and festivity, a tone which it never ceased to bear. But the tone of merriment made it all the more important to guard the solemn thought of the past,—'Lest we forget.' The magnitude of the sacrifices, the uproarious crowds waving their *thyrsi*, the big bonfires in the temple court, must find their contrast in a very simple performance, the carrying of a small quantity of water. And as the Passover was associated with the very ancient deliverance out of Egypt, so the Booth-feast was to be associated with the more modern but equally memorable deliverance from Assyria. The world-power of the South had been overcome by the Exodus; the world-power of the East had been overcome by the Anointed of Jehovah, Cyrus, whom, with his successors, the chosen people had to thank under God for their present prosperity and their future hopes. The one thing that must never again be refused by them was the waters of Siloam that go softly; and from that healing fount, and no other, must they be drawn with humility and the shout of thanksgiving.

The Siloam-water was therefore a sort of protest against the idea that Isaiah's warning (viii 6) should ever be required again: the ceremony was intended to enshrine that warning in a public act. Nevertheless, as we look back upon the history of the century preceding A. D. 70 we can see how the Jewish people did again disregard the warning: they allowed the ceremony to become a superstition; therefore, behold, the

Lord brought up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, the king of Assyria in the person of Herod and his hellenizing successors, who threw the devastating power for the second time in Jewish history into the hands of Babylon, but this time Babylon was Rome.

We may now pass on to consider the three chapters of Isaiah, lx, lxi, lxii, that have hitherto been in search, as it were, of their mother, the occasion which brought them forth. We shall see how very close is their connexion with the great feast. I can find no recognition of the parallelism by commentators or expositors. This is the more strange because the date of the composition of Is. lx is placed upon independent grounds near to that of the book of Nehemiah. Cheyne¹ says: 'Chapters 56-66 contain no works of the second Isaiah, but, with the possible exception of lxiii 7-lxiv 12, belong to nearly the same period—that of Nehemiah. Duhm, indeed, assigns all these eleven chapters to a single writer of Nehemiah's age, whom he calls 'Trito-Isaiah.' It seems then to be most probable that the Feast and the chapter (to which it will be admitted that chapters lxi and lxii are companions) originate in the same period.

First of all, then, Is. lx is a hymn or ode so entirely appropriate to the illumination that it seems impossible to doubt the reference. Let us imagine the appearance of the Temple at the rise of the full harvest moon after the fifteenth day of the seventh month (Lev. xxiii 34). Theoretically the Feast was timed to cover the autumnal equinox, and on one evening of it the effect would be sublime, when no sooner had the sun plunged in the west than the full moon—

‘That orb’d maiden, with white fire laden,
Whom mortals call the moon’—

rose into view in the east. The symbolism of these two luminaries, the one succeeding the other, could have no closer commentary in words than those of Is. lx. If the ‘glorious morning face’ had been radiant with the welcome at sunrise, ‘Arise, shine, for thy light is come’, at eve the moon’s companion light keeps open the gates for the world’s wealth to enter the city (lx 11), ‘Thy gates shall be open continually: they shall not be shut day nor night.’ And yet both luminaries are seen to pale before some greater light: ‘The sun shall be no more thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory’ (lx 19). This is the contrast, and yet the contrasted lights of the sky by their very succession suggest also a similitude. ‘Thy sun shall no more go down, nor shall thy moon withdraw itself: for the Lord shall

¹ *Enc. Bib.* s.v. ‘Book of Isaiah’ 21.

be thine everlasting light' (lx 20). 'I have set watchmen (the sun and the moon¹ as they rise and set) above thy walls: they shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that are the Lord's remembrancers, keep ye not silence, and give him no silence, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth' (lxii 6). The thought recalls Ps. xix 2. The beacon-fires also receive a reference in Is. lxii 1, 'until her righteousness go forth as brightness, and her salvation as a lamp that burneth', where the 'brightness' is that of the morning sun (Is. lx 19) bursting through the night, and the 'lamp' is rather a blazing beacon. It follows that when night is thus turned into day the city is made a blaze of light, an 'eternal splendour' (Is. lx 15), and yet there is no fear of a hostile attack, though the gates are open. The crowds that are to throng them are crowds of proselytes to be, and we can well understand their singing in antiphon the verse of the great Hallel (Ps. cxviii 19), 'Open for me the gates of *righteousness*.'

This leads us to the main theme of Is. lx, 'the abundant access of the Gentiles.' 'The Gentiles shall come to thy light' (lx 3). The future sons and daughters of Jerusalem are seen carried in the arms and on the shoulders of the admiring eager crowd, which is not merely a common people, for 'kings' also 'walk to the shining of her rays'. 'Lift up thine eyes round about and see,' says the prophet, 'the abundance of the sea, the wealth of the Gentiles, the camels, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah, the gold and frankincense from Sheba, the flocks of Kedar, the ships of Tarshish.' What could be more graphic and picturesque? What could be more particular and less general? The description is that of a festival, not of a typical Eastern day by any means. Now the Talmud² says that the Hallel was instituted for a twofold object, to celebrate festival days, and to commemorate deliverance from a great danger. The date of the composition of the Hallel seems to be fixed as late as hellenizing times by the description of the idols to which Ps. cxv 4 ff refers with a scornful sarcasm. The idols of silver and gold, with mouth, eyes, ears, nose, hands and feet, are Greek and not Babylonian or Assyrian images. And yet, though two or three centuries later than Is. lx-lxii, the Hallel emphasizes the presence of gentiles at the great feast, 'the *fearers* of Jehovah' (cxv 13), 'praise ye Jehovah, ye *nations*' (cxvii 1), 'let the *fearers* of Jehovah now say, For his mercy,' &c. (cxviii 4), 'open me the gates of *righteousness*' (cxviii 19), and 'He maketh the barren to keep house as the children's joyful mother' (cxiii 9).

Another point of contact between Is. lx-lxii and the Hallel is obvious

¹ Is it not rather prosy and insipid here to say they are either prophets or angels?

² *Pesachim* 117, as quoted by Cheyne *Origin of the Psalter* p. 18 note.

—the conversion of names of Zion which follows upon her converted state after the large admission of the Gentiles. 'All they that despised thee shall bow down at the soles of thy feet, and *they shall call thee The city of Jehovah, The Zion of the Holy One of Israel*' (Is. lx 14); '*Thou shalt call thy walls Salvation, and thy gates Praise*' (Is. lx 18); '*I will make thy officers Peace, and thy taskmasters Righteousness*' (Is. lx 17); '*Ye shall be named The Priests of Jehovah: men shall call you The Ministers of our God*' (Is. lxi 6); '*Thou shalt no more be termed Forsaken, nor thy land Desolate; but thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah (my delight is in her), and thy land Beulah (married)*' (Is. lxii 4); '*And they shall call them The holy people, The redeemed of the Lord: and thou shalt be called Sought out, A city not forsaken*' (Is. lxii 12); The Hallel shews the same feature in Ps. cxiii 9 quoted above, '*Judah became His Sanctuary*' (Ps. cxiv 2); '*Who turneth the Rock into A pool of water, the Flint into Water-springs*' (Ps. cxiv 8); '*Gracious is Jehovah and Righteous; yea, our God is Compassionate*' (Ps. cxvi 5).

The next point that we notice is the reference made in Is. lx 5 to the noise of the sacred water flowing into the silver basin whence it was conducted towards the Dead Sea: 'Then shalt thou see and flow as a river, and thine heart shall tremble and be enlarged, because the noise of the sea shall be turned toward thee, the wealth of the Gentiles shall come unto thee.' 'The daughter of Zion is compared to a river into which tributary streams (the Gentile nations) suddenly pour themselves.'¹ So the Siloam water delivers 'its tribute wave' to the Jordan. The noise as it plashed into the silver basin was made further to symbolize the flow of the sea and the abundance of its merchandise turning from the Western isles of the Mediterranean eastwards to Zion. The word for *noise*, which equally means *abundance*, is finely chosen for its double meaning. Any one who will consult Madden's *Coins of the Jews* will see how the flagon for the water-bearing is frequently depicted on the shekel, half-shekel, and copper coins. It is best seen on coins of the date A.D. 66, 67, which were copied in the time of Barcochba, A.D. 132-135. In the age of Simon the Maccabee the design was a cup (Ps. cxvi 13 'I will take *the Cup of Salvation*'²), and the cup was developed in the design, as probably in historical fact, into a flagon later. The legend is *The Redemption of Zion*, which takes us back to Is. lx 16 'I the Lord am thy Redeemer' and Is. lxii 12 'And they shall call them The Redeemed of Jehovah'.

Another characteristic feature of the great feast is presented on the copper coinage of the same age 141-135 B.C., to which the reference in

¹ King on Ps. xxxiv.

² The word is דִּיבְרָא, cognate with הֶשֶׁבֶת, *flagon*. So R. V. in Ex. xxv 29, xxxvii 16; and so probably in Num. iv 7.

Is. lx is rather less certain until the actual reproduction in Madden is consulted. This is the *lulab* or bunch or *thyrsus*¹ already mentioned. The *lulab* was strictly speaking a palm-branch in its immature stage before the fronds have separated and while it retains its sceptre-like condition so well suited to symbolize kingdom. It was bound up with the sprig of myrtle and the sprig of willow.² But the palm is not indigenous at Jerusalem and was not always procurable. The Barcochba coinage represents the *lulab* as more like a plant than anything else, with root, leaves, and flowers, not unlike a mangold, resting on a squat base. The coinage of 270 years earlier shews something like the flower of this *lulab* alone, and was conjectured by Madden to represent Aaron's rod, though doubtfully. It is perhaps more likely to represent three sprigs of willow used at the feast.

Now there is in the Hebrew of Is. lx-lxii a trace or two of reference to the use of the *lulab*. Is. lx 21 'The branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified'; lxi 3 'to give unto them [that mourn in Zion] a coronet³ for ashes . . . that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified'; lxi 11 'For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all the nations'. The latter words are especially appropriate to the occasion of the feast, at which the swarming myriads of men and women, each bearing the *lulab* in one hand and the citron in the other, must have made the Temple and its neighbourhood to appear like a living and moving garden or plantation.

So far the Hebrew: but when we come to the Greek of Is. lx 21 we find a strange translation, '*maintaining the plant* (φυλάσσω τὸ φῦτευμα), the works of its hand (or their hands') unto glory.' Here, as in lx 1, the Greek translator seems to be awake to the fitness of the Ode to the occasion, no less than the Hebrew, of which, however, he has changed the sense. The Hebrew represents the people as 'the branch of my

¹ The *thyrsus*, a Greek or pagan implement, was a pole with an ornamental head formed by a fir-cone or by ivy or by vine-leaves (see Rich *Dict. of Antt.* s.v.), and to call a *lulab* a *thyrsus* is only a loose if convenient use of the term. There was a resemblance, which in after years caused the confusion at Alexandria between the Jewish feast and that of the appearance of Dionysus observed on January 6 (*Enc. Bib.* s.v. 'Nativity' § 10). But the exact appearance of the *lulab* must be seen on the coinage, where it appears in company with the *ethrog* or citron, another characteristic emblem of the feast.

² Buxtorf *Lex. Chald.* 1143.

³ מִקְרָא is cognate with פִּרְיָא, 'sprigs' or 'branches' (six times in Ezekiel).

⁴ This, the Sinaitic MS reading, makes no difference whatever to the sense, which in any case is '*the people's hands*', not the Lord's.

planting', 'the sprout of my plantations': the Greek says 'the people maintains the plant which its hands have made'. The 'plant' I claim to be the *lulab*, which closely resembled a plant, as the coinage shews. The translator of Is. lx at Alexandria had probably visited the great feast at Jerusalem, or at least was aware of the exact appearance of the *lulab*. Impressed with the immemorial ceremony he translated with the emphasis on the traditional side of it, and on the characteristic emblem. And four verses later (Is. lxi 3) he goes on to recognize the name of the people: 'They shall be called Generations of righteousness, A plant of the Lord for glory.' He has therefore made ~~two~~ ideas where the Hebrew has one, which it repeats.

As to the willow there can be no doubt as to the origin of its use; it was (Is. lxi 1) 'to proclaim liberty to the captives' by a reminder; it was the emblem of the Captivity that was now turned into Deliverance. 'By the willows in Babylon we had hanged our harps' (Ps. cxxxvii 2). In later times the closing day of the feast was called 'the day of willows'. This, it seems, is the explanation of the device on the shekel of Simon the Maccabee, 'the Redemption of Zion.' But the bundle of branches, the bunch of palm, willow, and myrtle—the 'work of the people's hands', because tied together with gold or silver twist or twigs so as to resemble (as it is here suggested) 'the plant'—was named *lulab* after the predominant palm. This was *maintained*, carried continually in the hand. These are some of the details which the Ode passes over in a poet's bird's-eye sweep.

Not so the vast quantities of branches that the feast required for the making of booths, for outside the booths they might neither eat nor drink nor sleep throughout the feast. 'The glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee in the cypress and pine (*rather* plane) and cedar together, to glorify the place of my sanctuary, and to make the place of my feet honourable' (Is. lx 13), i.e. good shelter was provided by the spreading cedar and cypress branches, 'the boughs of *thick* trees' (Lev. xxiii 40). The city must have presented a bosky appearance to the beholder from the hills round about it, 'like a garden' (Is. lxi 11), 'that they may be called Oaks of righteousness, the Plantation of Jehovah that he might be glorified' (Is. lxi 3).

Lastly. If the booths required much material, the provisioning of the thronging multitudes on this occasion required more.¹ Now it is

¹ The normal accommodation was extremely limited. Fergusson, from the architect's point of view, observes (*Dictionary of the Bible* s.v. 'Jerusalem') that 'the population of Jerusalem in the days of greatest prosperity may have amounted to from 30,000 to 45,000 souls, but could hardly ever have reached 50,000; and assuming that in times of festival one half were added to this amount, which is an extreme estimate, there may have been 60,000 to 70,000 in the city when Titus

not beneath the prophet's poetical pen to describe a sheep-fair in connexion with the provisioning. 'And all the sheep-flocks of Kedar and the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee' (Is. lx 7), 'they shall come up acceptably upon mine altar.' 'Strangers shall stand and feed your flocks' (Is. lxi 5), i.e. the flocks destined to become yours. And then he strains his gaze across the western sea to descry the purveyors of merchandise about to attend the feast (Is. lx 9), bringing their silver and their gold which they will offer and will spend for the benefit of trade. The idea of mercantile prosperity is certainly present: 'Instead of copper I will bring gold and instead of iron I will bring silver, and instead of wood copper, and instead of stones iron' (Is. lx 17).

We now pass suddenly from the Tabernacles at Jerusalem to the Benediction of the Waters as performed at Petersburg in modern times, and we shall hardly fail to recognize a very close resemblance between the two ceremonial observances. The Petersburg ceremony is performed at Epiphany, which is called 'The Lights'. This name is now generally supposed to be due to the array of torches and tapers accompanying the service, symbolizing as they do 'the spiritual illumination to which our Lord by His baptism in Jordan consecrated water'.¹ But at present we are dealing not with the symbolism but with the history. The torches illustrate the meaning of the name of 'The Lights', but do not explain its origin. Dr J. G. King describes what he saw in or about 1780 as follows:—

'On the river upon the ice a kind of wooden church is raised, painted and richly gilt, and hung round with pictures, especially of S. John Baptist; this is called the Jordan, a name used to signify the baptistery or font. The Jordan is surrounded by a temporary hedge of the boughs of fir-trees; and in the middle of it a hole is cut through the ice into the water: a platform of boards covered with red cloth is laid down for the procession to pass upon, also guarded with a fence of fir boughs. . . . The Clerks, the Deacons, the Priests, the Archimandrites, and the Bishops, vested in their richest robes and carrying in their hands lighted tapers, the censer, the Gospel, and the sacred pictures and banners, proceed from the chapel to the Jordan, singing the hymns appointed for the office; followed by the Emperor and the whole court. All the troops of the city are drawn up round the place. The artillery and soldiers fire as soon as the service is finished, and then are sprinkled with the sanctified water. The water is held in such

came up against it'. This difficult question is here beyond our scope, but the relative proportion of mouths to be fed for eight days would be very great, for in September the weather permitted of encampment on the hills outside the city.

¹ Neale *History of the Holy Eastern Church* part i p. 754.

estimation by the common people that they look on it as a preservative from, as well as a cure of, not only spiritual but natural infirmities. The aged, the sick, and especially children, are brought in numbers to receive the benefit of these waters, by drinking them at the place, or by aspersion or immersion. Vast quantities are carried home by them in bottles. It is considered to have great efficacy to drive away evil spirits.'

For the purpose of illustrating this graphic description many details can now be conveniently read in Mr F. C. Conybeare's *Rituale Armenorum*, which includes the Epiphany Rite of the Blessing of the Waters. A few of the more obvious traces of the Skenopegia in that Rite are here noted, out of an abundance:—

'O thou who hast said to us through the prophet Isaiah, With joy shall ye draw water from the wells of salvation' (see p. 226 above).

'To-day the moon is brightened with (the sun) with bright rays for the world' (see p. 228 above).

'To-day we are set free from our ancient lament, and are saved as a new Israel' (see pp. 227, 230 above).

'To-day is the holy and resounding (*or* illuminated) general assembly (*πανήγυρις*) of the orthodox' (see pp. 226, 229 above).

'Make the water a fount of immortality, a gift of sanctification, a ransom from sins, preventive of diseases, destructive to demons, inaccessible to the adverse powers, fulfilled with angelic strength' (see pp. 230, 231, 232 above and p. 240 below).

Further the Armenian rite speaks of the waters themselves as Theopaneia, an adjectival substantive (*θεοφάνεια*), while it proclaims that God sanctified the Jordan streams by His immaculate Epiphany.¹ It says, 'To-day the grace of the Holy Spirit sanctifying the waters appeareth (*ἐπιφαίνεται*) upon these.' 'On behalf of them that drain and draw unto the sanctification of souls and bodies we beseech thee.'² Throughout the rite there is the incessant repetition of the idea of Light and Lights in connexion with that of Waters. 'To-day the darkness of the world is destroyed by the Epiphany of the Holy Spirit.' 'To-day the fountains of the waters were sanctified when Christ appeared (*ἐπιφανέντος*) in glory in Jordan river.' The priest enters wearing a stole for the laver with the censer and tapers.³ The usual word for font in the Greek Church is *κολυμβήθρα* which refers undoubtedly to the Pool of Siloam (*κολ.* occurs thrice in St John, of Bethesda and Siloam, and nowhere else in N.T.: of Siloam in O.T. and also of other Pools). The saving and healing effect of the waters after benediction is conveyed incessantly, recalling the beneficial powers of Siloam. But it

¹ Barberini *Euchologion* Conybeare p. 415 foll.

² Grotta Ferrata MS p. 421 foll.

³ Bodl. MS p. 430 foll.

would be vain to disentangle the various trains of thought which this Rite has combined—God *appears*, Christ *appears*, the Holy Spirit *appears*, each of the Three Persons has His *Epiphany*. The framers of the Rite did not understand the origin or the original purpose of it, but blindly and faithfully had they resolved to perpetuate a tradition which had enjoyed an immemorial existence connected with Lights and Waters.

The identity of this ceremony with that of the Feast of Tabernacles is beyond dispute. No less than eight characteristic features of the Jewish feast are represented at Petersburg. (1) The name of The Lights which is reflected in the abundant use of torches and tapers reproduces the bonfires in the Temple, and the torch-dance by the priests, elders, scribes, and archisynagogi, to whom the clerks, the deacons, the priests, the archimandrites correspond. (2) The drawing of the saving waters from the Neva for the Jordan reproduces the drawing of the water from the saving fount of Siloam which was made to flow to Jordan. (3) The use of fir-boughs and a wooden booth reproduces the boughs of thick trees, 'cedar, plane, and cypress', at Jerusalem. (4) The reading of lessons which include 'Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of Salvation' (Is. xii 3), the selfsame time-honoured text of the great Feast, reproduces the solemn reading of the Law by Ezra and his successors. (5) The fence of fir-boughs guarding the wooden platform covered with red cloth reproduces the wooden pulpit erected in the Court of the Women. (6) The singing of hymns perpetuates the use of the great Hallel, which though not precisely part of the canon of the Benediction is reproduced in a free running commentary¹ of varying phraseology in the Armenian and Syrian Rites. And to these six parallels we may add (7) the blare of trumpets by the army (p. 226 above) to say nothing of (8) the presence of 'Kings' (Is. lx 3). Could one, after eighteen centuries, expect a closer resemblance? And this ceremony takes place on January 6, the day which in the Constantinopolitan calendar of the Jewish Church is called the Holy Theophany. The relative importance of this festival as tested by its four days of vigil is second only to Easter and Pentecost in the calendar. The Armenian Church observes on the same January 6 the Nativity, the Epiphany, and the Baptism, for which observance the

¹ The correspondence of the Hallel and the Ritual Hymn may here be briefly indicated in regard to the main themes—God's humiliation has raised His people (Ps. cxiii) = pp. 171, 186 (Conybeare *Rit. Arm.*). All nature was moved, Jordan was turned back (Ps. cxiv) = pp. 174, 190, 314. Scorn of idolatry (Ps. cxv) = pp. 186, 188, 'the futile worship of pillars'—but the usages of the Eastern Church are hardly iconoclastic. Uplifting from captivity by the compassion of God (Ps. cxvi) = pp. 188, 305. Loving-kindness (Ps. cxvii) = p. 305. The Head of the Corner (Ps. cxviii) = pp. 312, 317. The above are only samples of many more.

Greeks and Latins bring against it the charge of heretical practice. Yet it seems, as Neale remarks, to be an original custom of their Church.

But after discovering the essential identity of our Epiphany with the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, the question arises whether we can discern the means and the occasion of the transition. For this purpose we may again refer to Is. lx in order first of all to explain the difference of name.

The Eastern Church has Theophany and Epiphany, ours only the latter. It is worth while to point out that the name Epiphany is not correctly translated—perhaps translation was not intended—by the alternative title in the Book of Common Prayer, ‘Or Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles.’ This would not be Epiphany, but Phanerosis.¹ The meaning of Epiphany is appearance, and especially that of dawn or other light. The Roman Missal has given the name with its right translation: ‘*In apparitione seu Epiphania Domini nostri I. C.*’; and so the Breviary: ‘*In festo apparitionis Domini.*’ It is applied to the first and to the second coming of Christ, but it is wholly inapplicable to this manifestation to the Gentiles in the person of the Magi or others. To the star which appeared to the Magi it would apply correctly, but the infant Christ did not come to the Gentiles or (except in a figure) appear to them. They came to Him. The name is a misnomer in this connexion. But when, dismissing the explanation in our Prayer-book, we compare the names Epiphany and Theophany, we begin to see that there is a meaning in both: there was a Dawning, there was a Dayspring in which God appeared. Now Is. lx 2 contains the thought as we have already seen it applied to the Jewish Feast. ‘Lighten thou, lighten thou (*φωτίζου*), Jerusalem, for thy light hath come, and the glory of the Lord hath risen upon thee (*ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνατέταλκεν*). Behold, darkness shall cover the earth, and gloom upon the nations; but upon thee shall appear the Lord (*ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ φανήσεται Κύριος*), and his glory shall be seen upon thee.’ Here is the origin of the name of The Lights. The prophecy of Is. lx is the middle point between the Eastern term Theophany and the Anglican Epiphany. But what is much more important than that, it is the middle term between the Skenopegia and the modern festival of The Lights.

But there is some further light to be obtained on the actual transition from the Skenopegia to Baptism in the observance of the date of the Lord’s baptism by the followers of Basilides. Clement of Alexandria gives the first mention of this observance. In reference to the date of His birth he says (Strom. i 21, 340 B): ‘And there are those who have determined not only the year of our Lord’s birth but also the day:

¹ Justin M. *Dial.* 53 uses the term—*μετὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἡμετέρου Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ γένει ὑμῶν φανέρωσιν καὶ θάνατον*.

and they say that it took place in the 28th year of Augustus, and on the 25th day of Pachon (May 20). And the followers of Basilides hold the day of his baptism also as a festival, *spending the night before in readings*. And they say that it was the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar, the 15th day of the month Tybi (Jan. 11), and some that it was the 11th of the same month (Jan. 7). . . . Further, others say that he was born on the 24th or 25th of Pharmuthi' (Apr. 20 or 21). This is conclusive evidence against a general recognition of the festivals of the Nativity and the Baptism in Clement's time about A.D. 200. On the other hand, Clement was in a position to speak with knowledge of the observance of the day of Christ's Baptism, for the followers of Basilides lived at Alexandria, and fixed the day as the 15th of the month. There may very well have been a preference for the 15th day on the ground that the Feast of Tabernacles began on the 15th of a month, though this was changed from autumn to winter.

The night before being spent in readings reminds us of the reading of the law from the wooden pulpit at the Skenopegia in Jerusalem. But since lights were kept burning for the purpose all night, we have a second feature of the Feast here implied—the Lights. There is no question of the reason why the Basilideans honoured the day of the Baptism—because their master held that the light¹ came down from the Hebdomad at the Baptism, as well as at the Annunciation, 'upon Jesus the Son of Mary', that 'he was enlightened because kindled in union with the light (*συνεξαφθεις τῷ φωτί*) that shone upon him at the Baptism'. The allusion to the traditional 'light on Jordan' can hardly be questioned.

The significance of these facts appears from the position of Basilides. That he claimed to be an inheritor of Jewish prophecy as well as a Christian is proved by the fact² that 'he mentions Barcabbas and Barcoph as prophets, and invents others for himself that never existed'. Now it is certain that these two names mentioned by Eusebius as given by the orthodox champion Agrippa Castor are ironical parodies of the true names of Basilides' prophets, for no man would own prophets called 'Son of a curse' and 'Son of apes'. It is probable that their authorized names were 'Son of glory' and 'Son of my hand', and that the perversion was due to the temptation of controversy. Just in the same way the mock Messiah, Simon, surnamed by the people Bar-kokeba, Son of a star, in this same time of Basilides (A.D. 117-138) came to be known before he fell as Bar-kosiba, Son of a lie.

No orthodox Christian of A.D. 135 would have ventured to authorize

¹ *Did. Christian Biography*, 'Basilides' (Hort).

² So says Agrippa Castor (Eus. *H. E.* iv 7) 'one of the most famous writers of the time', the first writer against heresy, who refuted Basilides.

prophets of his own : much less would he have called them by Jewish names suggesting Barjesus, the alternative name of Elymas the sorcerer. But in fact Agrippa Castor charges Basilides with jugglery (*γοητείας*) which is not far short of sorcery : here again allowance must be made for controversy. For on the other hand Basilides wrote twenty-four books 'on the Gospel', and however full of perverted interpretation this work was, 'its general character appears', says¹ Dr Lightfoot, 'from the fact that Clement of Alexandria quotes it under the title of *Exegetics*'. He also says : 'The Gnostic leaders were in some instances no mean thinkers : but they were almost invariably bad exegetes.' Basilides at any rate had this much in common with Justin, who wrote rather later, that he associated the Baptism of Christ with the idea of lights, going further than Justin in holding that the 15th day of a certain month should be fixed for the observance of it.

Further it is incontestable that Basilides was a Jew, whose Greek name conceals a Jewish name like Ben-melech or Barmelech. For no Gentile Christian would have chosen prophets 'of his own' bearing Jewish names. No Gentile Christian would have invented a name for the universe in which the Saviour descended and ascended called Caulacau (Is. xxviii 10, *line upon line* : LXX 'hope upon hope'). Of no Gentile could it be said² that 'they profess to be no longer Jews, though not yet Christians'. And yet Basilides and his son Isidorus said that Matthias³ communicated to them secret discourses which by special instruction he had heard from the Saviour. The Jewish origin of Basilides joined him to those who knew and had attended the Tabernacles at Jerusalem before A.D. 68. He might indeed have witnessed it himself. His life fills the time when the Feast of Tabernacles ceased to be what it was and the Feast of Lights began as such.

Now there is one fragment of his teaching which shews that the question of light and lights was one that particularly occupied his thought :—

'But God spake and it was done, and this is that which is said by Moses : Let there be light, and there was light. Whence came the light? Out of nothing : for we are not told whence it came, but only that it was at the voice of him that spake. Now he that spake was not, and that which was made was not. Out of that which was not was made the seed of the world, the word which was spoken, Let there be light : and this is that which is spoken in the Gospels, There

¹ *Essays on S. R.* 161.

² *Iren.* i 24. 6.

³ Hippolytus, *Ref. Haer.*

⁴ Hippol. *l.c.* 'He says' interrupts this passage frequently. Doubtless Basilides is he.

was the true light which lighteth every man coming into the world. He derives his originating principles from the seed, and obtains from the same source his enlightening power.'

And during the lifetime of Basilides, Ignatius was writing :—

'He was born and was baptized that by his passion he might cleanse water' (Ign. Eph. 18)! Here is the first reference to something like the Blessing of the Waters. And he continues :—

'... How then were they made manifest to the ages? A star shone forth in heaven above all the stars, and its light was unutterable, and its strangeness caused amazement... From thenceforward every sorcery and every spell was dissolved... the abolishing of death was taken in hand.'

Thus does Ignatius connect the Epiphany Light with the waters.

Now we come to the close correspondence between the Odes of Solomon and the literary picture of the Skenopegia in the Greek of Is. lx–lxii, and observe the natural developement of the one by direct tradition into the other. I follow Dr Bernard's order ('Odes of Solomon' in *J.T.S.* Oct. 1910).

(p. 5) *The use of φωτισμός, 'baptism', and φωτισθέντες, 'baptized persons', originates in Is. lx 1 ff. Φωτίζου, φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλήμ, which had come to mean the Christian Church as early as Gal. iv 26, 'the mother of us all', who are baptized. 'Behold thy children gathered together' (Is. lx 4).*

(p. 5) *The white robes of the newly baptized originate in Is. lxi 3, 'a raiment of glory to be given to them that mourned in Sion.' 'I was clothed with the covering of thy spirit' (Ode 25) is the idea of Is. lxi 10. 'Let my spirit rejoice upon the Lord: for he hath clothed me with the garment of salvation and the vesture of gladness.' One may hesitate to touch the question of the words which follow: 'and thou didst remove from me the raiment of skin.' And yet one is tempted to think whether the Baptism of John is not intended in this Ode. In the case of a convert from John's Baptism (Acts xix 3) would not these words be very appropriate? One may imagine that the disciples of John wore leather aprons for baptism, and that there is a reference to this in Apoc. iii 18, 'white garments that thou mayest clothe thyself instead of the shame of thy nakedness being manifested.' This is speculation, but there is some ground for a conjecture that when Justin speaks in the same context of 'fire actually being kindled in the Jordan when Jesus had gone down to the water', he is influenced by the story of *Elijah's* ascent from Jordan, of which Papias or some early Christian writer discovered a fulfilment in the Baptism of Jesus.*

(p. 7) 'They who put on me shall suffer no harm, but they shall gain the whole world that is incorruptible.' This reproduces Is. lx 21, 'For

ever shall they inherit the world', and 18, 'wrong and harm shall not be heard of in thy world.'

(p. 7) 'He is as a *garland on my head*.' 'An everlasting crown for ever is Truth.' The crowning of the newly baptized has its original in Is. lxii 3, καὶ ἔσθ' στέφανος κάλλους ἐν χειρὶ Κυρίου καὶ διάδημα βασιλείας ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ σου. 'Come into this Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree, and put it on thy head and *be glad*', is framed upon Is. lxi 7 καὶ εὐφροσύνη αἰώνιος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν.

(p. 8) *The Living Water* is doubtless based upon Ezek. xlvii, but the point is that *the water of remission* as there described must of necessity be identified with Siloam. Not, of course, that Ezekiel was thinking of the water-bearing, which was not instituted when he wrote, but he pointed to a mode of utilizing the water of Siloam. The water is so full of life, he says, that, even where the brook Kedron which it feeds debouches into the Dead Sea near Engedi, the fish are abundant. Then the LXX of xlvii 3 caused it to be believed that the Siloam water was *water of forgiveness*—a very important point for baptism—though they only meant *water let off* (ὑδωρ ἀφέσεως). That Barnabas, Melito, and Ephrem should discern in the passage a clear reference to Christian baptism is entirely natural. And Barnabas joins with this fulfilment another, τὸ ὑδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστόν (Is. xxxiii 16) of baptism.

There is one important feature of the Siloam water-bearing which has not yet been noticed. The *water was mixed with wine* at the altar and then poured out. This seems to me to be behind Jo. xix 34 f. Christ, the Rock of Ages, is smitten and pierced, and 'thereout came blood and water'. The great emphasis which is laid upon the fact—'he that hath seen'—shews its importance. 'Not by water only but by water and blood' (1 Jo. v 6); not by baptism only but by baptism and the cross. But the two are seen by Barnabas (*Ep. of Barn.* 11) also to be inseparable. 'Ye perceive how he pointed out the water and the cross *together*.' The 'Tree planted by the water-side' is the cross beside baptism; and he quotes Ps. i.

But where is there a similar thought in the Odes? Ode 38¹³ has the single reference to wine. And it is quite enough. 'The wine of their drunkenness, who are deceived of the Deceiver.' And then in sharpest contrast he continues: 'But I was made wise not to be deceived. I was established, and lived, and was redeemed.' After which follows the unmistakable language of Ps. i 3—the tree planted and watered and blessed, and its fruits and green leaves. 'It struck deep and sprung up and spread out and was enlarged.' This tree, then, also is the symbol of the cross, and the blood of it though not expressed is implied in the strong contrast with the Deceiver's wine—the wine of *the True Vine*.

And what does Isaiah give us? In Is. lxii 9 'they that bring them together shall drink them in thy holy courts' is now a clear reference that one could not understand before. 'They who *bring together* the *water of baptism* and the *wine of the cross* shall live upon the two together' seems now quite clearly the sense that the Odist would read in the words. Thus the Odist and Barnabas and St John (all of the same approximate date) all agree upon the basis of Ps. i which is confirmed and illustrated for their purpose by Is. lxii 9.

If a digression may here be permitted on the much-disputed question who is the first person who speaks in Is. lxi, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me' even as 'the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters' from the first . . ., it may here be suggested as worthy of consideration whether the supposed speaker is neither the prophet nor the servant nor Messiah, but 'Siloa's brook' itself. It is anointed with healing properties by God; it is sent for good tidings to the poor, since the ceremonial of water-bearing was the assurance of rain and fruitful seasons: it does invite the acceptable year of the Lord, for there is a new hope for every year that comes, and of good return for labour, hope of wealth, gladness and comfort: it tends to moral as well as to physical, especially agricultural, welfare; to rebuilding and restoring of estates; to increase of flocks and fields and vineyards. This proposal will not easily obtain favour because it seems to materialize where the Master has spiritualized. Nevertheless He could spiritualize better than we, and His quotation stopped at verse 2. Now the verses which follow, especially 4 and 5, are very much harder to spiritualize; they are in fact frankly material, by any but the most forced and unnatural interpretation. Why should we not admit that the original as it left 'Isaiah's' hand was equally material throughout, and much more poetical than we have been wont to suppose? When Ode 11⁶ says '*Speaking waters*'¹ touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord abundantly', why not admit that the fountain speaks? The use of the first person in Hebrew poetry by inanimates finds a parallel and a precedent in Lam. i 18 ff where Jerusalem is the speaker. In Job xxviii the sea saith, It is not with me; Destruction and Death also speak. It is but one step higher in poetry to make the one saving waterspring of Jerusalem to be vocal in its own name, as Shelley made the Cloud, and Tennyson the Brook.

Again, if we suppose that the water-bearing from Siloam bore any relation at all to the use of water in Baptism, and the passage in Barnabas proves conclusively that he saw the relation of the Siloam water as such to Baptism, then it is certain that other texts of O. T. would be studied by the Christian prophets in the same connexion with

¹ Harris refers to Ign. Rom. 7 ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν; so Jn. iv 11 ζῶν.

Siloam. Using the Greek Bible they would find in Neh. iii 15 the pool of Siloam¹ described as 'the pool of skins for the king's wool' (*κολυμβήθρας τῶν κωδίων τῇ κοτρᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως*: in other words, the king's sheep-shearing pool), which might have been translated in Latin as *piscina pellicea tonsorum regis*. But does not this take us on to the obscure expression given by Dr Ryle and Dr James from Schwartz's version of *Pistis Sophia*—'fui super vestes pelliceas' = 'I have survived, grown out of, put off, my sheep-shearing raiment'? And does not this mean 'my Jewish affection for the water of the sheep-shearing pool Siloam and all my former Pharisaic faith'? The cosmic reference, which was known as long ago as John Lightfoot, does not dispense us from finding some local colour in the expression, for the cosmic meaning was very probably lost long before the Odes were written.

One feature of the Odes is clear, that they are allusive and allegorical throughout. History and geography are not permitted to enter their vocabulary. When, therefore, we read in Ode 6 'there went forth a brook and it became a great broad stream and it flooded and broke up (or overwhelmed) everything and brought to the temple', we feel that the temple is not to be taken in its natural meaning of the Temple of Jerusalem, any more than the brook and the stream have their natural meaning. In this case it is quite clear from the previous verse they mean the 'Holy Spirit': 'our spirits praise his holy Spirit.' It would jar one's poetical nerves to think that this very poetical writer said of the river of spiritual life that it poured forth 'and roll'd the floods in grander space' till it overwhelmed the earth in order to bring men to the Temple. But however such a discord may strike the literary sense, if such *should* be the interpretation, then it would follow almost certainly that the brook must be Siloam, for it is described as doing precisely what Siloam does. 'The conduit of it', we are told, 'is dangerous to explore, as the water is apt to enter unexpectedly and fill the passage.' 'In a rainy winter it flows three, four, or five times daily, in summer twice, in autumn once.' And, as we have seen, Siloam brought its water to the Temple at the Skenopegia by the priest's hand, and was held by Ezekiel to be capable of becoming a great river. That Siloam has prompted the idea of Ode 6 seems to be almost certain, but that the Temple here has its own allegorical meaning, like the other terms, seems necessary: so that the meaning would be that the rite of baptism shall become universal in the earth, as the means of bringing men into the Church of Christ (Jo. ii 21, 2 Cor. vi 16).

And along with this, Neh. iii 16 LXX mentions 'the garden of the tomb of David' as adjacent to the pool. What is this but 'the paradise', which suggests in contrast that of Ode 11¹⁴ 'where is

¹ See Lightfoot *Chorographical Inquiry* v.

the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord'. But in this connexion there is in 11⁷, a line that seems to have puzzled both Dr Harnack and Dr Harris, 'And I drank and was inebriated with the living water.' But may we not suppose that the origin of this expression is very simple? The garden, the heavenly garden, which *fulfils* the king's garden at Jerusalem and far surpasses it, was found to be described in Is. lviii 11, 'and it shall be as a *garden inebriate* (κῆπος μεθύων) and as a *spring* (πηγή) of unfailing water.'

(p. 10) 'Blessed are the διάκονοι of that draught, to whom his water has been entrusted' (Ode 6¹² ff). This seems once more to be a fulfilment of the priest bearing the water in the flagon through the water-gate into the Court of the Priests, where he was joined by another Priest bearing the wine for the drink-offering. But it is called forth by two passages, Is. lx 17 'and I will set thy officers (ἀρχοντας) in peace and thy overseers (ἐπισκόπους) in righteousness', and Is. lxi 6 'and ye shall be called priests (ἱερείς) of the Lord, *ministers* (λειτουργοί) of God'.

(p. 13) 'He carried me to His paradise, or *garden*. Blessed are they, O Lord, who are *planted* in Thy land.' So Is. lxi 11 καὶ ὡς γῆν αὖξουσιν τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς κῆπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ. And here we cannot forget *In Memoriam* xliii :—

'So then were nothing lost to man :
So that still garden of the souls
In many a figured leaf enrolls
The total world since life began.'

(p. 14) 'Like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, so was my yoke over them that know me.' Compare Is. lxii 5 ὃν τρόπον εὐφρανθήσεται νυμφίος ἐπὶ νύμφῃ.

(p. 15) *The seal*. There may perhaps be a suggestion of this idea in Is. lxii 'because he hath anointed me'. Tertullian¹ is the first to mention the chrism after baptism as used in a definite ceremony ; but that fact does not shew that the unction was a usage that we could say *crept* into the Church in the second century. It leaves us free to suppose it existed in the first. From Eph. i 13, iv 30 we learn that the term σφραγίζειν was then in use and applied to baptism. But on referring to 1 Peter, which is the companion letter to Ephesians² and serves as a commentary upon it in more than 100 expressions, we find that the parallel to the latter verse is 1 Pet. iv 14 'The Spirit of God resteth upon you', which very closely reproduces Is. lxi 1 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me'. The close connexion between χρίσας and σφραγισά-

¹ *de Bapt.* 7.

² See *St Luke the Prophet* pp. 184-210.

μενος is fully exemplified in 2 Cor. i 21 f. But to treat the matter of σφραγίς rather more broadly, its idea is the outward and visible sign (σημείον) of a promise or favour or grace, and such, for instance, was circumcision (Gen. xvii 10, quoted in Rom. iv 11, where σημείον and σφραγίδα are interchangeable terms, the latter being more picturesque and precise than the former, which bore the meaning of 'miracle', and others that might cause ambiguity). When, therefore, the ideas of circumcision were taken over by the Church and 'fulfilled' in baptism, that of σφραγίς though not a LXX word was taken with them. There is a very close connexion therefore between the sign of baptism and the new name which is mentioned in Is. lxii 2 'and Gentiles shall see thy righteousness and kings thy glory, and (one) shall call thee by the new name which the Lord shall name'. (That the figure of unction should pass into a material practice is not unnatural to those who read Is. lxi 6 'Ye shall be called priests of the Lord'.)

(p. 13) The idea of *rest in baptism* flows naturally from what has been said of Is. lxi 1 taken with Is. xi 2 'And the Spirit of God shall rest upon him', and 10 'And his rest shall be honour (or, a precious thing)'.

(p. 16) The comparison with *milk* derives some support from Is. lx 16 'And thou shalt milk the milk of the Gentiles'.

(p. 20) *Loosing of the bonds*. The idea so incessantly reproduced in the Eastern rites of Baptism and the Blessing of the Waters is found in Is. lxi 1 'to proclaim remission to the captives'. If we supposed this chapter to be the poetical utterance of the personified brook of Siloam, it would follow that the Skenopegia was the occasion of a release of prisoners (and in the absence of other information the existence of such a rule is exceedingly probable in order to remove if possible every drawback to the universal rejoicing).

(p. 21) *The fluttering of the dove*. 'The birds dropped their wings.' Ode 24 is so obscure that nothing more can be noticed here than this:—Justin (whom Dr Bernard quotes) has a term in describing the Baptism which is not found in the Gospels, ἐπιπτήναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα. Whence did he derive ἐπιπτήναι? He drew it from Papias's *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* or from some similar collection of prophecies which quoted Is. lx 8 'Who are these that fly (πέττονται) as clouds, and as doves with their young upon me (ἐπ' ἐμέ)'?

(p. 26) The catechumens faced *eastward*. The reason of this was to face the Dayspring from on high which 'shall appear upon thee', Is. lx 1 f ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ φανήσεται Κύριος.

(p. 26) 'I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord, for the stretching of my hands is His sign.' So Is. lxii 10 f 'Lift ye up an

ensign (σύσσημον) for the Gentiles . . . Behold, thy Saviour hath come to thy side'.

(p. 27) The *torchlight procession* is another materialized figure of Is. lxii 1 'Till her righteousness goes forth as a light, and my salvation shall be kindled as a torch'.

(p. 27) '*Sicknesses removed from my body*' is a very considerable extension to the body of the 'healing of them that have been bruised in their heart' of Is. lxi 1. Nor is it necessary to suppose that the Odist has more than a general support for his thesis in these three or four statements (18³, 21³, 25³, 61⁵). But in Is. lxi where there is so much σωτηρίου and εὐφροσύνης there must have been implied therewith good physical health.

A few other Isaian thoughts (from lx-lxii) in the Odes may be noticed : some of them occur more than once.

Ode 5³ 'A cloud of darkness shall fall upon their eyes (my persecutors)', and mist of dimness shall darken them' = Is. lx 2 'darkness shall cover the earth and gross darkness upon the heathen'.

Ode 7¹⁸ 'for his redemption's sake' = Is. lxii 12 'a people redeemed of the Lord'.

Ode 8⁶ 'ye that were despised, lift yourselves up' = Is. lxii 4 'ye shall no more be called Forsaken', and lx 15 and lxii 12.

Ode 8²¹ 'I have set my Elect ones on my right hand' = Is. lx 16 'who electeth thee', with lxii 8 'the Lord sware by his right hand' (sense if not also reading).

Ode 8¹¹ 'guard ye my mystery' = Is. lx 21 'guarding the plantation' (φύτευμα, but see above).

Ode 8²² 'and they shall not be deprived of my Name' = Is. lxii 2 'the new name which the Lord shall call'.

Ode 9³ 'in the Will of the Lord is thy salvation' = Is. lxii 4 'for thee there shall be called my Will (θέλημα)'.

Ode 10^{6f} 'the gentiles . . . were gathered together . . . and the traces of the light were laid upon their heart' = Is. lx 3 'kings shall journey at thy light and gentiles at thy brightness'.

Ode 11¹⁶ 'blessed are they that are planted in thy land', and many other references = Is. lxi 3 'a plant of the Lord unto glory'.

Ode 15^{1f} 'as the Sun is the joy of them that look for their day . . . the Lord is my sun' adapts Is. lx 1 ff to the thoughts of personal devotion. 'Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear.'

Ode 18¹⁹ 'they have proclaimed the truth at the prompting of the Most High' = Is. lxi 1.

Ode 20¹ 'I am a priest of the Lord and do Him priestly service' = Is. lxi 6 'ye shall be called priests of the Lord'.

Ode 41^{7f} 'Let us exult with joy before the Lord. All who see me

shall be astonished : for of another race am I' = Is. lxi 9 f 'Their seed shall be known among the nations, and their offspring in the midst of the peoples. All who see them shall recognize them, that they are a seed blessed of God : and with gladness they shall be glad unto the Lord.' This is a passage on which Dr Harnack resorts to the Christian interpolator, but there is no more room for a Christian interpolator in the Ode than in Isaiah.

What has been said above concerning the Temple (Ode 6^a) holds true of Ode 4¹ 'No man changeth thy holy place, my God, ²and none can shift it and set it in another place, because he hath no power over it. ³For thy holiness hast thou designed before thou madest the places ; 'the older (place) shall not exchange with those that are younger than it. ⁴Thou hast given thine heart, O Lord, to thy believers . . . ' Here 'thy holy place' is not the Jewish Temple, but the fulfilment of it, the Church of God in Christ. The expression is allegorical like all the rest of the Odes ; if it were not so it would be intolerably prosaic. From this it follows that no conclusion can be drawn from verse 1 that the Temple was standing when the Ode was written, much less that there is intended a very frigid disparagement of the rival claims of Leontopolis or Gerizim. Rather the opposite is true : a change of God's Holy place would not have been a topic of poetic thought at all unless and until the Temple, hitherto held to be the Holy place, had been removed out of its place. The ruin of it proved the absolute truth that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands. And till this point is clear, no wonder if the larger second portion of the Ode beginning with v. 5 should seem to 'stand in no connexion with the first' (Harnack) and to suggest duality of origin. But in fact the coherence is close and natural : the Church is not removable because the abode of God's holiness is from everlasting the hearts of His faithful. And once more, how can Ode 22¹¹ mean anything but that the destruction of Jerusalem was past already? 'Thou hast brought thy world to utter destruction, that all should be dissolved and made new and that the foundation for all should be thy Rock, and upon it thou hast built thy kingdom, and it is the abode of the saints.' The people of God has been 'cast down' by the dragon of Rome, as the Jewish nation, but its dead bones are covered with life in Christ. So far from having nothing Christian about it, the Ode is entirely Christian. Tertullian, discussing the Jewish interpretation of the Dry Bones, admits that 'God was reconstructing the faith, which the people was destroying' (*de Res. Carn.* 31).

Of the numerous correspondences noticed by Dr Bernard between the Odes of Solomon and known baptismal forms of expression, nearly all have now been shewn to correspond with the ideas underlying or

closely related to Is. lx–lxii as interpreting the Skenopegia. The last pages of this paper, in which the correspondence has been exhibited, have been tacked on to it without involving the least alteration in what the previous pages contained. Before concluding it may be worth while to notice two or three passages of the N. T. in the light of what has been said above, and to mention some possible sources of difficulty. We want to know what use was made of Is. lx–lxii by the apostles and prophets before A.D. 70 when the Skenopegia ceased to be observed at Jerusalem. When did they begin to discern in those chapters the manifold applications which they offer to the events of the Lord's life? Did they apply to Him as the Light of the world, and the Fountain of living purity, other ideas of these chapters as He applied some, according to St John, to Himself?

There is one passage which seems to contain a pointed reference to the popular gathering of all faithful Jews at the great Feast. The writer to the Hebrews (within a year of 65 A.D., Westcott) says (xii 22) 'Ye are not come to Mount Sinai, but ye are come to Mount Sion'. In contrast with Sinai, the calcined volcano, amidst ashes and 'the poring dark' and thunder and appalling words, the mountain that could not be touched, he presents Sion alive and heavenly and thronged with a concourse both human and divine,

'Saying, O heart I made, a heart beats here',

the seat of *God as universal Judge*, whose justice is like the strong mountains, and who has in mercy provided a *mediator* greater than Moses (xii 21). But it is the Sion of the *Panegyris* (Hos. ii 11, ix 5, Am. v 21, Ezek. xlvi 11), the general assembly of the Great Feast,—it is *Sion the city* (Is. lx 14) *of a living God*, when the Temple Court was crowded with booths,—it is *Jerusalem* (Is. lx 1) of the *heavenly* orbs of sun and moon (Is. lx 19), not of thunder and lightning,—it is the Sion where glory is instead of ashes (Is. lxi 3),—it is the Sion of *myriads* of men keeping the Feast, all organized into obedient *angels* and evangelists (Is. lx 6),—it is the Sion which turns her eyes round upon *her gathered children*, her firstborn (Is. lx 4, 9), whose *names are recorded* in line with *the Holy Name* (Is. lx 9) *righteous all* as He is righteous (Is. lx 21), and destined to inherit the earth (*ib.*) according to His *new will* in Jesus,—it is the Sion whose high festival is kept with *better sacrifices than those which speak* after all of vengeance, for its *sacrifice* speaks of forgiveness and prayer and acceptable offerings (Is. lx 7). No parallel could easily be closer or fuller between a compressed passage of six lines and a chapter of fifty lines than that of Heb. xii 22 ff with Is. lx in the Greek. And yet there is not one quotation commonly so called. Why? Because the writer of Heb. had been present at the Feast as well as

his readers, who knew the meaning of his contrast in all its bearings from their own experience of the *Panegyris*. They had been of those ideally *righteous men brought to maturity* ('made perfect', Heb. xii 23) like the fruits of the earth whose ripeness in autumn they celebrated themselves. Along with Is. lx they would feel the full meaning of Is. iv 3 'Holy shall be called all they who were *written for life* in Jerusalem'.

A solemn and suggestive contrast to this description penned in sober sense¹ is presented to us in the ecstatic vision of Apoc. xxi. And yet the Seer in depicting the new Jerusalem brings into prominence precisely those features of the city which we have seen to belong to it during the Skenopegia, as drawn in Is. lx-lxii. She is prepared as *a bride adorned* for her husband (Is. lxi 10, lxii 5). Where all things are made new, a *new name* must be included for the new city (Is. lxii 2). It is *the tabernacle* of God that is proclaimed by the great voice out of the throne (ταῖς ἐπαύλεσιν ταῖς ἁγίαις μου, Is. lxii 9, is a distinct reference to the booths). The details of the doublet of this vision (Apoc. xxi 10) are far more elaborate, and they open with the description of *her luminary* (φωστήρ).²

She has *the glory of God* (Is. lx 19). Therefore she *has no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in her* (Is. lx 19) when *God's glory has risen upon her* (Is. lx 1). Moreover, *the Gentiles shall walk in her light* (Is. lx 3), and *kings shall bring their glory into her* (Is. lx 10, 11). *And her gates shall not be closed by day or by night* (Is. lx 11), *so that they shall bring the wealth of the nations into her. And there shall no more enter there aught that is unclean or whoso doeth abomination and falsehood—her people shall all be righteous* (Is. lx 18, 21).

Heb. xii and Apoc. xxi both include a reference to the 'names having been written in heaven'. Where does the idea originate? The answer must be in Is. lx 21 'For ever they shall inherit the earth', and lxi 7 'Thus a second time they shall inherit the earth', and lxi 8 'I will make an everlasting will for them'. For inheritance implies that the names have been written in the New Testament or will of God as heirs

¹ ἐν καταστάσει is the technical term correlative to ἐν ἐκστάσει (Justin *Dial.* 115).

² The term here cannot mean the sun or the moon: it must mean 'her blaze or light'. But this again cannot well mean daylight, since it is compared to a jasper-stone, which is more or less clouded and coloured. We are therefore compelled to take it of a nocturnal blaze of beacon fires, namely those of the Skenopegia (Is. lxii 1 λαμπάς). This is not surprising when we observe that she has just been described as a bride, and the wedding-escort takes place at midnight. Far less reasonable is it to suppose that the blaze of light is that of early dawn brightening into a clear ice-like noon of powerful heat! But if this explanation were adopted, we should have an equally clear reference to the φωτίζου, φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλήμ of Is. lx 1.

of His estate. The Seer has described the instrument of this will as the book written within and without, sealed with seven seals (Apoc. v). Heb. viii refers to it—also in connexion with the right hand of the throne—basing his teaching on Jer. xxxi 31 ff. The idea of the 'fresh will' underlies our 'New Testament'. But from an early time Is. lx 21, lx 7 were found by the Christian prophets to receive their explanation in Is. iv 3, which mentions *the remnant* (τὸ ὑπολειφθέν, τὸ καταλειφθέν) in Sion, as being 'written for life', while Is. lx 15 says, 'because thou hadst been left as a *remnant* in it' (ἐγκαταλειμμένην): the two references therefore were taken as both referring to the 'little flock' of the Church, for it was their 'Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom'. Now in Ode 23 the will is introduced as the Letter, sealed with one seal which no man could loose, addressed as a circular to all the world, caught and held fast by the Wheel, which is the Church Triumphant. It is strange that Dr Harnack should find 'the description quite unintelligible'. That the Letter is a will is made quite plain by Ode 23¹⁷ 'the Son inherited all', to the disappointment of others.

It is therefore apparent that we have found in the years preceding 70 A.D. some of the same literary phenomena that characterize the Odes of Solomon as the precursors of the orthodox Epiphany rites and kindred offices. If these phenomena are not exactly baptismal, they might perhaps be called sub-baptismal. If this is so, the ideas which centred in baptism were beginning to colour the whole of Christian thought. But indeed that they had begun to colour it many years earlier still is the conclusion which appears to follow from a close examination of St Peter's vision at Joppa. If two writers so utterly distinct and characteristic and mutually independent as Heb. and Apoc., the one so Hellenic, in spite of the title of the Epistle, the other so Hebraic, in style, thought and treatment, are found to agree in sub-baptismal interpretation of Is. lx ff, then this interpretation was not very recent. Time must be allowed for diffusion of such ideas as they imply. Again, if we find that St Peter's vision at Joppa can only be understood by assuming the same method of treating the holy scripture of Isaiah, we are, it seems, carried some years further back still. And it does not surprise us to read in Eph. v 14 a fragment of a baptismal ode which contains ἐπιφάνσει σοι ὁ χριστός, the very idea of Is. lx 2 ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ φανήσεται Κύριος, along with a clear reference in *he that sleepeth* to the context *Behold darkness shall cover the earth*.

E. C. SELWYN.

THE AFRICAN RITE.

It seems to be an accepted opinion with many ritualists that the African Liturgy and other services were akin to those of the Roman rite rather than to the Gallican or Mozarabic services; I need cite only Le Brun (*Exposition de la Messe*), Palmer (*Origines Liturgicæ*), Mone (*Lateinische und griechische Messen*), Mgr Duchesne (*Origines du Culte chrétien*), and Mr C. Atchley (*Ordo Romanus Primus*). And yet it appears to me that the point has been very inadequately argued. I had hoped for a full discussion of the subject in Dom Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, and I must confess to a feeling of disappointment at finding that the learned author of the articles on *Afrique* (*Liturgie d'*) considers that the time is not yet ripe for a settlement of the question.

Before applying ourselves to the point at issue it will be necessary to have a clear idea as to what we mean by an ancient rite or liturgy. We must form some conception of the actual condition of the services as they were used at the time when they flourished, and as they appeared to those who used them. Any conception that we may form will doubtless be imperfect and possibly even partially erroneous (at least in some details); but we cannot advance a step without drawing upon the 'scientific imagination' so far as to frame a working hypothesis.

The first point to be noticed is that there was no conscious division of the worship of Christendom into different rites. For the Eucharist in particular it was understood that all Christians everywhere used a service of the same fundamental character, and, whatever differences in detail there might be in different localities, it was never thought that these differences were only 'in character' in their own localities, or that any incongruity would result from the borrowing of any of these peculiarities of detail from a different locality, or from the introduction of the peculiarities of one locality into the services of another locality or church. The streams of liturgical devotion were at first in a fluid state, and could mix freely. Later on, as different rites began to form themselves, liturgical elements from different springs mixed only imperfectly; till finally, a liturgical element introduced from one rite into another refused to mix at all with the no longer fluid stream, but remained in it as a foreign and incongruous element.

Secondly, the services were traditional, but subject to free modification.

There was nothing like deliberate and intentional alteration of character. The modifications which took place (no doubt continuously) appeared to the men who made them as natural improvements which made no difference in the essential nature of the service.

Thirdly, there were always two tendencies at work, which may be designated as 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' respectively. The former was a tendency in the direction of uniformity. Besides whatever amount of uniformity descended from the common origin of all rites, there would always be the tendency throughout the area within the influence of any great centre to copy the customs of the central city. In the early centuries there was constant communication between the several churches of the Christian world; a continual communication between the smaller cities and the great centres to which they looked up and upon which they were often in a relation of dependence, especially Rome, Alexandria, Antioch; and a continual stream of communication between the great centres themselves. All this naturally tended towards uniformity in each area of influence of the great centres, and (in a different degree) towards an agreement between the great centres themselves.

But along with this tendency to uniformity there existed a continual tendency to variation. The natural improvements which suggested themselves to the church of one city are not likely to have been identical with those that suggested themselves to those of all other cities: and in particular, when the chanting of Psalms became more frequent and elaborate, such musical compositions passed with difficulty from one 'schola' to another, since there was then nothing approaching to a written musical notation; and consequently all musical compositions had to be learnt by heart and transmitted by memory.

The existence of the centripetal tendency justifies (in some degree) the combining of testimonies from different cities in the same area in the attempt to realize, for example, the African rite: the existence of the centrifugal tendency bids us use any such combinations of different testimonies with caution.

In proceeding to consider the African rite let us begin with the Liturgy, properly so called. In every Liturgy there are four elements to be considered. First, there is the *general order* of the service—e.g. lessons, dismissals, prayers of the faithful, the great thanksgiving, the Lord's Prayer, communion and thanksgiving. Secondly, there is a certain *traditional framework*—the traditional framework of the deacon's litany (if such was used), the priest's versicles and stock conclusions of the prayers, and the responses. Thirdly, the *cycle* according to which the variable lessons and chants were chosen and arranged for the days

of the liturgical year. Fourthly, the wording of the bishop's (or officiant's) *prayers*. These were the last element of the liturgy to become fixed. At first each bishop seems to have composed an individual *libellus*, containing a set of prayers for his own use; and these prayers he would use at every mass, though no doubt each bishop's *libellus* was usually only a variation on that of his predecessor, and followed the same general lines: afterwards the feeling of reverence for a great bishop or martyr would cause his successor to continue to use his predecessor's *libellus* with little or no variation; and thus a traditional 'liturgy' would be established, the term 'liturgy' being here used in the sense in which we speak of 'the liturgy of St Basil' and 'the liturgy of St Chrysostom', meaning thereby the sets of prayers for the priest attributed to these fathers and intended to be fitted into the traditional order of the service which was used at the great church of Byzantium with its traditional *diakonika*, versicles, and framework generally. It must be noticed that the general order of a local rite would become practically settled over a considerable area, and the verbal framework settled also, while each bishop still used his own *libellus*.¹

It seems probable that the first idea of using different 'liturgies' or 'masses' (in the restricted sense of the word) arose from the circumstance that one bishop borrowed the *libellus* of his predecessor, or of neighbouring bishops on occasions. It may well be also the fact that in certain cases the rites of two cities or areas were deliberately combined, and the traditional prayers of each city fitted to the combined rite as separate liturgies; in other cases the bishop's prayers of one rite seem to have been imported into another rite—with necessary modifications.

In the West there grew up the plan of composing different 'masses' for special days, each mass having reference to the particular day in

¹ In *Ancient Church Orders* p. 38 the Bishop of Moray says, 'The first part to be crystallized into a written form was probably from the *Sursum corda* to the end of the Invocation or Epiclesis. In other portions such as the Deacon's Ectene or Litany, the proanaphoral prayers, the Intercession for the Church, the prayers at the dismissal of the catechumens and the communion of the people this process followed a little later.' While I am prepared to accept this opinion so far as concerns a written form, it appears to me that the deacon's part and the framework of the service had assumed a definite shape, whilst it was still open to the bishop to compose new prayers for his own part, though no doubt these would naturally and usually follow a traditional outline. For example, the *diakonika* of the Clementine liturgy probably follow the traditional character of the *diakonika* of Antioch, while the officiant's prayers are the composition of the compiler, though following (to some extent) a traditional outline. Again, we can hardly refer any one mass of the Mozarabic rite to the fourth century, and certainly not to an earlier date; while (as will be seen below) the prayers of the people almost certainly date from the third century.

question ; but this custom was evidently an innovation upon the earlier type of mass, still retained in the East, the wording of which was suitable to any day or occasion.

When we assert that the African Liturgy (e.g. that of St Augustine) was akin to the Roman or identical with it, what do we mean exactly ? Do we mean only that the bishop's *libellus* was identical with or similar to the Roman Canon of the Mass ? Or do we mean that the general order of the service was similar to that of the Roman rite ; or that such details as the cycle of the lessons, the formulae of dismissal, the prayers of the faithful were identical with those of the Roman rite and differed from the corresponding formulae in other rites ?

Proceeding to the consideration of the African Liturgy¹ let us take first the *general order* of the service ; secondly, the *framework* of the devotional elements ; thirdly, the character of the *cycle of lessons* ; fourthly, the character of the various *chants* ; and fifthly, the few indications as to the character of the celebrant's *prayers*. I will begin with the Liturgy of St Augustine, on account of the numerous allusions to the details of it in his writings.

The general order of the service, as used by St Augustine, seems to have been as follows :—

Pax (*or* Dominus) vobiscum *and* Response.

Lesson from O. T. (often, but not always).

Epistle.

Psalm, *sung as a* Respond.

Gospel (*with* Alleluia *in Eastertide*).

Sermon.

Dismissal of Catechumens.

Prayers of the Faithful.

Diptychs *and* post nomina.

Offertory *with* Psalm.

Oratio super oblata.

Great Thanksgiving, *including* Sanctus, *words and actions of* Institution *and* (?) Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

Fraction.

Paternoster.

Pax.

Benediction.

Communion *with* Psalm.

Thanksgiving (*and* Dismissal ?).

¹ The materials for the reconstruction of the African Liturgy are given at length at the end of this article.

made by St Fructuosus of Tarragona, who on his way to martyrdom said, 'In mente me habere necesse est Ecclesiam Catholicam ab oriente ad occidentem diffusam.'¹

It appears (from Nos. xii a and b) that allusions to a similar litany are to be found in the works of St Cyprian; hence we conclude that a similar litany was used in the African Church in the third century. And if this be so, it may well be that the same litany is alluded to by St Augustine (No. xii); but in the case of this quotation the correspondence is not sufficiently definite to be convincing by itself. There is also a passage in St Augustine (*Serm.* cclxxiii 2) which very possibly indicates that by his time the wording 'in mente habeamus' had been changed into 'Orate pro'.² In this passage Augustine apparently quotes this very passage from the Acta of St Fructuosus, but he gives it in the form 'me orare necesse est pro Ecclesia catholica'; and thus it would appear possible that the wording of the litany had been altered by this time.

There is another point to be considered. The present Mozarabic *preces fidelium* consist of only one bidding by the bishop together with the deacon's litany and the concluding collect; and the passage (No. ix) which describes the bishop's bidding certainly fits in much better with a series of biddings (by the bishop) similar to the *Orationes Sollemnes* of the Roman rite (though it is not clear that there was more than one collect) than with a single bidding such as exists in the present Mozarabic liturgy. But on reflexion it will be noted in the passage (No. ix) that the series of biddings would be biddings for unbelievers and for catechumens, &c., as well as for the faithful, while in the Mozarabic liturgy the biddings for the faithful alone remain, as is natural. Now it is intrinsically probable that (in this as in other rites) there were originally prayers for catechumens and for penitents if not Church would bid us receive the latter idea with caution; if it should be justified by further evidence, it would mark another point in which the Roman rite has lost elements that were originally common to it with the rest of the Western Church.

¹ *Acta Fructuosi* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jan., ii p. 340) Qui cum se excalceasset accessit ad eum commilito frater noster nomine Felix, et apprehendit dextram eius, rogans ut sui memor esset. Cui S. Fructuosus, cunctis audientibus, clara voce respondit 'In mente me habere necesse est ecclesiam catholicam ab oriente usque in occidentem diffusam'.

² It has been suggested by a friend that the form of St Augustine's quotation may give the original text of the passage in the Acta, in which case the ordinary text must be an alteration; and attention is called to the fact that the whole passage is absent from one MS (fourteenth century) of the Acta. This does not appear intrinsically probable. St Augustine says (*Serm.* cclxxiii 2) Audistis persequentium interrogationes, audistis confitentium responsiones, cum sanctorum passio legeretur. Inter caetera quale erat illud beati Fructuosi episcopi? Cum ei diceret quidam et peteret eum in mente haberet, et oraret pro illo, respondit 'Me orare necesse est pro ecclesia catholica ab oriente ad occidentem diffusa'. St Augustine's mention of the incident disposes of any idea that the whole passage in the

In Nos. xviii-xxi we have allusions to the recitation of a list of names of the martyrs and deceased *sanctimoniales* who are commemorated but not prayed for. Nos. xxv-xxvii shew us a commemoration of others of the faithful departed, who are prayed for 'tacitis nominibus'. These notices imply a list of names of the martyrs, since with this is contrasted the commemoration of the ordinary faithful in which there is no list of names. The other passages shew the existence of a list of deceased virgins, and also one of bishops, and finally a prayer for the rest of the faithful but without any list of names. This bears a palpable resemblance to the diptychs of the departed in the Mozarabic liturgy. A list of names of the living seems to be implied in No. xvi.

Comparing Nos. xvii sq., xv a, and noting the phrase 'una ecclesia catholica per totum orbem terrarum diffusa', or some similar wording implied in several passages of St Augustine (*Epp.* xlix 2, lii 1, lxxxvii 1, cxlii 2; *Serm.* xxv (al. xix) 7; *Enarr. in Ps.* xxvi 13), it appears almost certain that both St Augustine and St Optatus used the same traditional formula, which is very similar to the usual opening formula in several rites:—Mozarabic, 'Offerunt Deo Domino oblationem sacerdotes nostri'; Stowe Missal, 'Cum omnibus in . . . sacerdotibus offert senior noster N. pro totius ecclesiae coetu catholicae'; Roman, 'imprimis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica'; St Chrysostom, Ἐπὶ προσφερόμέν σοι . . . ; St James, προσφερόμέν σοι . . . (In the case of the Roman rite we must remember that this part of the Canon is really 'the Names' and probably belonged originally to the Offertory.)

The curious point to be noticed is that the allusions in both St Optatus and St Augustine clearly imply the word 'offero' (the common text 'offerimus' is a mistake) as used by the bishop, and not 'offerunt' said by the deacon. I venture the suggestion (though with great diffidence) that in the African rite the 'Names' of both dead and living were recited by the bishop instead of by the deacon. This would fit in with the allusions given from St Augustine and St Optatus, and would also explain the passage in St Cyprian (No. xxiv a).¹

believing this Litany to be of Roman *provenance*, it seems to me that we must *prima facie* consider it a 'Gallican' document. It is one of a number of similar litanies (see pp. 570, 572 of Thomasius, and the Stowe Missal), and is allied apparently to the Good Friday deprecations in the Mozarabic Missal, all of which documents are non-Roman. Again, there is practically no trace of any connexion with the Roman *Orationes Solemnnes* or with the present Roman litany. Is it credible that any one (say St Gregory) should have so entirely altered the Roman Litany that all trace of the original should have vanished completely?

¹ If the above hypothesis be accepted it may throw a reflected light on the original form of the 'Names' in the Roman rite, as tending to shew the possibility that these also were originally recited by the priest, and introduced by some such a formula as 'Tibi offerimus pro ecclesia' instead of, or in addition to, a formula such as 'Offerunt Papa noster, sacerdotes nostri' said by the deacon.

What of the existence of diptychs, i.e. lists of names (whether recited by the deacon or by the priest), in the time of St Cyprian? The passages given below (Nos. xvi a, xxiv a) are not sufficient to demonstrate with certainty the existence of lists of names in his liturgy; but, in default of certainty, what is the most probable devotional element alluded to in these passages? No. xxiv a shews that certain dead persons were customarily named in the bishop's prayer. How could a person be mentioned by name in the prayers of the Church? We know of only three ways: (1) In a list of names read by the celebrant or the deacon, such as the list in the deacon's diptychs of various rites, or the parallel list in the Great Intercession of the priest in these rites or in the Roman Canon; (2) In a deacon's litany, as during Lent in the Ambrosian rite; (3) In a collect or collects, as in the present masses for the dead in the Roman rite. The words 'in sacerdotum prece' do not fit in with (2); and (3) does not suit the case of several names (No. xvi a) which would necessitate a list of some sort; moreover, we may take it for granted that the inclusion of names in collects is later than their inclusion in a list recited by priest or deacon.

No. xvi a seems to necessitate the mention of a list of names of those for whom the sacrifice was offered, and this in connexion with the offertory; and No. xxiv a seems to imply the inclusion of Victor's name in the deacon's litany (*deprecatio*)¹ and also its inclusion in some prayer of the bishop (*sacerdotum prece*), which a comparison of Nos. xvi a, xix a shews to have been connected with the offertory in the liturgy of St Cyprian as well as in that of St Augustine.

A contrast in respect of the 'Names' may be noted between St Cyprian's time and that of St Augustine. In the earlier age prayers were offered for the martyrs (No. xix a, which passage does not, however, refer directly to any list of martyrs' names); in St Augustine's time a sharp distinction was drawn between the martyrs and the rest of the faithful departed, and prayer for the martyrs was carefully avoided. Now a similar change of custom is witnessed to by the diptychs of the Mozarabic and Stowe Missals; from a comparison of the two it seems clear that both forms were developed from one original, and that the original of the clause in question was something like this: 'Item pro . . . gradu venerabilium patriarcharum prophetarum apostolorum et martyrum N. N. N.,' and that this has been altered in different ways in these two missals in order to avoid the asking of prayer for the saints.²

¹ The passage 'Dum . . . illa consueta decantaretur deprecatio in qua sancti Martini commemoratur nomen . . . ' (Adamnan *Vita S. Columbae* iii 12 quoted Warren *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* p. 106) would seem to apply the term 'deprecatio' to the diptychs.

² See an article on the Mozarabic Mass in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1908.

From this it would appear that these (Mozarabic and Celtic) diptychs must be older than St Augustine's day; and if on other grounds (as will appear from this article) it seems probable that the African rite of St Cyprian's time resembled the Mozarabic, there would appear to be no sufficient ground for excepting the lists of names of persons commemorated from the features common to both rites—with the exception that in the African rite the names were apparently read by the bishop. Dom Cabrol thinks that the passage, No. xxviii, points to the use of a list of names at a point in the service close to the communion; the idea is ingenious and not impossible, but the passage is hardly definite enough to prove the point without further support.¹

There seem to be allusions to a prayer *Post nomina*, which is distinguished from the diptychs. No. xxxiv shews that there was a prayer immediately before *Sursum corda*, which might be either this *Post nomina* or another prayer *Super oblata*; and somewhere between the prayers of the faithful and the prayer *Super oblata* we have to find room for the offertory (No. xxx sq.) and the accompanying psalm (No. xxxii). We have therefore a choice between the order—Prayers of the faithful, Offertory with psalm, Diptychs, *Post nomina* (= *Super oblata*), *Sursum corda*; and the order—Prayers of the faithful, Diptychs with *Post nomina*, Offertory with Psalm, *Super oblata*, *Sursum corda*.

The Great Thanksgiving—called by St Augustine *oratio* (No. xxxiii), but *praefatio* by the Council of Milevis (No. xxxiii a), was preceded by *Dominus vobiscum* and its response (No. xxxv), and the usual versicles (Nos. xxxiv, xxxv). We may presume that it contained the *Sanctus*, as this is attested by Tertullian (No. xxxiv c), and by Perpetua (No. xxxiv d), although St Augustine does not mention it. The words and actions of Christ were closely followed at the consecration, and St Augustine seems to attribute the consecration to the words of institution as repeated by the priest. In *Serm.* ccxxxvii he says, 'Panis ille quem videtis in altare

¹ Mr Edmund Bishop in his Appendix to Dom Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, presents us with a most illuminating criticism on the diptychs, shewing us how little we have of positive knowledge about them. It is very useful and salutary to be brought to book and forced to examine the foundations of accepted opinion; but it has always to be remembered that in matters of this kind if the evidence is often insufficient to prove the existence of a given usage at an early date, it is also insufficient to prove that their existence did not reach back to that period. In such a case it is as perilous to conclude that the usage in question is not earlier than the earliest positive evidence for it, as it is to accept doubtful allusions as conclusive evidence of its earlier existence. I cannot agree with the learned writer that lists of names are not witnessed to by St Augustine; the evidence might not be sufficient to convict a criminal at the Old Bailey; but it appears sufficient at the least to support a very high probability of their existence in his day; and the general circumstances of the case seem to point to the probability of the existence of lists of names at an earlier period.

sanctificatus per verbum Dei corpus est Christi ; calix ille, immo quod habet calix, sanguis est Christi.' Here the words 'verbum Dei' might refer not to the words of institution as spoken by the priest, but (as in St Chrysostom) to these words as spoken by Christ at the original institution ; but the passage (No. xxxv) seems clearly to refer to the words as spoken by the priest in the prayer of consecration. On the other hand, in one passage (No. xxxvi) St Augustine appears to allude to the consecration as effected by some prayer of the nature of an invocation, and in another (No. xxxvii) he speaks of the consecration as wrought by the power of the Holy Ghost. Now Optatus (No. xxxvi a) and Fulgentius (Nos. xxxvi b, c, d) bear clear testimony to the use of an invocation of the Holy Ghost ; hence it appears probable that a similar invocation was used in the liturgy of St Augustine, although No. xxxvii would not be sufficient by itself to prove the existence of an explicit invocation of the Holy Ghost in his liturgy.

The consecration was followed closely by the Lord's Prayer (Nos. xxxiii-xxxv), probably with an introduction ' . . . audemus dicere ' (No. xxxix). This was followed by the Pax (Nos. xxxiii, xxxv) ; and a Benediction (No. xxxiii)¹ preceded the Communion. It seems quite uncertain whether the fraction (*comminutio*) preceded or followed the Lord's Prayer : the order in which it is mentioned in No. xxxiii suggests the former, while the words 'quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit', suggest the latter alternative.

General Framework of the Liturgy. A good many of the fixed versicles and proclamations and responses of the people which constitute what may be called the framework of the service² have been treated of in connexion with the order of the various parts of the service—e.g. 'Dominus vobiscum' with its response 'Et cum spiritu tuo', some form of a call for silence, the use of such words as 'Dominum deprecemur fratres carissimi', or 'Conversi ad Dominum' as the opening words of the bishop's bidding ; the deacon's proclamation 'Flectamus genua' or 'Flectite genua Deo', with the succeeding 'Levate' ; the framework of the prayers of the people, ' . . . in orationibus in mente habeamus : ut Dominus . . . dignetur'—probably in the liturgy of St Cyprian, possibly also in that of St Augustine ; the opening phrase of the *nomina* 'Tibi offero Domine pro ecclesia una [Catholica] quae in toto orbe terrarum diffusa est' ; the opening versicles of the illation 'Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo. Sursum cor[da]. Habemus ad

¹ In the Liturgy used by St Optatus the benediction seems to have preceded the Lord's Prayer (No. xli a). In the liturgies both of St Optatus and of St Augustine the benediction seems to have possessed the character of an absolution.

² Several phrases which may be liturgical are given by Dom Cabrol in the articles referred to.

Dominum. Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro. Dignum et iustum est': which last implies 'Vere dignum' &c. The formula of the Pax was 'Pax vobiscum', with the response, in St Augustine's time, 'Et cum spiritu tuo,' but in the earlier age, apparently, 'Deo gratias.' The formula of administration was 'Corpus Christi', and probably 'Sanguis Christi', with the response 'Amen' to each. To these may be added several doxologies from St Augustine's writings which would naturally be of a character similar to those with which he concluded the prayers. Dom Cabrol gives the following:—

'Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit et regnat Deus pro nobis crucifixus et resuscitatus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

'Quia tu es summa intelligentia, essentia summa, vita summa, Pater Filius et Spiritus sanctus, unitas triplex infinita et sine fine unus Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

'Per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum cui est honor et gloria et potestas una cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu sancto nunc et semper et per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.'¹

Prayers of the celebrant. Although this part of the liturgy was the part most open to variation (as it depended on the will of the celebrant) and so the part in which it was most easy for a bishop to introduce forms of prayer from another rite, and was the last part of the liturgy to crystallize into a fixed form of words, at least in the case of most liturgies, yet for convenience I will mention this point before the lectionary and chants; more especially as there is little to be said about it. We have no complete prayer of the celebrant, as used in the liturgy, actually remaining, unless the passage with which St Augustine was wont to conclude his sermons is actually a *praefatio* or a *missa*. These as well as other passages given at length in Dom Cabrol's articles have at least so striking a resemblance to liturgical compositions that they almost certainly shew us the general character of the priest's prayers.²

¹ 'Dominus vobiscum' is Roman (and Alexandrine); the Mozarabic form being 'Dominus sit semper vobiscum'.

St Cyprian gives the form 'Sursum corda' (No. xxxiv a); St Augustine several times quotes the formula, but always with the singular, 'Sursum cor.'

Other doxologies may be gathered from the writings of Tertullian and others, and a critical distinction in their use (quite in the style of the mediaeval service-books) is found in Fulgentius, as quoted by Dom Cabrol. See next note.

² Aug. *Fragmentum* iii (Migne P. L. xxxix 172) 'Benedictiones, fratres mei, benedictiones nostras quas super vos facimus, evacuant, exinaniant, elidunt. Auditis me, credo, fratres mei, quando dico "Conversi ad Dominum benedicamus nomen eius, det nobis perseverare in mandatis suis, ambulare in via recta eruditionis suae, placere illi in omni opere bono, et caetera talia".' *Serm.* cclxxii 'Conversi ad Dominum Deum Patrem omnipotentem puro corde ei, quantum potest parvas nostras, maximas atque veras gratias agamus: precantes toto animo singularem mansuetudinem eius ut preces nostras in beneplacito suo exaudire dignetur

The Dominical Year and the Calendar. As regards this there is very little of definite import. In the *Calendarium Carthaginense* (of the early sixth century) we find, as is natural, a number of days of local saints and a few festivals (such as the Nativity of St John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, &c.), which, though originally Roman, had been adopted almost everywhere. On Aug. 1 the Maccabees are commemorated—a non-Roman festival¹; but St John the Evangelist is commemorated on Dec. 27 and the Innocents on Dec. 28—both Roman dates. There are no saints' days between Feb. 16 and April 19: this custom of keeping no saints' days in Lent is Mozarabic and Ambrosian, but it is possible that in early days it was common to Rome as well. The Epiphany (for St Augustine) is nothing but the festival of the Magi—which is a definitely Roman idea, as contrasted with that of the whole of the rest of Christendom; but on the other hand Victor Vitensis (*Hist. Pers. Vandal.* ii 47¹) informs us that Baptism was administered on the Epiphany, which is unintelligible unless the Baptism of our Lord was commemorated on that day—at least in the locality in question.

For St Augustine Lent began exactly forty days before Easter; Holy Week has a special character, and especially the last two days. This, so far as can be seen, resembles the original Roman and Ambrosian division; the Mozarabic Lent was divided into two equal portions of three weeks each, though of course Holy Week had a special character of its own.

The blessing of the Paschal Candle is not of Roman origin; but *Sermones inediti* i shews that such a blessing was in use in St Augustine's

inimicum quoque a nostris actibus et cogitationibus sua virtute expellat: nobis multiplicet fidem, mentem gubernet, spirituales cogitationes concedat, et ad beatitudinem suam perducatur: per Iesum Christum Filium eius. Amen.'

This formula is given also at the end of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, but with the ending, 'Per Iesum Christum Filium suum Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.' See also Nos. xi, xi a. Reminiscences of the celebrant's prayers may be found in the following passages:—

Enarr. in Ps. lxx 15 'Fecisti hominem, dedisti ei liberum arbitrium, in paradiso collocasti, praeceptum imposuisti, mortem si praeceptum violaret iustissimam denunciasti': *De Civ. Dei* vii 31 'Quod nos oneratos obrutosque peccatis et a contemplatione suae lucis aversos, ac tenebrarum id est iniquitatis dilectione caecatos, non omnino deseruit misitque nobis Verbum suum qui est eius unicus filius quo pro nobis in adsumpta carne nato atque passo, quanti Deus . . .' Dom Cabrol quotes a prayer from the writings of Verecundus (first half of sixth century) which reads like a Roman collect:—'Illumina, Domine, nostri cordis obtutus, ut quae digna sunt videamus, quae autem indigna vitemus (*Spicilegium Solasmense* iv p. 48).

¹ 'Sermo de Machabeis Leoni ascriptus Augustino restituitur.' Quesnel.

² Referred to by Duchesne *Origines du Culte Chrétien* p. 283 n. 1.

diocese; and the prose *Exultet* is traditionally ascribed to St Augustine.¹

The Rogation Days before Ascension Day are not a Roman observance, and certainly had not been adopted at Rome in St Augustine's day; but Augustine speaks of their observance in his own rite and day.²

The Lectionary. Passing now to the consideration of St Augustine's Lectionary, as it may be gathered from his sermons and a few allusions in his other writings, we find that Genesis was read in Lent, except chap. xxii, which was reserved for Holy Week; Acts was begun on Easter Day and read throughout Eastertide. Lessons were read from the following chapters, or including the following verses, on the days given below:—

Serm.

Christmas Day.	Ps. xcv	Lk. ii 26–30 . .	clxxxix, cxc, cxciii, cxcvi
St Stephen.	Acts vi, vii	Jo. xii 26 . . .	cccix
Conversion of St Paul.	Acts ix (Rom. x?) .		cclxxviii, cclxxix
Epiphany.	'Prophetias de Christo.'	Mt. ii	cxcix–cciv
On one day before giving in names for			
Baptism.	Jo. vi 55		cxxxii
In Lent.	Jo. ix		cxxxvi
„	i Jo. ii 8, 9		ccxi ³
Saturday after Mid-Lent Sunday.	(? Joel ii,		
Rom. xi.)	Mt. vi 1		lvi
Shortly before Easter.	Gen. xxxii		v
Good Friday.	(Gen. xxii?)	Mt. xxvi, xxvii	ccxxxii
(No Passion read on any other day.)			
Easter Day.	Apoc. i	Ps. cxviii Acts i	
	Mt. xxviii ⁴		ccxxvii, ccxxxii, ccxlvii

¹ A passage in *De Civ. Dei* xv 22 appears to refer to the Paschal Candle 'Quod in laude quadam cerei brevibus versibus dixi:—

Haec tua sunt, bona sunt, quia tu bonus ista creasti,
nil nostrum est in eis, nisi quod peccamus amantes
ordine neglecto pro te, quod creditur abs te.'

² S. Aug. *Serm.* clxxiii *de tempore*: 'Sine dubio peccatorum suorum vulnera diligit, qui in istis tribus diebus, ieiunando, orando, et psallendo medicamenta sibi spiritualia non requirit.'

³ For several of these references I am indebted to the Rev. F. E. Brightman.

⁴ From *Serm.* ccxxxii and ccxxxix it appears that the Resurrection from St Matthew was read on the first day of Easter week, that from St Mark on the second, that from St Luke on the third; and from *Serm.* ccxxxi and ccxlvii it may be inferred that the Resurrection from St John was read on a succeeding day of the same week. This scheme does not agree with that given above; and neither scheme agrees with the Roman, which was definite and clear. At Rome the Resurrection from St Matthew was read in the Easter Vigil (originally the only mass of Easter Day): that from St Luke on Monday and Tuesday; that from

			<i>Serm.</i>
Easter Monday.	Acts ii	Lk. xxiv . . .	ccxlvi
Easter Tuesday.	Ps. cxlvi	Mk. xvi. . .	ccxlvi
Easter Wednesday.	Jo. xx 1-18 . . .		ccxlvi
Easter Thursday.	Jo. xx 19-31 . . .		ccxlvi
Easter Friday.	Jo. xxi 1-14 . . .		ccxlvi
Easter Saturday.	Jo. xxi 15-28 . . .		ccliii
Low Sunday.	Jo. xx 19-27 . . .		ccclxxvi
Ascension Day.	Apoc. v	Ps. lvi Acts i	
	Lk. xxiv or Jo. xiv . . .		cclxii-v
Pentecost.	Acts ii	Mt. ix 17 <i>sqq.</i> . . .	cclxviii <i>sqq.</i>
Nativity of St Jo. Bapt.	Is. xl 3-8	Lk. i .	cclxxxix ^a
The Sunday after.	Jo. iii . . .		ccxciv
St Peter and St Paul.	2 Tim. iv 6-8	Ps.	
	xviii 5	Jo. xxi . . .	ccxcviii <i>sq.</i>
St Lawrence.	Mt. v and Lk. xxi 19 . . .		cccii <i>sqq.</i>

Besides the foregoing, lessons were read on other days from Prov. x 10 (*Serm.* lxxxii 8), Eccclus. xxv 2 (*Serm.* ccclix 1), Is. lxvii 13 (*Serm.* xlv), Jer. x 11 (*Enarr. in Ps.* xcvi), Ezek. xxxiv 1-16 (*Serm.* xli), Mic. v 6-8 (*Serm.* xlviii), xi 6-8 (*Serm.* xlviii and xlix), Hagg. ii (*Serm.* l), Prov. x 10 (*Serm.* lxxxii 8), Eccclus. xxv 2 (*Serm.* ccclix).

During those parts of the year which were without any special observance it may be inferred from many sermons that there was no fixed cycle of Gospel or other lessons, nor even a series of Gospel-lessons picked out and labelled 'cottidiana'. From his sermons on St John, it appears that St Augustine preached these every day for many weeks and arranged the lessons to suit his expositions.

On festivals of martyrs it was customary to read their Acta, apparently in place of the prophetic lesson (*Serm.* cccxiii and cclxxxv; cf. Canon xvi of the African code).

The Liturgical Chants. This point does not appear to be of first-rate importance for determining the kinship of any liturgy; for, as noted St John on the following days of the week. That from St Mark was not read at all originally, but when a second mass on Easter Day became a necessity, this Gospel was utilized for the purpose. (The Gospel of St Mark does not appear to have been used in the Mozarabic lesson-system originally.)

From *Serm.* ccxxxii we see that the Matthew Passion was read on Good Friday, and that the Passions from the other Evangelists were not read at all! This is a striking point in strict agreement with the Ambrosian and (original) Mozarabic custom, but irreconcilable with the Roman. Again, the original Roman Gospel for Christmas was that from St Matthew, the Mozarabic that from St Luke; the Roman Gospel for Ascension Day that from St Mark, the Mozarabic that from St Luke. Only on Epiphany does St Augustine's lectionary agree with the Roman as against the (original) Mozarabic custom. Genesis in Lent and Acts in Easter-tide are both characteristically Mozarabic, as against Roman, custom.

above, a set of chants would belong originally to a single 'schola', although the chant-book of that schola might contain material borrowed from other sources. In St Augustine's rite the *Responsorium Graduale* was ancient, while the Offertory and Communion were recent and the Introit had not yet been introduced; in the Roman rite, on the contrary, while the Gradual was primitive, the Offertory was the next chant introduced, and the Introit and Communion were later: indeed on certain occasions the Communion-Psalm was only a continuation of the Psalm of the Introit.

In St Augustine's rite the Graduals were taken usually in the order of the Psalms (*Serm.* clxxvi), though the psalm was chosen by the celebrant when he pleased: Dom Cabrol states that the Communion-anthem was not variable like the Roman, but always or usually consisted of part of Ps. xxxiii (Nos. xlvii-xlix). Alleluia was sung during the fifty days of Eastertide, and on all Sundays (Nos. vi and vii).

The Baptismal Ceremonies. Tertullian and Cyprian give most valuable information about the ceremonies of Baptism, but nothing sufficiently definite to mark their rite as distinctly allied to either the Roman or the Mozarabic, except the administration of a mixture of milk and honey to the newly baptized. This is a custom characteristic of Rome, Alexandria, and Africa as opposed to Spain and Gaul.

In St Augustine's sermons we find a good many details. The candidates were anointed at the beginning of the preparation (*Tract.* xlv in *Ioan.* 2: this is not Roman but may be Spanish; Isidore *De Eccles. Officiis* II xxi 2; Ildephonsus *De Cognitione Baptismi* cxxix); they were given salt, apparently frequently (*Concil. Carthag.* III Canon 5), they were exorcized (*Ep.* cxciv 46)¹; we may feel fairly confident that there was no Tradition of the four Gospels, which would be quite out of place in any rite but the Roman, since in that rite alone were the catechumens dismissed before the Gospel; the Tradition of the Creed took place on the Saturday three weeks before Easter Even; the Tradition of the Lord's Prayer with the Repetition of the Creed took place on the following Saturday, and the Lord's Prayer was repeated on the next Saturday, and the Creed on Easter Even (*Serm.* lviii). A reasonable inference from these particulars is that there were no Scrutinies except on Saturdays, as in the Ambrosian rite. The tradition of the Creed three weeks before Easter agrees neither with Roman nor with Ambrosian or Mozarabic custom; the Tradition of the Lord's Prayer before Baptism agrees with the Roman custom as against Mozarabic and Ambrosian; and it seems certainly probable that in the

¹ Also *de fide et operibus* vi 9 'Quales sunt ipsis diebus quibus catechizantur, exercizantur, scrutantur' and other passages.

original Roman rite the Gospels, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer were delivered not at one Scrutiny, but at three successive Scrutinies. We have no mention of the *effetatio* in the African rite, and it seems very possible that in the Mozarabic rite this ceremony is an importation from the Roman. There was an exorcism of the water, which was not a Roman custom. The font was blessed, and a passage of St Optatus (given by Dom Cabrol) contains apparently a reminiscence of the Roman benediction of the font (*De schism. Donatist.* iv 6).¹ The baptismal formula (in some localities at least) contained the words *in remissionem peccatorum*,² which are found also in the *Missale Gothicum*. (A somewhat parallel addition 'ut habeas vitam aeternam' is both Mozarabic and Gallican.) Lastly, St Augustine bears witness to the existence of the custom of washing the feet of the newly baptized (a custom which was Ambrosian and Gallican, and had probably existed also in Spain); in certain localities this was put off to the third or the eighth day after baptism, and by some had been rejected or dropped altogether.³

So far as can be gathered from these allusions the baptismal ceremonies at Hippo seem to have resembled those of Milan as much as those of Rome or Spain, and (like the Ambrosian) to have had an individuality of their own, combining ceremonies in use at Rome with those in use in Spain, but differing from one or both in certain points.⁴

¹ 'O aqua . . . super quam inter ipsos natales mundi sanctus Spiritus ferebatur . . . quae lavasti terram. O aqua quae sub Moyse ut naturalem amaritudinem perderes indulcato ligno tot populorum pectora suavissimis haustibus satiasti.'

² *Codex canonum Ecclesiae Africanae* ex. Item placuit ut quicumque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum baptizandos negat, aut dicit in remissionem quidem peccatorum eos baptizari, sed nihil ex Adam trahere originalis peccati quod lavacro regenerationis expiatur, unde fit consequens, ut in eis forma baptismatis *in remissionem peccatorum* non vera sed falsa intelligatur, anathema sit.

³ *Ep. lv ad inquisitiones Ianuarii xviii* 33 De lavandis autem pedibus . . . Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum baptismi videretur pertinere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt. Aliqui autem ut hoc et sacratiore tempore commendarent, et a baptismi sacramento distinguere vel diem tertium octavarum . . . vel ipsum octavum ut hoc facerent elegerunt.

⁴ The following passage from Ferrandus (*Ep. ad Fulgentium*) shews baptismal rites closely agreeing with those of St Augustine: 'Hic ergo . . . sacramentis ecclesiasticis imbuendus ad ecclesiam traditur; fit ex more catechumenus: post aliquantulum nihilominus temporis propinquantem solemnitate paschali inter competentes offertur, scribitur, eruditur: universa quoque religionis catholicae veneranda mysteria cognoscens atque percipiens, celebrato solemniter scrutinio, per exorcismum contra diabolum vindicatur; cui se renuntiare constanter sicut hic consuetudo poscebat auditurus symbolum profitetur. Ipsa insuper sancti symboli verba memoriter in conspectu fidelis populi clara voce pronuncians, piam regulam dominicae orationis accipit. Simulque iam et quid crederet et quid oraret intelligens, futuro baptismati parabatur, cum subito violentis invaditur febribus.' See also references in the article 'Catèchumenat' in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*.

Conclusion. What is the general result of this comparison of the African rite with the Roman and the Mozarabic? As regards the liturgy proper it seems that the evidence preponderates very largely in favour of the opinion that the African Liturgy resembled the Mozarabic rather than the Roman. The one important feature in which the African Liturgy certainly resembled the Roman was the position of the *Pax* after the consecration; but the evidence for this is confined to the writings of St Augustine. (It is a mistake to draw any similar conclusion as to the position of the *Pax* from the allusions in Tertullian; though these are perfectly consistent with such a position, yet they do not necessarily demand it.) Besides this, the prayers of the faithful (in St Augustine's liturgy) may possibly have been of a character similar to the *Orationes Sollemnes*, which are supposed to have been the original 'prayers of the faithful' in the Roman rite; and the 'names' of both living and dead who were prayed for may possibly have been set in a framework which resembled the framework of the names in the original Roman rite; but both these points are extremely uncertain.

Against this have to be set the following features of the African rite, in which it agrees with the Mozarabic as against the Roman. (I defer the mention of the Lectionary.) (1) The dismissal of the catechumens after the Gospel instead of before it. (2) The Mozarabic 'prayers of the faithful' are actually quoted by St Cyprian; we may therefore conclude that the same or a very similar litany was used for this purpose at Carthage in his day; and even in St Augustine's liturgy it is by no means certain that the 'prayers of the faithful' did not consist of a similar litany with *praefatio* and *collectio* as in the Mozarabic rite. (3) St Augustine's liturgy, that of St Optatus and that of Milevis contained a solemn benediction after the consecration, which was apparently of a character similar to that of the solemn benedictions in the Mozarabic liturgy. (4) The 'post-communion' prayer was a thanksgiving. (5) There is evidence of the existence of an invocation of the Holy Ghost in the liturgies of several African fathers, although in the case of St Augustine the evidence is uncertain. (This is another point in the same direction, unless it be conceded that the Roman Liturgy also possessed originally an invocation of the Holy Ghost which has been subsequently eliminated.) There are, moreover, several less important features which are probably to be considered neutral, because it seems probable that in the time of St Augustine the Roman Liturgy agreed much more closely with the Mozarabic than it does at present; e.g. the African mass began with the salutation ('*Pax tibi*' or '*Dominus vobiscum*') and the lessons, without any preliminary chants—as the Mozarabic still does on weekdays in Lent; the frequent use of an Old Testament lesson along with the Epistle and Gospel; the proclamation

of silence before the lessons; the lists of names (*a*) of martyrs, (*b*) of other departed Christians, at least of bishops. (Such diptychs as those of the Mozarabic Liturgy would satisfy every allusion to the 'names' in African writers.)

The cycle of festivals is of slight importance; every diocese was always ready to borrow a popular festival from the Kalendar of a neighbouring church. The cycle of lessons is, on the contrary, a matter of very great importance. There can be no question that the lectionary of St Augustine, so far as it had crystallized into a fixed cycle (and *Serm.* ccxviii, and the beginning of the sermons on St John's Gospel, shew that certain parts of it at least had, by reason of long-standing custom, become practically unalterable), agreed very closely with the Mozarabic cycle (as did the Ambrosian), and was markedly different from the Roman. Now, it is simply unthinkable that any liturgy which had originally a Roman lectionary should at this period have deliberately changed it for the Mozarabic lectionary; and it is still more improbable, if possible, that any liturgy should have consisted originally of a Spanish *Missa Catechumenorum* with a Roman *Missa Fidelium*; consequently the existence of a lectionary similar to the Spanish is a conclusive proof that the original liturgy was in general similar to the Spanish liturgy; and if the *Missa Fidelium* was in some points similar to the Roman, the overwhelming probability must be that the original rite has been altered in the direction of the Roman Liturgy, —without, however, excluding the possibility that in a liturgy generally similar to the Spanish some details may have originally agreed with the Roman. The character of the Mass-chants is by no means a criterion of the first importance. The series of Mass-chants might be entirely local, even if the rest of the liturgy were purely Roman or purely Mozarabic. Nevertheless, if we can depend on the fact that the offertory-anthem had reference to the temple services, and that the stock Communion-anthem was taken from Ps. xxxiii,¹ these will furnish two points in favour of the Mozarabic rite, in addition to other differences between the African chant and the Roman.

Little can be concluded about the prayers of the celebrant, except the versicles and the conclusions of the prayers, details which belong to

¹ There is no ground for supposing that the use of Psalm xxxiii as the stock Communion-anthem was a Roman custom also. St Jerome's mention of it (*in Is.* ii 5, 20) cannot refer to Rome: and though it occurs as the Communion-anthem for one of the Sundays after Pentecost, yet there is nothing in the music to justify Wagner's suggestion that this is the one original Communion-anthem, to which others have been added subsequently: the music of all seems to be of the same period. Cassiodorus mentions the use of this Psalm as the Communion-anthem, but his experience was not of Rome, and it is very unlikely that he is writing of Roman custom.

the 'framework' of the service : but No. xxxiii a shews clearly that in A.D. 402 there was no general use of any fixed set of the celebrant's prayers, and therefore *a fortiori* no general use of the Roman Canon of the Mass.

The conclusion which seems most in accordance with the facts is (1) that the African Liturgy or Liturgies were originally (so far as can be known) of a character similar to the Mozarabic, though it is quite possible that this similarity did not extend to every detail ; (2) that it is quite possible that St Augustine's liturgy had been modified in certain points in the direction of the Roman rite—the most important of which is the position of the *Pax*. It is by no means incredible that at so early a period a Western Liturgy should have already suffered alteration by the adoption of Roman features and the imitation of Roman practices, for the book *De Sacramentis* (attributed to St Ambrose) shews the very same phenomenon in another locality, and at the same period. In it we find an adaptation of the Roman Canon for use in connexion with a rite which was originally not Roman, but either Ambrosian or very closely allied to that rite. Moreover, both the Celtic and the Ambrosian rite shew us how naturally the introduction of the Roman Canon drew after it the Roman position of the *Pax* after the consecration. The apparent alteration in the wording of the litany in the people's prayers, and the possible change in the response to *Pax vobiscum*, point in the same direction : and the various forms of the doxologies have rather the character of doxologies non-Roman in origin but modified in the Roman direction.¹

If, on the contrary, it is still maintained that the African rite was similar to the original Roman, this can only be done by ascribing to the original Roman Liturgy a character practically identical with the Mozarabic, except in the position of the *Pax* and possibly in the fact that the 'names' were said by the celebrant instead of by the deacon. This early Roman mass contained, of course, neither Introit nor *Kyrie* nor *Gloria in excelsis*, but it frequently had lessons from the O. T. as well as the Epistle and Gospel ; in it the catechumens were dismissed after the Gospel instead of before it ; it contained prayers of the faithful, not like the *Orationes Sollemnes*, but like the Mozarabic litany, elaborate diptychs, an invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Canon, a long benediction, and a post-Communion thanksgiving. The lectionary used, moreover, differed from the most ancient Roman lectionary that we know in almost every crucial feature, and agreed with the Mozarabic instead : and the series of chants used appears to have been quite

¹ The commemoration of the Magi on the Epiphany, in St Augustine's time, may (as in the present Mozarabic rite) have been an imitation of Roman custom, replacing the original commemoration of our Lord's baptism.

different from those used at Rome. It becomes, in fact, practically necessary to maintain that the present Mozarabic Liturgy is a faithful representative of the original Roman Liturgy, except in a few details, and that the Roman Liturgy of all known ages has departed from its pristine form so utterly that its identity can no longer be recognized.

MATERIALS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AFRICAN LITURGY.

I give the principal passages from St Augustine's writings, adding below passages from other African writers. The greater number of these have been collected with great diligence by other writers—Mone, Atchley, Cabrol, and others—but nearly all of them have been verified, several by the kindness of Mr T. Thompson of St Anselm's House, Cambridge, and a few added which appeared to be of sufficient importance to justify inclusion. Two references have been kindly given me by Dr Srawley, and others by the Rev. F. E. Brightman. For convenience of reference I have numbered these passages consecutively.

THE LESSONS.

I. *De Civitate Dei* xxii 8 (near the end): St Augustine tells how on entering the church on Easter Day: *Plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum . . . salutavi populum . . . , facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemnia. Ubi autem ventum est ad mei sermonis locum. . . .*

II. *Ep.* xlii 31: *Sacrificant in dissentione et schismate et pacis nomine populos salutant . . . De codicibus non tantum nostris sed etiam eorum recitamus ecclesias quarum nomina hodie legunt et quibus hodie non communicant: quae cum recitantur in conventiculis eorum lectoribus suis dicunt Pax tecum.*

III. *Ep.* liii 3: *Quid autem perversius et insanius quam lectoribus easdem epistolas legentibus dicere Pax tecum et ab earum ecclesiarum pace separari quibus ipsae epistolae scriptae sunt?*

For O. T. lessons see pp. 263, 264.

IV. *Serm.* cxlv 1: *Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus.*

V. *Serm.* lv 1: *Sancti evangelii capitulum quod modo cum legeretur audivimus (cf. *Serm.* xlv 1, clxxvi 1, &c.).*

VI. *Serm.* cclii 9: *Consuetudinem antiquae traditionis tenet ecclesia ut per istos quinquaginta dies Halleluia dicatur (cf. *Enarr. in Pss.* cvi and cx).*

VII. *Ep.* lv *ad Ianuarium.* *Omnibus diebus Dominicis Alleluia cantatur.*

IVa St Optatus *de schism. Donat.* vi 6: *Illic prophetae et sancta evangelia recitata sunt.*

VIIa Victor Vitens, *de persecutione Vandal.* i: *Audiente et canente populo Dei lector unus pulpito sistens alleuyaticum melos canebat.*

DISMISSALS AND PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL.

VIII. *Serm.* xlix 8: Ecce post sermonem, fit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis.

IX. *Ep.* ccxvii *ad Vitalem* 1: Exsere contra orationes ecclesiae disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret; et pro fidelibus, ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent; vel ipsum [i. e. sacerdotem] clara voce orantem, ut incredulos gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis *Amen*?

X. *Ep.* lv. 34: Quando autem non est tempus . . . sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur aut antistes clara voce deprecatur aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

XI. *Serm.* cclxii 31: Conversi ad Dominum, ipsum deprecemur pro nobis et pro omni plebe sua astante nobiscum in atriis domus suae: quam custodire protegereque dignetur. Per Iesum Christum Filium eius Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen. (Cf. *Serm.* cclxxv and cclxi and also cxvii 10; see also p. 261 n. 2.)

XII. *Serm.* clxxiii 1: Quando celebramus dies fratrum defunctorum *in mente habere debemus* et quid sperandum et quid timendum est.

Xa S. Caesarius Arel. *Serm.* cclxxxvi 1 (S. Aug. *Opp.* v append.): Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quotiescunque iuxta altare a clericis oratur aut oratio diacono clamante indicitur, non solum corda sed etiam corpora fideliter inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter sicut oportet et diligenter attendo, diacono clamante *Flectamus genua*, maximam partem velut columnas erectas stare conspicio.

Xb Id. *Serm.* cclxxxv 1: Supplico, fratres carissimi, et paterna pietate commoneo, ut quotiescunque oratio indicitur, qui forte pro aliqua infirmitate non potest genua flectere, et dorsum incurvare, vel cervicem humiliare . . . non differat.

XIa S. Fulgentius *Serm.* x (Migne *P. L.* lxxv 750): Conversi ergo ad Dominum pariter eius misericordiam deprecemur ut nobis suam gratiam largiatur qua possumus in nobis ipsius iudicium rectum tenere, iustitiam caeteris exhibere et diligentes misericordiam non opprimere pauperes sed fovere: ut in conspectu Dei cui misericordiam iudiciumque cantavimus, superexaltantem iudicio misericordiam invenire possimus.

XIIa S. Cyprian *Ep.* lxii 5: Ut autem fratres nostros ac sorores, qui ad hoc opus tam necessarium prompte ac libenter operati sunt, ut semper operentur, *in mente habeatis orationibus vestris* et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repraesentetis, subdidi nomina singulorum, sed et collegarum quoque et sacerdotum nostrorum, qui et ipsi cum praesentes essent, ex suo plebis suae nomine quaedam pro viribus contulerunt, nomina addidi et praeter quantitatem propriam nostram eorum quoque summulas significavi et misi, quorum omnium secundum quod fides et caritas exigit *in orationibus et precibus vestris meminisse debetis*.

XIIb Id. *Ep.* lxxix: Et Deo Patri omnipotenti per Christum eius gratias egimus et agimus quod sic confortati et conroborati sumus per tuam allocutionem, petentes de animi tui candore, ut nos adsiduis *orationibus tuis in mente habere digneris*, ut

XIII. *De Civ. Dei* xxi 24 : Nam quid maxime pro eis [*sc. poenitentibus*] orat, nisi *ut det illis Deus*, sicut dixit Apostolus, *poenitentiam, et resipiscant de diaboli laqueis a quo captivi tenentur secundum ipsius voluntatem*. . . .

XIV. *De dono perseverantiae* 63 : Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit *Da illis Domine in te perseverare usque in finem* ; non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere ; ac non potius super eius talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitenti respondit *Amen* ?

THE NAMES (OF THE LIVING).

XV. *Ep.* xlix 2 : Quoniam ecclesiam Dei, quae catholica dicitur, . . . per orbem terrarum diffusam videmus. Cf. *Serm.* ccxliii : Interrogo Ecclesiam toto orbe diffusam : *Serm.* cclxviii : Ecce et hic unitas Ecclesiae Catholicae commendatur toto orbe diffusa.

XVI. *Contra epistolam Parmeniani* iii 6 (c. 400 A.D.) : Non erunt qui nomina principum furoris sui recitent ad altaria, vel quae ab unitate Christi diviserunt, vel quae sub nomine Christi contra ecclesiam Christi erexerunt.

THE NAMES (OF THE DEAD).

XVII. *de Civitate Dei* viii 27 § 1 : Quis enim antistitum in locis sanctorum corporum assistens altari aliquando dixit *Offero tibi, Petre*, aut *Paule*, aut *Cypriane* ?

XVIII. *Serm.* cclxxiii 7 : Advertite, in recitatione ad altare Christi loco meliore recitantur [*sc. martyres*], non tamen pro Christo adorantur. Quando audistis dici apud memoriam sancti Theogenis, a me vel ab aliquo fratre et collega meo, vel [ab] aliquo presbytero *Offero tibi, sancte Theogenis*, aut *Offero tibi, Petre*, aut *Offero tibi, Paule* ?

confessionem vestram et nostram quam Dominus in nobis conferre dignatus est suppleat. The phrase 'in mente habere' is found in two Christian epitaphs of the third and fourth centuries respectively, and in a Pompeian inscription—'Sante Suste in mente habeas in horationibus Aureli Repentini' (*sic*)—quoted by Cabrol. Cp. Northcote and Brownlow *Roma Sotterranea*.

XIVa Arnobius *adv. nat.* iv 36 : Nam nostra quidem scripta cur ignibus meruerunt dari ? Cur immaniter conventicula dirui in quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis pro venia postulat magistatibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus et resolutis corporum vincione ?

XVa. S. Optatus *Contra Parmenianum* ii 12 : Nam quis dubitet vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio praeterire non posse ? Offerre vos Deo dicitis pro Ecclesia quae una est. Hoc ipsum mendacii pars est unam te vocare, de qua feceris duas ; et offerre vos dicitis Deo pro una Ecclesia quae sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa.

XVIa S. Cyprian *Ep.* xvi 2 : [Lapsi] nunc . . . nondum restituta ecclesiae ipsius pace, ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomine eorum, et nondum poenitentia acta, nondum exomologesi facta, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur.

XIX. *Serm.* clix 1: Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oretur: pro caeteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. (See also *Serm.* cclxxxiv 5, cclxxxv 5, ccxcvii 3.)

XX. *Serm.* cccxxv 1: Sic enim nobis sanctorum Viginti Martyrum series recitata est. Coepit ab episcopo Fidentio, clausit ad fidelem foeminam sanctam Victoriam.

XXI. *De sancta Virginitate* xlv 46: Fidelibus notum est, quo loco martyres et quo defunctae sanctimoniales ad altaris sacramenta recitentur.

XXII. *De civitate Dei* xxii 10: Uni Deo et martyrum et nostro sacrificium immolamus, ad quod sacrificium sicut homines Dei qui mundum in eius confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur.

XXIII. *Collatio Carth.* (*Opp. S. Aug.*, Antw. 1700, ix app. c. 43): In ecclesia sumus in qua Caecilianus episcopatum gessit et diem obiit. Eius nomen ad altare recitamus, eius memoriae communicamus tanquam memoriae fratris.

XXIV. *Serm.* ccclix 6 (Sirmond. xxxvii) referring to Caecilian of Carthage: Inventus sit prorsus reus, hominem anathemo . . . deinceps eum ad altare inter episcopos, quos fideles et innocentes credimus, non recitabimus.

XXV. *Liber de cura gerenda pro mortuis* i 3: Non parva est universae ecclesiae . . . auctoritas, ubi in precibus sacerdotis quae Domino Deo ad eius altare funduntur, locum suum habet etiam commendatio mortuorum. (See also *de Civ. Dei* xxi 24 § 5 and *Serm.* clxxii 2.)

XXVI. *ib.* 4: Non sunt praetermittendae supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus eorum, sub generali commemoratione suscepit Ecclesia.

XXVII. *Liber de anima et eius origine* ii 15 § 21: Etiam eorum, nominibus tacitis, quoniam nesciuntur in Ecclesia Christi, . . . offerendum corpus Christi esse censebit.

XXVIII. *De Civitate Dei* xx 9 § 2: Neque enim piorum animae mortuorum separantur ab Ecclesia [*scilicet* separantur ab animis martyrum]. Alioquin nec ad altare Dei fieret eorum memoria in communicatione corporis Christi.

XXIXa *S. Cyprian Ep.* xxxviii 3: Palmas Domini et coronas illustri passione meruerunt. Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quotiens martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

XXIVa *S. Cyprian Ep.* i 2: Neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece, qui ab altari sacerdotes et ministros voluit avocari. Et ideo Victor . . . non est quod pro dormitione eius apud vos fiat oblatio aut deprecatio aliqua nomine eius in ecclesia frequentetur.

XXIX. *Ep.* lxxviii 4: Et nunc si vobis placeat ut nomen eius non recitetur . . . quid enim obest homini quod ex illa tabula non vult eum recitari humana ignorantia, si de libro vivorum non eum delet iniqua conscientia?

THE OFFERTORY.

XXX. *Ep.* cxi 8: Sic enim sunt illae in terra captivatis suae quomodo erant illi in ea terra ubi nec sacrificare more suo poterant Domino, sicut nec istae possunt vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo.

XXXI. *Enarratio in Psalm.* cxxix 7: [Christus] accepit abs te quod offerret pro te: quo modo accipit sacerdos a te, quod pro te offerat quando vis placare Deum pro peccatis tuis. (See also *Ep.* cxi 8.)

XXXII. *Retractationum lib.* ii 6: Morem, qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distribuaretur populo quod fuisset oblatum.

XXXIII. *Ep.* cxlix ad Paulinum 16: Eligo in his verbis [1 Tim. ii 1] hoc intellegere quod omnis vel paene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici; *orationes* cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica Oratione concludit . . . *Interpellationes* autem (sive ut vestri codices habent *postulationes*) fiunt cum populus benedicitur; tunc enim antistites velut advocati susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, *gratiarum actio* cuncta concludit.

(See No. XXXIV.)

THE GREAT THANKSGIVING, &c.

(See No. XXXIII.)

XXXIa S. Cyprian *De opere et elemosyna* 15: Locuples et dives Dominicum celebrare te credis, quae corban omnino non respicis, quae in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quae partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis?

XXXIb Victor Vitens. *De persecut. Vandal.* ii: Proccedit ad altare cum Eugenio (sicut mos est) qui fuerat caecus, suae salutis oblationem Domino redditurus: quam episcopus accipiens altari imposuit.

XXXIIIa *Concil. Milevitan.* c 1 (A. D. 402): Placuit enim . . . ut preces uel orationes seu missae, quae probatae fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes, sive commendationes ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliae omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quae a prudentioribus tractatae vel comprobatae in synodo fuerint. (Here I think *preces* = *preces fidelium*; *missa* = Gallican *praefatio* or *collectio*, or both; *praefatio* = *illatio*; *commendatio* = *benedictio*.) Cf. also III *Concil. Carthag.* c. xxiv (A. D. 397).

XXXIV. *Serm.* ccxxvii: Tenetis sacramenta ordine suo. Primo post orationem admonemini *Sursum* habere *cor* . . . Respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum* . . . ideo sequitur episcopus vel presbyter qui offert, et dicit, cum responderit populus *Habemus ad Dominum sursum cor, Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro* . . . et vos attestamini *Dignum et iustum est* dicentes . . . Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii Dei . . . dicimus Orationem Dominicam . . . post ipsam dicitur *Pax vobiscum*, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto.

XXXV. *Sermones inediti* vi (ed. Denis): Hoc quod videtis in mensa Domini panis est et vinum; sed iste panis et hoc vinum accedente verbo fit corpus et sanguis Verbi . . . Post salutationem quam nostis, id est *Dominus vobiscum*, audistis *Sursum cor* . . . Ideo cum audieritis a sacerdote *Sursum cor* respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum* . . . Sequitur sacerdos et dicit *Domino Deo nostro gratias agamus* . . . et inde iam [succedunt] quae aguntur in precibus sanctis, quas audituri estis, ut accedente verbo fiat corpus et sanguis Christi. Nam tolle verbum, panis est et vinum: adde verbum et iam aliud est. Et ipsum aliud quid est? Corpus Christi et sanguis Christi. Tolle ergo verbum, panis est et vinum: adde verbum et fiet sacramentum. Ad hoc dicitis *Amen* . . . Deinde dicitur Dominica Oratio, quam iam accepistis et reddidistis. Quae ante dicitur quam accipiatur corpus et sanguis Christi . . . Post hoc dicitur *Pax vobiscum*.

XXXVI. *Sermo* cclxxii: Quod ergo videtis panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant: quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi.

XXXIVa S. Cyprian *De Dom. Oratione* xxxi: Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, praefatione praemissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo *Sursum corda*.

XXXIVb S. Fulgentius *Ep.* xiv 44: Ideo in ipso sacrificio corporis Christi a gratiarum actione incipimus.

XXXIVc Tertullian *De Oratione* 3: Cui illa angelorum circumstantia non cessant dicere *Sanctus sanctus sanctus*. Proinde igitur et nos angelorum, si meruerimus, candidati, iam hinc celestem illam in Deum vocem et officium futurae claritatis ediscimus.

XXXIVd *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* xii (Saturus is telling his vision) Et introivimus et audivimus vocem unitam dicentem: Agios, agios, agios: sine cessatione.

XXXIVe S. Cyprian *Ep.* lxiii 17: Passionis eius mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus. . . . Scriptura enim dicit ut quotienscunque calicem in commemorationem Domini et passionis eius offerimus, id quod constat Dominum fecisse faciamus.

XXXIVf S. Fulgentius *contra Fabianum frag.* 28: Cum tempore sacrificii commemorationem mortis eius faciamus.

XXXVIa S. Optatus *contra Parmen.* vi 1: Altaria Dei . . . in quibus vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt, quo Deus omnipotens invocatus sit, quo postulatus descenderit Spiritus sanctus.

XXXVIb S. Fulgentius *Fragmentum contra Fabianum* 28: Agnosce igitur quid

XXXVII. *De Trinitate* iii 4 § 10 : Illud tantum [corpus et sanguinem dicimus] quod ex fructibus terrae acceptum et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritualem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicae passionis : quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducatur, non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum sacramentum nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei.

FRACTION.

XXXVIII. *Ep.* xxxvi 28 : fracturus panem sicut frangitur in sacramento Corporis Christi.

(See No. XXXIII.)

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

(See Nos. XXXIII-XXXV.)

XXXIX. *Serm.* cx 5 : quod audemus quotidie dicere *Adveniat regnum tuum.*

XL. *Serm.* lviii 10 : Ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Dominica oratio et audiunt illam fideles.

XLI. *De dono perseverantiae* 23 § 63 : Cum aliud in ipsa Oratione Dominica non orant fideles, dicentes maxime illud *Ne nos inferas in tentationem*, nisi ut in sancta obedientia perseverent.

XLII. *Serm.* clxxxi 6 : Ecce veniet hora orationis : oratura est tota ecclesia et tu quidem foris es : veni ad Orationem Dominicam, veni ad trutinam. Veni, dic *Pater noster qui es in coelis.*

(See also *Serm.* xvii 5, cccli 6 : *Ep.* cclxv 8 : *De dono persev.* 23.)

THE PAX.

XLIII. *Enarr. in Ps.* cxxiv 10 : Quibus respondetur, cum dixerint *Pax vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo.*

In offerendis sacrificiis agitur, ut exinde intelligas quare ibi adventus sancti Spiritus postuletur.

XXXVIc *Ibid.* 24 : Sancta ergo Ecclesia dum in sacrificio corporis et sanguinis Christi mitti sibi precatur Spiritum sanctum.

XXXVI d *Ad Monimum* ii 6 : Iam nunc etiam illa nobis est de Spiritu sancti missione quaestio revolvenda, cur scilicet, si omni Trinitati sacrificium offertur, ad sanctificandum [*al.* sacrificandum] oblationis nostrae munus sancti Spiritus tantum missio postuletur ; quasi . . . ita Spiritus sanctus ad consecrandum Ecclesiae sacrificium mittendus est, tanquam Pater aut Filius sacrificantibus desit.

XXXVI e S. Firmilian's letter to S. Cyprian (*S. Cyp. Ep.* lxxv 10) can hardly be cited as evidence of the use of an invocation in Africa : and there is nothing to shew whether the invocation parodied was an invocation of the Holy Spirit.

XLI a S. Optatus *contra Parmen.* ii : Etenim inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis et delicta donatis, mox ad altare conversi Dominicam Orationem praetermittere non potestis.

XLIII a *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* xii (Saturus tells his vision) Et introeuntes cum admiratione stetimus ante thronum : et quattuor angeli sublevaverunt nos : et osculati sumus illum, et de manu sua traiecit nobis in faciem. Et ceteri seniores dixerunt nobis : Stemus. Et stetimus et pacem fecimus. Et dixerunt

(See also in *Ps.* cxxi 13: *contra Petilian.* ii 53: *Epp.* xlii 31, liii 3.
See Nos. XXXIV, XXXV.)

THE BENEDICTION.

(See No. XXXIII.)

XLIV. *Ep.* clxxxix 4: His itaque disputationibus perversis et impiis non solum contradicatur orationibus nostris quibus a Domino petimus quidquid sanctos petiisse legimus et tenemus, verum etiam Benedictionibus nostris resistitur quando super populum dicimus, optantes eis et poscentes a Domino, ut eos abundare faciat in charitate invicem et in omnes et det eis secundum divitias gloriæ suæ virtute corroborari per Spiritum eius et impleat eos omni gaudio et pace in credendo ut abundant in spe et potentia Spiritus sancti.

COMMUNION.

(See Nos. XXXIII, XXXV.)

XLV. *Serm.* cclxxii: Quomodo est panis corpus eius, et calix (vel quod habet calix) quomodo est sanguis eius? Audis enim *Corpus Christi* et respondes *Amen*.

XLVI. *Serm.* clxxi 8: Nostis fideles quale testimonium perhibeatis sanguinis quem accepistis: certe enim dicitis *Amen*.

COMMUNION ANTHEM.

(See No. XXXII.)

XLVII. *Serm.* ccxxv: Cum veneris ad bibere, accede et illuminare: *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini*. (Quoted by Dom Cagin *Palaeographie Musicale* v p. 24.)

XLVIII. *Enarr. in Psalm.* xxxiii 2 § 10: Nos ad eum accedamus ut corpus et sanguinem eius accipiamus . . . nos manducando crucifixum et bibendo illuminamur: *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini* . . . § 12 Aperte modo de ipso sacramento vult dicere . . . *Gustate et videte quam suavis est Dominus*. Nonne aperit se psalmus? (Cagin *u. s.*).

XLIX. *Enarr. in Psalm.* cxviii 7 § 2: Sic enim illud dictum est, *Deus habitat lucem inaccessibilem*, et audimus tamen *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini* (Cagin *u. s.*).

THANKSGIVING.

(See No. XXXIII.)

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nobis seniores: *Ite et ludite*. Et dixi Perpetuae: *Habes quod vis*. Et dixit mihi: *Deo gratias*, ut quomodo in carne hilaris fui hilarior sum et hic modo.

XLVa. *Test. de Spectaculis* 25: Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei in diaboli ecclesiam tendere, . . . ex ore quo *Amen* in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *eis alōvas an' alōvos* alii omnino dicere nisi Deo et Christo?

ON ΠΡΗΝΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ IN ACTS I 18.

THE object of this note is to give reasons for the opinion which I have long held that in the Lucan account of the death of Judas (Acts i 18) the word *πρηνής* is a medical term denoting a disease. The passage is as follows: οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτίσαστο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησεν μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.

It will be convenient to quote at once the well-known words of Papias: μέγα δὲ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδειγμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ περιεπάτησεν ὁ Ἰούδας πρῆσθεις ἐπὶ τοσούτον τὴν σάρκα, ὥστε μηδὲ ὀπόθεν ἄμαξα ῥαδίως διέρχεται ἐκείνον δύνασθαι διελθεῖν κτλ. This fragment is preserved in an excerpt from Apollinarius given in Cramer's *Catena* on the Acts, pp. 12 f. Other authorities for it are enumerated in Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn's *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* Fasc. 1 Part. ii Ed. ii (1878) p. 94. It must remain uncertain whether this Apollinarius is Apollinarius of Hierapolis or his namesake of Laodicea. The important word is *πρῆσθεις*, 'having swollen up.' Grabe (*Spicilegium SS. Patrum* ii p. 231) supposed that the originators of the story handed down by Papias read *πρῆσθεις* instead of *πρηνής* in Acts i 18, a supposition to which, as Routh (*Reliquiae Sacrae* i p. 28) points out, the presence of the word *γενόμενος* is an insuperable objection. In the last few years a more courageous theory has been put forward by Dr Rendel Harris (*The American Journal of Theology* vol. iv (1900) pp. 490 ff). He thinks that the evidence 'suggests that we boldly replace *πρηνής* *γενόμενος* by *πρῆσθεις*' as the 'reading in the original text of the Acts', holding that 'it is too late in the day to assume the consensus of Greek and Latin MSS to be the reading of the original text' (p. 513 n.). Further, if we seek to understand the genesis of the reading given by all Greek MSS, not to speak of other authorities, Dr Rendel Harris has an ingenious solution of the problem. 'Is not the expression *πρηνής* *γενόμενος*', he asks (p. 509), 'an attempt to illustrate the curse upon the serpent at the beginning, "On thy belly shalt thou go"?' It is not my purpose to criticize Dr Rendel Harris's theory as to the passage.

The similarity then between the *πρῆσθεις* of Papias and the *πρηνής* of the Acts has not escaped notice. The true inference, however, as I believe, has been overlooked. I shall endeavour to shew reasons for holding that *πρῆσθεις* and *πρηνής* *γενόμενος* are strictly synonymous phrases.

The verb *πίμπρημι*, 'to burn', and the verb *πρήθω*, 'to swell out by blowing', coincide in the forms of their aorists *ἐπρησα* and *ἐπρήσθην*. Moreover, the meanings of the two verbs appear to have coalesced. At any rate as a medical term *πίμπραμαι* signifies 'to swell up with inflammation'. In this sense the word occurs in the LXX in reference

to the trial of a woman by 'the waters of jealousy'—τὴν κοιλίαν σου πεπρησμένην . . . πρῆσαι γαστέρα . . . πρησθήσεται τὴν κοιλίαν (Num. v 21 f, 27).¹ It may be added that Field in his edition of the Hexapla notes *in loco* that one MS—Codex Caesareus Vindobonensis = 130—preserves the rendering of 'another' interpreter in v. 21, viz. πεφυσημένην in place of πεπρησμένην, the former verb being a non-technical synonym of the latter.² St Luke himself uses the verb πίμπραμαι to describe the effect of the bite of a poisonous viper (Acts xxviii 6): οἱ δὲ προσεδόκων αὐτὸν μέλλειν πίμπρασθαι. Dr Hobart (*Medical Language of St Luke* p. 50) quotes a series of passages from medical writers to illustrate St Luke's use of this verb, 'the usual medical word for inflammation', e.g. Hipp. *Intern. Affect.* 555 καὶ ἐξαπίνης ἡ γαστήρ αἰέρεται καὶ πίμπραται καὶ δοκεῖ διαρρήσσεσθαι: Hipp. *Epid.* 1162 'Αρίστιππος εἰς τὴν κοιλίην ἐτοξεύθη ἄνω βίη χαλεπῶς, ἄλγος κοιλίης δεινόν, καὶ ἐπίμπρατο ταχέως.

Connected with this verb is a group of words used in medical writers: —πρηδών, πρήσις, πρήσμα, πρησμονή, all meaning 'swelling' or 'inflammation'; πρηστήρες, 'the veins of the neck swollen with anger'; πρηστικός, 'burning', 'inflamed'; βούπρηστις, a poisonous beetle eaten by cattle and causing them to swell up and die.³ In a cursory search I have not discovered any instance of the adjective πρηγής in medical writers in the sense of 'swollen', 'inflamed'; but the word would be a natural formation, and if it were a term rarely used, characteristic possibly of some particular medical school, it might easily disappear except as a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον. St Luke's writings, it is superfluous to add, abound in medical terms.

In the first place then we must enquire whether an examination of the language used in Acts i 18 confirms the suggestion that πρηγής is a medical term. Take the two words πρηγής γενόμενος. St Luke is an author who habitually writes with force and precision. But, if πρηγής is taken in the sense of *pronus*, how wofully feeble is the expression πρηγής γενόμενος, 'having become prone.' We should have expected πρηγής πεσών (βιθθείς) or the like. Accordingly most of the Versions paraphrase. Among the old Latin authorities, if some have the literal rendering 'pronus factus', others have 'in faciem prostratus'. The Syriac Vulgate translates 'he fell upon his face upon the earth', the Memphitic 'he fell upon his face', the familiar English Versions (A.V., R.V.) 'falling headlong'. Further, if we shut our eyes to the strange weakness of the phrase itself, a moment's thought shews us that, standing alone, it is almost unintelligible; some explanatory context is demanded. Such a context is supplied in the text of the Acts from Matt. xxvii 5 by

¹ The verb used in the Hebrew is נָפַח.

² Hesychius: πίμπραν, ἐμπυρίζειν, φυσᾶν, καίειν.

³ See the passages quoted by Suicer *Thesaurus Eccles.* sub voce πίμπραμαι.

Augustine *de Actis cum Felice* i 4 (Migne *P. L.* 42. 522), 'collum sibi alligavit et deiectus in faciem', and by the Latin Vulgate 'suspensus crepuit medius'.¹ If, however, the word *πρηνής* is a medical term, the phrase is perfectly natural and quite in St Luke's style. For in medical phraseology *γίνεσθαι*, like its English equivalent (e.g. 'he became feverish'), is frequently used in reference to the setting in of a new condition or of a fresh symptom. Scattered up and down the pages of Dr Hobart's book I find the following instances from the treatises of Hippocrates: *Aphorism.* 676 ἐν τάχει δὲ μελεδανθεῖσα εὐφορος γίνεται ἡ γυνή· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ μελεδαίνηται ὑγιαίνει καὶ φορὸς γίνεται, ἦν δὲ χρόνος ἐγγένηται ἀφορος μένει ἡ γυνή: *Morb.* 470 ἦν δὲ βῆξ ὑπολάβη, ὑποχρεμψάμενος καὶ ἀποκαθαρθεὶς ὑγιὲς γίνεται: *Epid.* 966 μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρας ἔδοξε γενέσθαι ἀπύρετος: *Morb. Mul.* 647 πηρὰ τὰ σκέλεα πολλάκις γίνονται. Turning to the writings of St Luke we note a precisely similar use of *γίνεσθαι* in a passage of the Acts closely akin to that one which we are now considering—καὶ γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος ἐξέφυγεν (xii 23). We compare also *γενόμενος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ* (Luke xxii 43; on *ἀγωνία* and other medical terms in the context see Hobart, pp. 80 ff), *ἐντρομος δὲ γενόμενος* (Acts vii 32), *ἐγένετο δὲ πρόσπεινος* (Acts x 10), *ἐξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος* (Acts xvi 27). Thus if *πρηνής* denotes a disease, the expression *πρηνὲς γινόμενος* is clear, sufficient, and entirely in St Luke's manner.

From the phrase itself we turn to the immediately succeeding context. It is not unlikely that a careful search in the voluminous treatises of Greek medical writers would reveal an instance of the verb *λάσσω* as a technical term for the bursting of a tumour (see the passage from the *Acts of Thomas* quoted below). It is used in early Greek of a thing breaking with a cracking noise, e.g. Homer *Il.* xiii 616 λάκε δ' ὁστέα. But in default of such an instance I must content myself, if I may for a moment lapse into comedy, with adducing the very parallel use of a cognate verb in Aristophanes *Nubes* 410 (quoted by Wetstein on Acts i 18). Strepsiades relates a misfortune which befell him when he was toasting a sausage (ὥπτων γαστέρα) for some cousins. He forgot to prick it. It swelled up and burst to the detriment of his face and eyes.

ἡ δ' ἄρ' ἐφυσᾶτ', εἰτ' ἐξαίφνης διαλακήσασα πρὸς αὐτὸν
τὼφθαλμῷ μου προσετίλησεν.

We have already seen that *πίμπρασθαι* and *φυσᾶσθαι* are synonyms. Further, if, as I suppose, *πρηνής* is an adjective corresponding to the verb *πίμπρασθαι*, then the phrase *ἐλάκησεν μέσος* (compare the oburgation in Aristophanes *Ran.* 955 ὡς ὠφέλες μέσος διαραγῆναι) and the phrase

¹ The earlier English versions followed the Latin Vulgate: Wiclif, 'and he was hangid'; Tyndale and the Bishops' Bible, 'and when he was hanged'; Rheims, 'and being hanged'; Genevan, 'and when he had killed himself'. I rely on the accuracy of Bagster's *English Hexapla* for this statement.

ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ (compare 2 Sam. xx 10 ἐξεχύθη ἡ κοιλία αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν) describe a natural sequel.

When then the expression *πρηγὴς γενόμενος* itself and the context are examined, the meaning which I assign to *πρηγὴς* is, if I mistake not, strongly confirmed.

We next enquire what authority there is for the meaning of *πρηγὴς* which the passage itself seems to suggest.

1. The Armenian version. In this version Acts i 18 runs thus: 'This (man) acquired a plot with the hire of iniquity, and *swelling out* burst in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.' For this rendering I have to thank the Dean of Wells (Dr Armitage Robinson).

The rendering of the Armenian version is guaranteed in a passage from an Armenian Catena on the Acts, which Mr Conybeare has translated as follows (*American Journal of Philology* vol. xvii p. 150¹):—

'Accordingly he [i. e. Peter] describes also the sentence which he suffered. "*Being swollen up*", he says, "*he burst in the middle and all his bowels were poured out.*" He does well to relate, not the offence, but the punishment, in order to the comforting of those who were afraid of the Jews. But that he fell to the earth and burst and his bowels gushed out, is like this. For he shut the doors against himself before he strangled himself, and he remained there on the gibbet the Friday and the Saturday. When he had *swollen up* and grown heavy, the cord was cut by which he hung, he fell, burst asunder, and was poured forth. But the stench of the putrifying mass', &c.

It will be noticed in this comment that the two current renderings of *πρηγὴς* both have a place side by side—'Being swollen up he burst', 'he fell to the earth and burst.' The former is the rendering of the text on which the comment is based. Further, the story as it is reconstructed here is very similar to the story as given in a comment of Ephrem (see below).

It is stated by Dr Rendel Harris in the article referred to above (p. 498) that the Georgian version, a version closely related to the Armenian, supports the Armenian as to the phrase in question.

Can we go further back? Dean Robinson in his 'Euthaliana' (*Texts and Studies* iii 3, p. 90) gave reasons for thinking that, as far as regards the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles, the Armenian version is to be 'recognized as a not unimportant witness to Old Syriac readings, where at present the direct testimony of Old Syriac MSS is altogether wanting'. But he added that he had 'reason for thinking that the Acts of the Apostles may prove a not unfruitful field of investigation'. We cannot refrain, then, from the question whether the Armenian version of Acts i 18 points back to an Old Syriac text. One fragment of evidence

¹ I am indebted to Dr Rendel Harris's article for a reference to this fragment.

is worth consideration. Ephrem, in commenting on the *Diatessaron* (Matt. xxvii 5), wrote (according to Moesinger's Latin translation of the Armenian version of Ephrem, p. 240): 'Alii dicunt Iudam portam clausisse et interius obserrasse, et donec putresceret et totus venter eius esset diffusus, nemo portam domus aperuit, ut interiora videret.' The words 'et totus . . . diffusus' are a quotation from Acts i 18. Does the word 'putresceret' represent an Old Syriac rendering of *πρηνής* *γενόμενος*? I believe that this is the case. For the Syriac Vulgate in Acts xxviii 6 translates *πίμπρασθαι* by ܡܡܪܕܐܝܬܐ¹; and this Syriac verb means 'putrefactus est', a cognate substantive meaning 'pus'. If an Old Syriac text used the same verb in Acts i 18 as the Syriac Vulgate used in Acts xxviii 6, the 'putresceret' of Ephrem is explained and the whole clause is a quotation from an Old Syriac text of Acts i 18.

2. I pass to another Biblical passage, viz. Wisdom iv 19. It runs as follows:—

καὶ ἔσονται μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς πτώμα ἄτιμον
καὶ εἰς ὕβριν ἐν νεκροῖς δι' αἰῶνος.
ὅτι ῥήξει αὐτοὺς ἀφώνους πρηνεῖς
καὶ σαλεύσει αὐτοὺς ἐκ θεμελίων.

The Latin Vulgate translates the third line of Wisdom iv 19 thus: 'disrumpet illos *inflatos* sine voce.' It may be noted that in Num. v 27 (*πρησθήσεται τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ διαπνεύεται ὁ μηρὸς αὐτῆς*) the Latin Vulgate has '*inflato* ventre computrescet femur'. Again I have to thank the Dean of Wells for telling me that the Armenian Version of Wisdom renders *πρηνεῖς* in iv 19 'swollen up'.² Now Jerome tells us that in the Book of Wisdom he did not revise the Old Latin Version. We find therefore that in Wisdom iv 19 the Old Latin and the Armenian Versions give to the word *πρηνής* the meaning for which I am contending in Acts i 18.

This piece of evidence may be interpreted in one of two ways. On the one hand, we may conclude that the two Versions are witnesses that generally the word *πρηνής* could bear the meaning 'swollen up'. On the other hand, we may suppose that the phrases *εἰς πτώμα ἄτιμον*, *εἰς ὕβριν ἐν νεκροῖς*, and *ῥήξει αὐτοὺς . . . πρηνεῖς* brought to the mind of the two translators, if indeed they were independent of each other, the death of Judas and the language of the Acts. In the latter case we have evidence not so much of the meaning of *πρηνής* in itself as of an early interpretation of *πρηνής* in Acts i 18.

¹ This verb is used in the Syriac rendering of Numbers v 21f, 27 in the three clauses which speak of the thigh *falling away*. It can refer to corruption either in a living or in a dead body (see Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* sub voce).

² The Syriac version of Wisdom iv 19 mistook *πρηνεῖς* for *πρίονες* and has 'soundless saws shall rend them'.

3. *Acta Thomae* c. 33. Among the strange adventures of the Apostle there is a chapter 'Concerning the dragon and the youth'. A dragon, who boasts that among others he had tempted Judas (c. 32), has slain a certain youth. He is compelled by St Thomas to suck the poison from the youth, and the dragon is in this way himself destroyed. The process is thus described: ὁ δὲ δράκων φυνθηθεὶς ἐλάκησε καὶ ἀπέθανε, καὶ ἐξεχύθη ὁ ὡς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χολή. That this passage is a reminiscence of Acts i 18 is clear from the words ἐλάκησε and ἐξεχύθη. Moreover, in the immediately succeeding context the Apostle bids the King to build houses on the spot where the dragon perished and was swallowed up, ἵνα οἰκῇσι γένηται τοῖς ξένοις—an allusion to Matt. xxvii 7 (εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις). We have already seen that φυνᾶσθαι is a non-technical synonym of the medical term πίμπρασθαι. The word φυνθηθεὶς, then, in this reminiscence of Acts i 18 takes the place of πρηγὴς γενόμενος and is an interpretation of the latter phrase. The *Acts of Thomas* is a growth of the soil of Asia Minor and belongs to the second century A.D. In this passage of the *Acta Thomae*, therefore, we have evidence that this interpretation of πρηγὴς γενόμενος goes back to very early times.

4. Apollinarius (whether of Hierapolis or of Laodicea). The fragment runs thus: οὐκ ἀπέθανε τῇ ἀγχόνῃ Ἰούδας, ἀλλ' ἐπεβίω καθαίρεθεὶς πρὸ τοῦ ἀποπνιγῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὅτι πρηγὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο δὲ σαφέστερον ἱστορεῖ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μαθητὴς λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῷ δ' τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν κυριακῶν λόγων Μέγα δὲ ἀσεβείας κτλ. It is not quite clear how Apollinarius interpreted the words of the Acts. But since the illustrative passage from Papias deals only with the horrible disease of which Judas died, and since Apollinarius describes Papias as 'narrating more clearly' what is recorded in the Acts, it seems to be a legitimate inference that Apollinarius understood St Luke's words to refer to a disease.

5. The letter of Athanasius to Serapion *de Morte Arii* (Migne *P.G.* xxv 688). In this letter Athanasius compares the death of the great heresiarch to the death of Judas. His words are these: ὁ δὲ Ἀρειος . . . εἰσῆλθεν εἰς θάκας ὡς διὰ χρεῖαν τῆς γαστροῦ καὶ ἐξαίφνης κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον πρηγὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος καὶ πεσὼν εὐθὺς ἀπέψυξεν. Arius died of some internal disease, a fuller account of which may be read in Socrates *H. E.* i 38 and in Sozomen *H. E.* ii 29; compare Epiphanius *Haer.* lxxviii 6. In the above passage it is possible to regard πεισὼν as taking up πρηγὴς γενόμενος with the meaning 'pronus factus' —'and when he had so fallen'. But it seems to me more natural to look on the sentence as a piece of straightforward narrative, in which the details are described in their order. If this be so, and if the nature of

the disease is taken into account, it is reasonable to conclude that Athanasius understood *πρηγής γενόμενος* as equivalent to *πρησθείς*.

6. Oecumenius and Theophylact. The former writer in the tenth century in his comment on Acts i 18 quotes by name the passage from Papias at length. The latter in the eleventh century, without mentioning Papias, refers in his comment on Matt. xxvii 5 to a legend that Judas had dropsy and then incorporates the phrase of Papias about the wagon.

7. Georgius Cedrenus. This writer, a Greek monk, compiled a history of the world from the Creation till 1057 A.D. He has the following story (Migne *P.G.* cxxi 384): *Ἰούδας μετὰ τὴν ἀγχόνην καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παρακαλούμενος καὶ νοθετούμενος πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἔλθειν καὶ μὴ πεισθεὶς, ἐπεὶ ἀνελήφθη ὁ Χριστός, ὡς ἤκουσεν, εὐθὺς ὀγκωθεὶς ἐλάκησε μέσος καὶ ἀπώλετο.* The words *ὀγκωθῆναι* and *ὄγκος* are medical terms; thus the title of one of Galen's treatises is *περὶ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν ὄγκων* ('on abnormal tumours'). Cedrenus has doubtless embedded in his narrative a gloss on Acts i 18 which had come down to him by tradition or which he had found in some earlier authority.

The story given by Cedrenus is noticed and refuted in a letter of Michael Glycas, a writer of Constantinople in the twelfth century (Migne *P.G.* clviii 904).

8. Euthymius Zigabenus. The commentary on St Matthew by Euthymius (a Greek monk of Constantinople early in the twelfth century) is a compilation of matter drawn from earlier writers. In the note on Matt. xxvii 5 (Migne *P.G.* cxxix 705) there is the following reference to Acts i 18: *αἷτα ἐν ἰδιάζοντι τύπῳ διέζησε καιρὸν ὀλίγον, καὶ πρηγής γενόμενος, αἶτ' οὖν πεπρησμένος, ἐξωγκωμένος, ἐλάκησε καὶ διερράγη μέσος.*

9. Zonaras. The Lexicon (ed. Tittmann) which bears the name of this Byzantine writer of the twelfth century has the following interpretation: *πρηγής γενόμενος· ἤγουν πεπρησμένος, ἐξωγκωμένος.* Tittmann was of opinion that this Lexicon is in reality a work used by Suidas, who lived apparently in the tenth century.

Euthymius and the Lexicon probably both derived this interpretation from some earlier authority or tradition.

To sum up: the evidence is of two kinds, internal and external. (1) The internal evidence: when the language of Acts i 18, especially the phrase *πρηγής γενόμενος* itself, is examined, there appears to be strong support for the position that *πρηγής* is not here used in the ordinary sense of 'pronus', but is a technical medical term denoting a disease and belonging to a family of words of which *πίμπρασθαι* (used by St Luke in Acts xxviii 6) is the most common. The use of such a term is quite in St Luke's manner. At the same time it was inevitable that *πρηγής* should be commonly taken here in its ordinary sense, especially since

with the word so interpreted it seemed easy to reconcile the narrative of St Luke with that of St Matthew xxvii 5. (2) The external evidence: the interpretation here suggested has the support of the Armenian Version and of the kindred Georgian Version. It is antecedently probable that the Armenian Version here depends on an Old Syriac text, and there is some evidence in Ephrem's Commentary on the *Diatessaron* that this was actually the case. This interpretation agrees with the tradition as to the death of Judas preserved by Papias, who possibly in the word *πρησθείς* is consciously giving an equivalent of the Lucan phrase *πρηγῆς γινόμενος*. The Old Latin and the Armenian renderings of *πρηγῆς* in Wisdom iv 19 supply evidence either that *πρηγῆς* bore the sense of 'swollen up' generally or that this was the significance attached to the word in Acts i 18. Further, this interpretation of *πρηγῆς* in the Acts is certainly supported by a passage in the *Acts of Thomas* and probably by a fragment of Apollinarius on the death of Judas and by Athanasius's account of the death of Arius. The evidence so far is early evidence; and it comes to us, it will be noticed, from quite different quarters. The same interpretation is explicitly given by three late authorities—Georgius Cedrenus, Euthymius Zigabenus, and the Lexicon of Zonaras—each of whom is probably incorporating some earlier authority or some earlier tradition as to the meaning of *πρηγῆς* in Acts i 18.

F. H. ELY.

RICHARD CROKE'S SEARCH FOR PATRISTIC MSS IN CONNEXION WITH THE DIVORCE OF CATHERINE.

De Richardi Croci (Iohannis Flandrensis) studiis Nazianzenicis.

REM, quod sciam, uiris doctis non satis notam aggredior, de Gregorii Nazianzeni epistulis, quasnam in Henrici VIII, Britanniae regis, nota illa causa egerint partes, pauca quaedam moniturus.

Cuius quaestionis fontem epistolae praebent codicis Cotton. Vitell. B. XIII (s. XVI), quarum argumenta potissimum in opere *Letters and Papers . . . of the Reign of Henry VIII* ed. Brewer, tom. iv 3 (London 1876) extant edita, atque codicis Arundelliani 151 (s. XVI), in quem, dicti operis auctoribus ignotum, cum Nazianzeni inuestigarem libros, forte fortuna incidi.¹

¹ Qui codex (in [T. Forshallii] libro *Catal. of MSS in the British Museum: New series* vol. I [London] 1834 descriptus) plurium Croci epistularum continet apographa, maximam partem ab ipso Hieronymo Ghinuccio (uide infra) confecta, quae tunc praecipue, cum codex Cottonianus, secretioribus epistularum notis obscurus aut foedis lacunis laesus, deficit, maximo nobis sunt auxilio.

Cum omnia Wolseii ipsius 'eiusque regis' frigerent consilia, neque quidquam Clementem VIII, Pontificem Maximum, inducere posset, ut regi Catharinam, quam, fratris morte uiduatam, uxorem duxit, matrimonio exigere permetteret, Cranmerus, ut uidetur,¹ auctor exstitit, ut proprio Marte ac nomine uirorum doctorum, si qui regi fauerent, colligerentur sententiae et praecipue SS. Patrum excuterentur opera ad grauem illam controuersiam disceptandam, utrum Deuteronomii² in hac causa adhibenda esset lex, an potius Leuitici,³ qui fratris [mortui] uxorem in matrimonium ducere prohiberet. Nam ea quae iam prius a Wolseio collecta erant sententiarum 'magna uolumina' ad Pontificis Maximi tantum iura pertinebant interpretanda.⁴ Rex, quem propria 'conscientia' ne somnum quidem capere sinebat,⁵ grato animo hoc consilium est amplexus, utpote homo eruditus,⁶ quin etiam ipse theologi cuiusdam opusculi⁷ auctor.

Itaque anno 1529 missus est hoc consilio in Italiam Richardus Crocus (Croke),⁸ uir Graece et Latine eximie doctus, qui cum Lutetiae Parisiorum antiquarum litterarum studiis in scholis Gulielmi Budaei et Hieronymi Aleandri⁹ operam dedisset, in Academia Lipsiensi (a. 1514 et 1515-1517) et Cantabrigiensi (inde ab a. 1517) Graecae linguae exstitit sospitator,¹⁰ tunc autem Richmondiae Ducis erat informa-

¹ J. A. Froude *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey* i, London 1875, pp. 267-269; H. A. L. Fisher *The Political History of England*, London, New York, Bombay 1906, v, pp. 287-288.

² *Vet. Test. Gr.*, ed. Jager, Paris, Didot, 1839, p. 296: 'Ἐὰν δὲ κατοικῶσιν ἀδελφοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν, σπέρμα δὲ μὴ ᾗ αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔσται ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἔξω ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι· ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ λήψεται αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ γυναῖκα καὶ συνοικήσει αὐτῇ.

³ *Vet. Test. Gr.* l.l. p. 177 (18, 16): 'Ἀσχημοσύνην γυναῖκος ἀδελφοῦ σου οὐκ ἀποκαλύψεις· ἀσχημοσύνη ἀδελφοῦ σου ἐστίν.

⁴ Brewer l.l. *Intro.* pp. 258, 267.

⁵ Brewer l.l. *Ep.* 3140, 3643, 3644, 6111; cf. *Intro.* pp. 222-223.

⁶ Cf. ex. gr. Brewer l.l. *Ep.* 3261, 6111.

⁷ *Libellus regius (Assertio septem Sacramentorum) aduersus Martinum Lutherum haeresiarcham. Epistola regia ad illustrissimos Saxoniae duces pia admonitoria.* (Apuđ Londinium 1521.)

⁸ Fisher l.l.; Burnet *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, iii, Oxford 1865, p. 152.

⁹ Qui uir doctus postea Bibliothecae Vaticanae praefectus (cf. infra), deinde episcopus (v. Brewer *Ep.* 6159) atque etiam cardinalis est factus; v. A. Mai *Spicil. Rom.* ii (1839) pp. 231-233; G. Przychocki *Watykańskie rękopisy listów św. Grzegorza z Nazjanzu (De Gregorii Nazianzeni epistularum codicibus Vaticanis)*, 'Eos' xvi (1910) p. 101 adn.

¹⁰ Specimen litteraturae Lipsicae, seculo xvi, in quo de Richardo Croco Britanno, Graecarum litterarum in Academia Lipsica instauratore, exponitur . . . praemissum a Iohanne Gottlob Boehmio, Lipsiae 1761, pp. iv-xvi; Hager ap. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* i-xxx, London 1893, October term, 1882, November 2, pp. 33-35. Richardi Croci opera nota sunt haec: *Ausonii editio*, 1515; *Theodori*

tor et magister.¹ Iter Italicum ingrediens, praeceptis est instructus Iohan. Stokesleii, episcopi Londinensis, qui cum ei auctores proponeret examinandos, *Nazianzeni* praecipue iussit quaerere² et perscrutari *epistulas*, nam caeca 'quadam recordatione earum aliquam *regis causae admodum aptam et commodam esse credebat*.³ Quo munere affectus Crocus, qui iam die 19 Decembris Bononiae erat et primum Patauinas et Veneticas bibliothecas inspicere, dein autem Romam proficisci in animo habebat,⁴ omne fere tempus Venetiis in libris euoluendis consumpsit. Quae non tam iucunda ei euenit prouincia, nam non solum omnium bibliothecarum ac praecipue Marcianae⁵ difficillimos aditus, sed etiam complurium hominum, qui Pontificis Maximi partibus fauerent, adeo infestos inuenit animos, ut, ne regis cognosceretur minister, Iohannis Flandrensis nomen sibi imponere debuerit.⁶ Accedebat, quod etiam cum Iohannis Casalis, oratoris regii,⁷ decertandum ei erat inuidia ac similitate.⁸ Hic enim, ut Croco inueniendae epistulae laudem praeriperet, nihil sibi praetereundum duxit, quo eum ad rem perficiendam impediret; ueluti, si Croco fides, adulterinum ei obtulit Marcianae bibliothecae catalogum, in quo Gregorianos codices de industria omisisset.⁹ Attamen patricii cuiusdam Veneti, Georgii Francisci (quem summis extollit laudibus atque saepius regiae commendat liberalitati), eiusque nepotis uiri docti Domitii Treuisani opera, Crocus non solum uerum Marcianae bibliothecae impetrauit indicem, e quo duos Gregorianarum epistularum codices in hac bibliotheca exstare comperit,¹⁰ sed mox etiam ipsius bibliothecae adeundae copiam est adeptus. Nam licet etiam die 6 Ianuarii conqueratur 'de bibliotheca publica Veneta nihil possum impetrare, nec scio quorum medio ducem et senatum

[*Gazaui*] *libri IV editio*, Lipsiae 1516; M. R. Croci Londoniensis *Tabulae, Graecae litteras compendio discere cupientibus sane quam utiles* . . ., Lipsiae 1516; *Orationes Rich. Croci duae, altera a cura, qua utilitatem laudemque Graecae linguae tractat, altera a tempore, qua hortatus est Cantabrigienses, ne desertores essent eiusdem* 1520.

¹ Brewer *Ep.* 4562.

² Nondum enim omnes erant editae, cum editio princeps, anno 1528 confecta (*Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazianzeni Theologorum Epistulae Graecae, numquam antea editae. Opus plane sanctum et theologicum*. Haganoae per Ioh. Sec[erium]), 57 tantum Gregorianas contineret epistulas. Tunc tamen, ne haec quidem editio uiris doctis, de quibus agitur, nota fuisse uidetur, nam Aldinam tantum commemorant Graecarum epistularum editionem. (*Epistolae diversae philosophorum*, etc. . . . Venetiis apud Aldum . . . M I D. V. Brewer *Ep.* 6178 et Aldinae editionis praefationem. Cf. praeterea Brewer *Ep.* 6192.)

³ Brewer *Ep.* 6105, 6149, 6165, 6192, 6205, 6229, 6251.

⁴ Brewer *Ep.* 6161.

⁵ Brewer *Ep.* 6140.

⁶ Brewer *Ep.* 6168.

⁷ Burnet l.l. pp. 152-153.

⁸ Casalis peruersitatem passim conqueritur Crocus, sed uideas praecipue apud Brewerum *Epp.* 6229, 6235, 6236.

⁹ Brewer *Ep.* 6174, 6236.

¹⁰ Brewer *Ep.* 6165, 6168, 6173, 6192, 6197, 6229, 6235, 6280.

Venetum ea de re sollicitarem',¹ iam die 28 eiusdem mensis haec scribit :

'Hodie fuimus apud Sanctum Marcum et in ipsa bibliotheca *capsas nonnullas* et in eis *graecorum plenam quandam invenimus*, in qua multa erant graeca egregia opera tum oratorum, tum vero Philonis et Chrysostomi et Dionysii. Invenimus etiam *librum epistolarum graecarum* maximum volumen, sed auctoris nomen extritum, cum indagaremus (?) eum, reddidit nos dubios utrum Basilii an Nazianzeni ; fuisse Basilii, nam erant ad monachos aliquot epistolae.'²

Quid, si non ita multo post, etiam ut domum libros examinandos acciperet, impetravit?

'Heri [die 3 Febr.], opera patris Francisci domi permittebantur Canones conciliorum cum commentis in Graeco . . . postremo *Nazianzeni epistolarum volumina*, sed pulchrum illud cum Basilii epistolis, de quo antea scripsi [Brewer *Ep.* 6173], heri non erat in capsâ, ubi id reliqueram. Policiti sunt procuratores, habiturum me ubi istos restituero.'³

Sed Crocus ne ceteras quidem, quae hoc tempore Venetiis extabant, praetermisit bibliothecas : etenim priusquam ipsam Marcianam inspexit, iam eiusdem Francisci Georgii auxilio SS. Iohannis et Pauli peruestigavit bibliothecam,⁴ de qua die 6 Ian. haec scripsit : 'Inueni etiam in Bibliotheca Iohannis et Pauli Nazianzenum sed non epistolas, inueni etiam Basilii epistolas.'⁵ Attamen postea, ut ex alia quadam epistula, die 2 Martii scripta,⁶ elucet, 'antiquissimum Gregorii Nazianzeni epistularum' hic inuenit 'codicem'. Cuius bibliothecae libri anno 1789 in Marcianam sunt delati,⁷ sed in Castellani catalogo, qui libros m. s. post annum 1740 illatos recenset,⁸ nullus nunc SS. Iohannis et Pauli commemoratur codex, qui Gregorii Nazianzeni contineat epistulas. At etiam a. 1740 Dominicus M. Berardelli huius bibliothecae codicem quendam n. LXI signatum, chartaceum, s. circa XIII, his uerbis

¹ Brewer *Ep.* 6140 = cod. Arund. 151 fol. 144^a-145^a. Cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6168.

² Haec ex optime seruato codicis Arundelliani (fol. 164-165) apographo attuli, cum in codice Cottoniano et ipsa Croci epistula (Brewer *Ep.* 6156) et eius apographum, notis secretis conscriptum (Brewer *Ep.* 6173), permultas exhiberent lacunas. Cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6165.

³ Quae ex ipso codice Cottoniano (fol. 32^b) deprompsi, nam apud Brewerum (*Ep.* 6197) argumentum solum exstat anglie conscriptum. Cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6165, 6192, 6238.

⁴ Brewer *Ep.* 6192, 6229. De hac quoque bibliotheca libros domi legendos accepit. V. Brewer *Ep.* 6149.

⁵ Brewer *Ep.* 6140, cf. supra adn. 1.

⁶ Brewer *Ep.* 6250.

⁷ T. Valentinelli *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*. Cod. MS Latini I Venetiis 1868, c. xiii pp. 96, 98 sq.

⁸ C. Castellani *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum, qui in bibliothecam D. Marci Venetiarum inde ab anno MDCCXL ad haec usque tempora inlati sunt*. Venetiis 1895.

describit: 'Nazianzeni (S. Gregorii) Epistolae 147, Galeni de diebus criticis, *περὶ κρίσεων*'¹; quem librum, ut ipse Berardellius adnotat, etiam *Montefalconius* (a. 1702) in Diario Italico (p. 47) commemoravit: 'Codex XII saeculi. Epistolae Gregorii Nazianzeni et quaedam Basilii.' (Cf. *Bibl. Bibl.* i 478.) Ad eundem fortasse librum, cum inter omnes constet illius aetatis in codicibus describendis indiligentia, ea pertinent, quae apud Tomasinium (a. 1650)² de quodam eiusdem bibliothecae codice Graeco prolata inuenies: 'Theodori *περὶ ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου* . . . Georgii Gemistii de uirtute . . . Basilii et aliorum epistolae, Galenus de diebus criticis.' Ex iis autem, quae hic de Theodori [Gazaei] et Georgii Gemistii [Plethonis] operibus sunt dicta, non sine aliqua probabilitate conici potest hunc esse illum librum m. s. quem, ipsius Croci aetate (s. XVI) exaratum, commemorat codex Vaticanus gr. 2240 (Column. 79), ubi ad f. 56^a haec leguntur: *ἐκλογὴ βιβλίων τῶν παρ' ἐνέταις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἰωάννῃ καὶ πῶλου τῶν ἀγίων* . . . *Θεοδώρου τοῦ γαζῆ συγγράμματα μετὰ τῶν γεωργίου τοῦ πλῆθωνος*.³ Etiam S. Antonii bibliothecam eodem Francisco Gregorio intercedente Crocus inspexit⁴; quae bibliotheca a *Grimaniorum* familia condita erat (Tomasini l. l. p. 1) ad eamque sine dubio referenda sunt, quae in Croci epistula, die 4 Febr. ad Ghinuccium episcopum Wigornensem⁵ scripta, leguntur: 'Iam audio non a protonotario solo, sed etiam a pluribus aliis fide dignis, habere Cardinalem Grimanum et *epistolas Nazianzeni omnes* et Basilii et concilia omnia graeca cum epistolis et decretis et canonibus hic Venetiis.'⁶ Codicum tamen, qui in hac bibliotheca asservabantur obscura prorsus sunt fata, nam a. 1687 Bibliotheca tristi incendio est consumpta, neque ullum librum seruatum esse Castellanius contendit (l. l. p. 44 adn.). At tamen *Leo Dorez*, ignotis quibusdam documentis innisus, sane probabilem protulit opinionem plures huius bibliothecae codices aut ipso incendii tempore aut iam prius surreptos esse eoque modo in alias bibliothecas atque in ipsam Marcianam peruenisse.⁷ Quibus liceat mihi adicere aliud quoddam, a *Morellio* adhibitum testimonium, e quo, ut opinor, eluceat partem saltem eorum librorum in Marcianam bibliothecam re uera transisse: 'Poco dopo [intellege past annum 1589]

¹ Dominicus Maria Berardelli, 'Codicum omnium Graecorum . . . qui manuscripti in bibliotheca S. Iohannis et Pauli . . . asservantur, catalogus' ap. *Nuova Raccolta d' opuscoli scientifici e filologici* t. XX (1740) fol. K. 5.

² L. Ph. Tomasini *Bibliothecae Venetae manuscriptae* . . . Utini 1650, 'Bibliotheca SS. Ioannis et Pauli' pp. 22-23.

³ Heiberg *Philol.* 55 (1896) p. 746 sq.

⁴ Brewer *Ep.* 6174.

⁵ Qui erat regius orator Romae, atque omnium Henrici VIII ministrorum quodammodo magister ac princeps, ut ex his omnibus epistulis elucet.

⁶ Brewer *Ep.* 6197, cf. supra p. 288 adn. 3.

⁷ *Revue Critique* 30 (1896) p. 91-92.

secondo un Decreto del Senato 1636. 24 Nov. *lasciò Libri alla Repubblica anche il Patriarca d'Aquileja Giovanni Grimani*, da cui ebbe il Pubblico Museo gran parte d' Anticaglie : ma più chiara notizia non ritrovo, che dia conferma a questo fatto.¹ Qua re efficitur, ut etiam huius bibliothecae libros, etsi a Castellanio (l. l.) non designatos, in Marciana liceat quaerere. De illis autem codicibus, quos, ut suspicor, Crocus, Gregorianas quaerens epistulas, legisse potuerit, tres praecipue apud Tomasinium (l. l.) uideas :—

- 'p. 16 Pluteus XVII Epistulae Graecae Patrum f. m.
 p. 17 „ XXI Gregorius Nazianzenus 4 m.
 p. 18 , XXIII Epistulae Anonymi 4 ch.'²

Patauinam denique Crocus inspexit S. Iustinae bibliothecam, in qua tamen Nazianzeni orationes solas inuenit, non epistulas.³

Iam uideamus quae Crocus his omnibus bibliothecis et codicibus excussis eruerit et quatenus munus sibi delatum praestiterit : Gregorianam quidem epistulam, quam ita comparatam habere uoluit Stokesleius ut regis causam adiuuaret, etsi tantos subiit labores, non inuenit ; et profecto inuenire non poterat hanc solam ob causam, quod eiusmodi epistula Gregoriana omnino nulla est. Quid, si in eius epistulis, ad aliquod matrimonium pertinentibus (*Epp.* 144, 145, 193, 230, 231, 232), nonnulla extant eis, quae Stokesleius moliebatur, prorsus contraria, ueluti in *Ep.* 144, ubi expressis uerbis haec dicuntur : 'Εγὼ δὲ ἡδιστα ἂν γνώμην ἔδωκα . . . ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κυρῶσαι τὸ ἀποστάσιον, ὃ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀπαρέσκει πάντως νόμοις, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἑτέρως κρίνωσι (Migne *P. Gr.* 37, col. 245, 248)? Itaque non mirabimur, quod apud regios ministros orta sit suspicio, huic quaestioni fortasse errorem quandam Stokesleii⁴ subesse, praesertim cum I. Casalis eiusmodi epistulam se non inter Gregorianas, sed inter Basilianas legisse praedicaret.⁵ Nunc igitur Crocus omne studium ad Basilianas epistulas examinandas conuertit et breui epistulam illam, in qua totius causae cardo uertebatur, *Basilii epistulam* 199 (Migne, l. l. 32, col. 724 A), re uera inuenit. Haec enim legas, quae ex Croci epistula, die 18 Febr. (?) ad regem missa excerpti :—

'Basilius ille Neocaesariensis, Invictissime et potentissime princeps, qui ob eximiam religionem et pietatem et magnus et sanctus non immerito dictus est, in libro ad Amphilochem episcopum ita graece

¹ I. Morelli *Della Pubblica Libreria di S. Marco in Venezia Dissertazione storica*, Venezia 1774, pp. xxxviii-xl, iii.

² V. praeterea de hac bibliotheca : Blume *It. Ital.* p. 225.

³ Brewer *Ep.* 6149; 6168 (p. 2756), cf. I. Ph. Tomasini *Bibl. Patavinae MSS*, Utini 1639, pp. 44, xi-xii.

⁴ Brewer *Ep.* 6170, cf. *Ep.* 6159.

⁵ Brewer *Ep.* 6194, 6174.

scriptum reliquit : περί τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν, ἡ ἀδελφοῖς δύο γαμουμένω[ν] ἐπιστολιδίων ἡμῶν ἐκπεφώνη[αι], οὐ τὸ ἀντίγραφον [ἐπεστεί]λαμεν σοῦ τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ· ὁ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ ἰδίου γυναικα λαβὼν οὐ πρότερον [δεχθῆ]σεται, πρὶν ἀποστῆναι αὐτῆς. Hoc est : “de iis, qui duas sorores duxere, aut [duobus] fratribus nupsere epistolula a nobis edita est, cuius adversarias misi ad pietatem tuam. Ceterum qui proprii fratris uxorem duxerit, non prius admittatur in fidelium communionem, quam ab ea fuerit separatus.” Ex quibus verbis non temere divino (*sic*) hanc esse illam, quam nos tantopere quaerimus et lapsus memoria Stokesleium Nazianzeno ascripsisse, quod era[t] Basilii. Eam igitur ad maiestatem tuam mittimus . . .’

Dein Franciscum Gregorium laudare pergit :—

‘Hic solus . . . hic Antonianam bibliothecam mihi aperuit. Hic Antonianae et Marcianae indices veros, sine quibus ficticium illum orat[oris] tui numquam deprehendissemus, mihi tradidit describendos. Hic domino Dominico Tr[evisano] nepoti suo, homini graece et latine exacte docto persuasit, ut sua fide et nomine primum quidem ex Iohannis et Pauli deinde ex Sancti Marci Bibliotheca libros desumeret, quos domi meae perlegendos permetteret. *Et hi sunt illi* [venerandae?] antiquitatis *graeci libri, in quibus epistolam tam diu nobis quaesitam inveni[mus]*.’¹

Quibus tamen Crocus minime sibi acquiescendum esse putavit et, ut quaestioni omnem adimeret scrupulum, iterum et saepius Gregorianas uersavit epistulas ; tunc etiam unam et alteram, si quae omnino ad matrimonium referri poterat, ad Ghinuccium mittebat, ut ex eius litteris ad Stokesleium datis elucet :—

‘Superioribus his diebus ad te misi epistulam Basilii, quam tu as[crisisti] Nazianzeno. Evolvi autem Nazianzeni epistulas omnes, nec aliquam inveni, quae utcunque ad nostrum negotium vel suspicione posset trahi, praeter duas, quas quamvis huc videantur nihil pertinere, ut ne indiligentem in evolvendis libris putes, descriptas ad episcopum misi.’²

Atque huc pertinet ex c. Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 232, quam primo miserrime mutilatam, dein integram inuenit, ut ipse dicit :—

‘Legimus epistulas Nazianzeni omnes et nihil in his, quos habemus, libris invenimus, sed in altero antiquissimo S. Iohannis et Pauli invenimus epistulam integram, cuius mancā partem misimus, scriptamque eam ad *Dioclem*, non quod putabamus ad *Amphilochium*.’³ Nec ulla in omnibus istis Nazianzeni praeter hanc et alteram, quae ulla suspicione

¹ Cod. Cotton, fol. 47 (48)^a. Apud Brewerum (*Ep.* 6229) argumentum solum inuenitur.

² Cod. Cotton, fol. 58, Brewer *Ep.* 6251.

³ De Gregorii Nazianzeni epistula 232 agitur, cuius fragmentum in litteris die 22. Febr. ad Ghinuccium datis laudavit, V. Brewer *Ep.* 6239.

ad nuptias trahi possent, et eas quamquam nihil ad rem facientes, ut ne tamen videamur fuisse indiligentes, mi[ttimus].'¹

Iam igitur ad certum erat redactum *Basilianam solam, quae huc faceret, esse epistolam*.

Alia nunc oritur quaestio nondum profligata, *utrum Crocus Romae reuera fuerit*, id quod principio in animo habebat (u. supra), necne.² Atque primum est, quod moneamus, omnino non uideri uerisimile, ut Crocus, Henrici VIII minister, Pontificis Maximi, qui omnia regis nouerat consilia,³ bibliothecam adire, nedum excutere potuerit, etiamsi Poenitentiarium illud officium adeptus fuisset.⁴ Et profecto in nulla epistula Croci, Ghinuccii aut aliorum, qui huic causae operam dabant, testimonium aliquod inuenimus eiusmodi, ut eo innisi Crocum aliquando Romae fuisse ac bibliothecam Vaticanam inspexisse credamus; quin contra his epistulis perlectis, pro explorato necesse est habeamus Crocum ipsum breui sibi persuasisse nullam in Vaticana bibliotheca spem poni debere. Quae Croci sententia luculentissime apparet ex Ghinuccii quadam epistula ad regem missa, quam in breuiorem formam redactam—cum etiam ad Vaticanae bibliothecae historiam non sine momento uideatur esse—ex codice Arundelliano⁵ afferro:—

'Scribit Crocus ex Venetiis valde longas litteras, datas 10. octavo Ianuarii⁶; quod ad rem attinet in substantia est inuenisse se Venetiis *Bibliothecarium Papae* [Hieronymum Aleandrum]⁷ ab eoque intellexisse *perdita Romae ultra quadringenta volumina graeca*⁸ et non esse ad praesens in *Bibliotheca librum illum Nazianzeni, quem quaerimus*, sed iactare apud se totum esse Nazianzenum licet non ibi sed in Apulia; item dictum sibi fuisse a quodam Valeriano Burgomense [Bergamo]⁹ uiro docto, esse apud episcopum Theatinum [Chieti]¹⁰ ibi existentem

¹ Cod. Cotton. fol. 57 (58)^a. Quae a Brewero (*Ep.* 6150) perperam sunt intellecta.

² Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 10 s.u. 'Croke Richard' et *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* iv, Leipzig 1876, pp. 602–604 (Horawitz).

³ Brewer *Ep.* 6108, p. 2757.

⁴ Cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6105.

⁵ In fol. 158^a–160^a ea exstant, quae ad Crocum pertinent, Ghinuccii manu ut uidetur scripta, prius quam ea notis secretioribus condidit; quae recensio lectu difficilis et multis lacunis foeda apud Breweros (l.l. *Ep.* 6168) exstat.

⁶ Brewer *Ep.* 6149.

⁷ V. supra p. 286, cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6149, 6150.

⁸ Cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6149, 6150. Quae ad famosam illam urbis Romae occupationem (anni 1527) quae *sacco di Roma* dicta est, sine dubio sunt referenda. Attamen de '400 libris omissis' neque E. J. Vogel *Gesch. d. Vaticana seit d. Zeit Sixtus IV. bis z. J. 1600* (*Serapeum* vii, 1846), pp. 289 sq., neque E. Müntz *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVI^e siècle* (*Petite Bibl. d'art et d'archéol.* Paris 1886), ulla faciunt mentionem, Fr. Blume autem (*Iter. Ital.* pp. 271–272) Vaticanam Bibliothecam in hac calamitate exiguo aut omnino nullo damno affectam esse asseuerat.

⁹ Non 'Burgi . . .' ut Brewer in suo codice se legisse putat; cf. *Ep.* 6193, 6149.

¹⁰ I. Petrum Carafam dicit, qui postea Pontifex Maximus Paulus IV factus est, hoc autem tempore, post urbem captam, Venetiis erat. Cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6150, 6173.

non solum Nazianzenum, sed etiam Maximum Planudem et Crisostomum et rapsodias multorum commentariorum in utrumque Testamentum et fere omnes libros quos *dominus Stoksleyus ex mandato maiestatis vestrae dixit sibi esse legendos* . . . petiit etiam a me consilium, utrum deberet ulterius ibi manere . . . ego autem ad eum sc[ri]p[si], quod mihi videbatur eum debere ibi manere, donec speraret posse cau[sae] maiestatis vestrae prodesse, *nam Romae non videtur esse tantas spes [ut spera]bamus* . . .'

Atque iam die 2 Febr. ipse Crocus haec scripsit:—

' . . . Iam certum est hic libros omnes illos esse, quos mihi Romae legendos praescripsit Stoxleius, et Nazianzeni epistulas illas, quas nos maxime cupimus; et *Romae non esse* et hic esse a fide dignis . . . accepimus.' ¹

Cum denique ex posterioribus Croci epistulis aperte eluceat eum de Vaticana Bibliotheca, cuius custos Aleander regi esset inimicissimus, prorsus desperavisse,² atque idem Crocus in alia quadam epistula a rege petat, ut se Venetiis in Germaniam mittat,³ proclivis est coniectura Crocum epistula illa Venetiis inuenta iam de Roma nihil curavisse et breui alio quodam munere esse affectum. Adde, quod non ita multo post ipsa regis causa iam peracta erat.

Ultima autem epistula, quam in hac causa ex Italia misit Crocus (Brewer *Ep.* 6745), Venetiis est scripta et postea, anno demum 1532, eum deprehendimus, Oxoniensem professorem, regis libellum de suo diuortio conscriptum⁴ summis efferentem laudibus.⁵

At ex bibliotheca Vaticana est depromptum opusculum quoddam Graecum, quod in cod. Arundelliano 151 asservatur (fol. 187^a, 188^b) atque his lemmatibus est instructum: 'Ex publica bibliotheca pontificis ex libro, qui inscribitur Collecta B. Gregorii Nazianzeni in fine tertii banchi supra.' Et paulo infra: '*Epistula inventa in libro Gregorii Nazianzeni* in bibliotheca pontificis in tertio banco.' Huc sine dubio pertinet Ghinuccii epistula, cuius argumentum in eodem codice Arundell. (fol. 183^a, 184^a) asservatur: 'Excerpta ex litteris Domini Wigorniensis die vii Februarii Bononiae datis.' Cum epistula ipsa apud Brewerum

Eius libri autem in Vaticanam bibliothecam postea sunt delati. Cf. V. Gardthausen *Sammlungen u. Cataloge griech. Hss.*, Leipzig 1903 [Byz. Archiv. 3], p. 44.

¹ Cod. Cotton. fol. 296, cf. Brewer *Ep.* 6192.

² Brewer *Ep.* 6280 (21 Mart.) p. 2823; 6354 (23 Apr.). Quod hic (p. 2853) apud Brewerum 'Alexander' pro 'Aleander' legitur, merus error est.

³ Cod. Cotton. fol. 49^b (50^a) haec a Croco scripta habet: ' . . . Si regi placet et videtur mihi non posse melius facere, quam si amicos quidem parandos huic patri [Francisco Gregorio], libros graecos evolvendo[s] Dominico Trevisano eius nepoti [i]n regem propter litteras (?) optime fideliterque affecto (?), graece praeterea exacte docto, committeret et nos in Germaniam ad parandos illos amicos mitteret.'

⁴ *A glass of the truths* [London 1531].

⁵ Brewer l.l. vol. v *Ep.* 1338, cf. *Ep.* 1320 et 1180.

ex cod. Cottoniano edita (ep. 6205) admodum sit mutilata, haec uelim legas e codice Arundelliano descripta :—

‘ Mittit [Ghinuccium intellege] copiam quorundam scriptorum Graecorum ex quodam volumine Gregorii Nazianzeni *ex bibliotheca pontificis et ex illo banco, quod dixerat Dominus Stokleus, in quo libro est illa epistula, quae quaerebatur.* Et unus Graecus dixit, quod dicta scripta non continebant quae quaerebamus, tamen quod faciunt aliquid contra adversarios nostros, sed tutius istic, quam hic veritas epistulae interpretabitur [!], cuius etiam exemplum misi ad dominum Crocum.’

Quae tamen noua et sane mira ‘epistula’¹ e duobus constat capitibus : *Ἑπαινοὶ γυναικῶν* et *Ἑπαινοὶ ἀνδρῶς καὶ γυναικὸς ὁμοζύγων*, atque accuratius examinata non nisi *cento quidam e Gregorii Nazianzeni orationibus conflatus* apparet. Nam haec uelim uideas, quae ex. c. ex ipso principio profero : *Εἰς δύο ταῦτα διηρημένον πασι τοῦ βίου . . . δημιουργεῖται πρὸς ἀρετὴν = Or. 8 (Migne P.G. xxxv) col. 797 A-B + Οὐ χροσὸς ἐκείνην ἐκόσμησεν . . . καὶ ὄνειδος τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι = Or. eadem l. l. col. 800 B-801 A + Ἐκείνη μὲν ἄλλων γυναικῶν κάλλει . . . δι’ ἀλλήλων κρατύνονσα = Or. 18 (Migne *ibid.*) col. 993 C-996 A + καὶ οὐ τὰ μὲν τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας τοιαῦτα . . . τῶν γενναιωτάτων ἀνδρικώτερα = Or. 8, col. 804 B-C, et q. s.*

Quid si etiam codicem Vaticanum, e quo haec essent descripta, inuenisse contigit? Hic est *codex Vat. 485* s. xiii, qui titulo ‘Collecta B. Gregorii Nazianzeni et Maximi’ denotatus, *Anthologiam* continet *Gregorianam*, in qua (in capitibus *vē-vz*, pl. 88^b-90^b) eadem prorsus atque in codice Arundelliano extant.² Itaque uides nescioquem—caue ne Crocum putes—lucri fortasse faciendi studio ductum, haec ex libro Vaticano excerpisse atque iis, qui Gregorianas quaerent epistulas, pro uera Nazianzeni epistula obtrusisse, aut saltem obtrudere studuisse.

¹ Cf. [Forshall, J.] *Catal. of MSS in the Brit. Mus.* New series [London] vol. i : The Arundel MSS 1834, p. 40 : ‘*De hoc opusculo nihil traditur in editione operum Gregorii Nazianzeni* Parisiis impressa a. 1788 studio Monachorum S. Mauri.’ Minime mirum id quidem.

² De hoc codice aliisque duobus a me examinatis, qui eandem contineant *Anthologiam*, u. Przychocki *Eos* xvi (1910) pp. 109-114 (cf. supra, p. 286 adn. 9). Cum autem reliqui duo codices (Pii II 7, Vat. gr. 484) posteriore demum saeculi xvi dimidio essent exarati, codicis Vat. 485 solius hic rationem esse habendam suspicabar. Quam coniecturam Monsignor I. Mercati, a me rogatus, ut est eximia comitate, per litteras ad me missas ad certum redegit. Qui uir doctus praeterea hunc codicem a Sixti IV temporibus (1471-1484) re uera ‘in tertio banco’ fuisse asseruatum benigne me docuit. Aperte autem conspirant, quae de Platina, Sixti IV Bibliothecario, in libro *Acta litteraria ex manuscriptis eruta atque collecta cura Burcardi Gotthelfii Struvii* fasc. IV, Ienae 1706, p. 10, sunt dicta : ‘*Dividit Platina libros secundum banca sive repositoria, ita, ut primum bancum contineat Biblia . . . tertium alia adhuc Augustini, Ambrogii, B. Gregorii. . .*’

Quae omnia autem luculenter demonstrant, quanta etiam hac aetate Gregorii Nazianzeni fuerit auctoritas, ut in hoc tam graui discrimine ad eius praecipue opera uiri docti prouocauerint.

GUSTAVUS PRZYCHOCKI.

Scribebam in uico *Gromnik*.

ORIGEN'S COMMENTS ON THE APOCALYPSE.

It was only in July last that a Greek scholar of the University of Athens, M. Diobouniotis, sent to Dr Harnack the copy of a text of a considerable part of the Apocalypse accompanied by the comments of some early patristic writer whom he was not able to identify. The copy was taken from a tenth-century manuscript in the monastery of Meteoron, which had already yielded a work of Hippolytus, 'On the blessings of Jacob.' Harnack at once recognized this new commentary as the work of Origen, with the exception of the last two comments which were extracts from Irenaeus known to us hitherto for the most part in Latin only. With characteristic speed Harnack produced an *editio princeps* which was in our hands before the middle of December.¹ Students of Origen, and students of the text of the Apocalypse, must of necessity read this little tract for themselves; so that I shall not take up space by any further description of its contents. I only ask leave to make a few emendations of a text, which, notwithstanding the excellent work that Harnack has done upon it, still challenges the corrector.

1. *Scholion* xi (p. 26) l. 6. This sentence is quite right as it stands. It means: Perhaps his perplexity arises from thinking of ordinary death; whereas what has been said above as to 'the second death' may fairly be applied, if need be, to an angel.

2. xiv l. 4. A full stop is required after *κεκυμμένον*. Then the words *καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινόν* are in place as a new *lemma*.

3. xx l. 8. Harnack prints *διὸ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει τὰ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου, οὐκ ἐτι ἐφεξῆς τὰ λοιπὰ φυλαχθῆναι χώραν ἔχοντα*. The codex has *οὐκ ἐτι φυ ἵφεξεις τα λοιπα λαχθηναι*. Harnack has accepted the ingenious correction offered by Diobouniotis; but he adds 'at locus nondum sanus est'. It seems quite clear that in the archetype a line

¹ Der Scholien-Kommentar des Origenes zur Apokalypse Johannis, nebst einem Stück aus Irenaeus, Lib. v, Graece, entdeckt und herausgegeben von Constantin Diobouniotis und Adolf Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 1911).

with $\phi\tau$, and the next line begins with λαχθῆναι. The gloss *ὡς αὖτε λατρεύει* was written in the margin after $\phi\tau$. and has become part of the text. We have only to omit it in order to get perfectly good sense. But I cannot account for the gloss.

4. ΠΤΥ Λ 12. Immediately following this *ἀνάλογον* comes another, which Harnack prints as a footnote, thus: 'Post cap. xxiv Scholion (στ.) ἀνεκρίθη:—

Ὁ οὖν πᾶντος ἀκούει ἐστὶν ἐπιστημονικὰ λόγωντος [cod. λέγων] ὡς [cod. ἢ] μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἠθροσμένου [cod. ἠθροσμένοι]. οὗτος οὖν πᾶντος ἐστὶν ἀκούει τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς [cod. ἢ] μόνου τοῦ πνευματικόν [cod. πνευματικῶς] ἔχοντος [cod. ἔχοντος] ὥτιον προστεθειμένον αὐτῷ [?] *θεῖον κατὰ τὸ λεχθῆν προσέθηκε μοι ὥτιον τοῦ ἀκούει* [Jes. 15]. τὸ γὰρ τῆς αὐθιγῆτος τῆς ἀκουστικῆς ὀργάνου καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἔχουσι, μόνων [cod. μόνων] τῶν κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα σοφῶν ἔχοντων τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ὥτιον, περὶ οὗ ὁ σωτὴρ πληθυντικῶς εἶπεν· ὁ ἔχων ὡς ἀκούει ἀκούει [Matt. xi 15].'

On this astonishing note ('höchst merkwürdige Bemerkung') Harnack's comment is even more astonishing. It cannot, he says, refer to the writer of the Apocalypse, but only to the writer of the commentary; and it is certainly not from the pen of the latest scribe (for he it seems did not know who the commentator was), but from some earlier reader of the commentary. So exceptional a praise of the commentator, as the one only interpreter who has an ear for the things of the Spirit, can hardly refer to any one but Origen, and can hardly have been written by any but one of his early admirers—say Pamphilus, by preference, or perhaps Eusebius!

I venture to suggest a much less interesting—indeed a most prosaic—interpretation of the passage; re-writing it in closer accord with the text of the manuscript, and regarding it as a characteristic comment of Origen on the last clause of the short section (Apoc. iii 21, 22) with which he has just been dealing; namely on the words 'Ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.

Ὡς οὖν παντὸς ἀκούει ἐστὶν ἐπιστημονικῶν λόγων, ἢ μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰθισμένου· οὕτως οὖν παντὸς ἐστὶν ἀκούειν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἢ μόνου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, ἔχοντος ὥτιον προστεθειμένον αὐτῷ· θεοῦθεν κατὰ τὸ λεχθέν· προσέθηκε μοι ὥτιον τοῦ ἀκούειν, κτλ.

5. xxvi. This is a troublesome passage. I give it as it is edited, merely premising that it is a comment on Apoc. iv 11 *ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.*

Οὐ τοῦτο τὸ ὄν κτίζεται, ἀλλὰ τὸ κτιζόμενόν ἐστι· τὰ λογικὰ δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὐσιωθῆναι καὶ εἶναι δέχονται τὸ κτισθῆναι· αὐτοὺς γὰρ εἶπεν· *φῆσιν καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν, αὐτοὺς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν* [Ps. xxxiii 9]. κτίζεται γάρ τις ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς [cf. Eph. ii 10], πρὸ τούτου ὢν θεοῦ ποίημα, εἰς καρδίαν καθαρὰν. καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκτίσατό σε καὶ ἐποίησέν

σε καὶ ἔπλασέν σε . . . σημειωτέον ὡς καὶ τὰ κτίσματα τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονένα φησίν· ὅθεν οὐκ ἐξαπτέον τὴν ὑπαρξίν τοῦ σωτῆρος τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ πατρὸς· οὐ γὰρ κτίσμα τυγχάνει· τὸ γὰρ ἐξῆς δηλοῖ τοῦτο σαφῶς.

'This note', says Harnack, 'contains four important points of teaching: (1) that ποιεῖν and κτίζειν are not absolutely the same; on the contrary; ποιεῖν in certain cases precedes κτίζειν: only of λογικά can both be predicated, and they, after having been "made", κτίζονται ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς: whereas all else simply κτίζεται; (2) that God is not Himself the Creator and Former; (3) that, because what is fashioned has come to be through the will of God, the being of "the Saviour" (the Logos) must be identified with the will of God; (4) that "the Saviour" is no κτίσμα.'

As to (1) the general meaning is clear; but the first sentence of the Greek is difficult. The manuscript has οὐ τοῦτο ὃν κτίζεται.

As to (2) it is to be noted that the manuscript has ὡς καρδίαν καθαρὰν [εἰς is a conjectural emendation]. There seems to be a reference to Ps. li 12 καρδίαν καθαρὰν κτίσον ἐν ἐμοί, ὁ θεός. Then there follows a reminiscence of Isa. xlv 1 Κύριος ὁ θεός ὁ ποιήσας σε καὶ ὁ πλάσας σε [cp. Ps. cxviii (cxix 73) αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με]. Origen's comment must be read as interrogative: this is suggested not only by the obvious meaning, but also by the form of the sentence, οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτος κτλ. There is no need to suppose that anything has fallen out after this sentence.

The statement in (3) that 'das Sein des Soter (des Logos) mit dem Willen Gottes identificiert werden muss' does not appear to me to express what Origen here says, namely that 'the κτίσματα have come into existence by the will of God; wherefore we must not make the Being of the Saviour dependent on the will of the Father (ὅθεν οὐκ ἐξαπτέον τὴν ὑπαρξίν τοῦ σωτῆρος τῆς θελήσεως τοῦ πατρὸς), for He is not a κτίσμα'.

6. xxvii l. 17. A full stop should be placed after τυγχάνει. The words περὶ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου belong to what follows: καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν, καὶ ἐν Ἡσαΐα γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοῦ τῆς γραφῆς.

7. xxx. For the identification of the wrath of God with the devil, on the ground of the two narratives of David's numbering of the people, an exact parallel in *Contra Celsum* iv 72 should be cited.

8. xxxvii (p. 41) l. 5. 'Ἐπὶ πλείον γὰρ προφήτης τοῦ ἁγίου is Harnack's emendation. The codex has ἐπὶ πλείον γὰρ προφήτου ὁ ἅγιος, which should be retained. 'You will find', he says, 'that the prophets are one class of the saints: the word *saint* has a wider extent (ἐπὶ πλείον) than the word *prophet*; for God's prophet must needs be a saint as well; but the converse does not hold, for many saints do not prophesy.'

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON: JEWISH OR CHRISTIAN?

IN the following pages some considerations are offered which have led me to think that the Odes of Solomon are an entirely Christian work, as against Dr Harnack's view that the main body of them is Jewish, and that the definitely Christian portions (about one-eighth of the whole) were added later. Study of the Syriac text has impressed me with the belief that the passages bracketed out by Harnack as Christian interpolations are in spirit, thought, and vocabulary so intimately related to the rest that nothing short of identity of authorship can satisfactorily account for them. Harnack himself is much impressed by the closeness of this relation, for he writes: 'Für "Johannes" hat also sowohl der ursprüngliche jüdische Verfasser als auch der christliche Interpolator die grösste Bedeutung'; and again: 'sind aber der ursprüngliche Dichter und der Interpolator dem Verfasser des vierten Evangeliums verwandt, so sind sie auch unter sich verwandt. . . . Die Interpolationen sind z. T. im Geiste des ursprünglichen Verfassers *mutatis mutandis* gedichtet.'

Dr Harnack's hypothesis then postulates a good deal. We have to think of a Jew and a Christian, separated by perhaps a century, both deeply imbued with 'Johannine' ideas, and having, in addition, a mutual affinity of such a kind as to make it probable that the *milieu* of the Christian interpolator was one not far removed from that of the original Jewish author: 'dies macht es aber wahrscheinlich, dass der Interpolator räumlich dem Kreise nicht ferngestanden hat, dem die ursprünglichen Oden angehören.' The following are the passages which Harnack regards as Christian interpolations: 3⁹, 7^{4b-8}, 14, 15, 18, 8²³⁻²⁸, 9², 10^{4b-6}, 8, 17¹⁰⁻¹⁴, 16, 19, 23^{16, 19}, 24¹, 27, 29^{6-7a}, 8⁽¹⁾, 31³⁻¹¹, 36³, 39¹⁰, 41¹⁻⁷, 11-17, 42^{1-3, 17-25}, and parts also of 42⁴⁻¹⁶.

If we suppose that the object of the interpolator was to Christianize the Odes, it must be admitted that he was a consummate artist. One who reads the Odes through with Harnack's supposition in mind can hardly fail to be struck by the extraordinary forbearance of this Christianizing interpolator. With the exception of Ode 19 and the last two verses of 22, the Christian colouring, though unmistakable, is as delicate as it well could be, being for the most part by way of allusion to, or implication of, Christian beliefs, rarely by explicit statement. Again, while it is not easy in many cases to assign a motive for either the place

or the content of the interpolations, it is also difficult to conceive why so many of the Odes should have been left wholly untouched.

These are some of the general impressions which the Odes have left upon others besides myself. But my present purpose is to shew by particular examples that the Christian element goes deeper than Dr Harnack seems to have observed; while, on the other hand, passages in which he has detected Christianity, are so interlaced in other ways with the rest as to make it impossible to detach them with any degree of verisimilitude. In quoting from the Odes I shall for the convenience of readers usually place in square brackets references to the suspected passages.

I. Ode [42¹⁷⁻²⁵] is rejected by Harnack from the Jewish *Grundstock* because it obviously treats of the descent of Christ to Hades. Why he does not include verses 15 and 16 in the bracket is not obvious, since they are plainly an integral part of the *Descensus* passage. Perhaps it is because Death and Sheol (= Hades) are also mentioned together in another Ode, in which there is nothing overtly Christian, viz. 15⁹. Of Ode 42, verses 15 to the end have most of the features that are familiar to us from Tischendorf's so-called *Gospel of Nicodemus* part II: Hades is disturbed by the advent of Christ; and Death vomits Him up, and many along with Him, for He is as gall and bitterness to him: many run to meet Him, and hail Him as the Son of God, begging Him to release them from bonds and darkness. There is no mistaking this: here, in one of our Odes, is a veritable *Descensus* document; and we shall not be justified in relegating it to a later date than the rest until, at least, we are sure that the collection contains no other reference to the descent to Hades.

Now in Ode 17, after an allusion in verse 4 to a release from 'choking bonds', and the statement in vv. 8, 9 that 'from thence He gave me the way of His goings (*or* steps), and I opened the doors that were closed, and brake in pieces the bars of iron', we read straight on in verse [10 foll.], 'nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything. And I went over all my prisoners to loose them; that I might not leave any bound or binding . . . and they received my blessing and lived; and they were gathered to me and were saved.'

With the last clause of this passage compare the following from the *Descensus* part of Ode 42 [verse 19]: 'and I made a congregation of the living among his dead.'¹ As regards verses 8 and 9—the opening of closed doors, and the breaking of iron bars,—and verses [10 foll.]—the loosing of prisoners—surely they are integral parts of one and the

¹ Cf. *Gosp. Nicod.* Latin A c. 8 (24): 'statim omnes sancti sub manu domini adunati sunt'; also Latin B c. 9 (25): 'et congaudentes concurrebant sub manibus domini.'

same Ode: cf. the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Greek form c. 5 (21): 'And immediately with these words the brazen gates were shattered, and the iron bars broken, and all the dead who had been bound came out of the prisons.'

I now pass to Ode 22, in which Harnack finds no interpolations. It begins: 'He who brought me down from the height also brought me up from the lower (regions).' It goes on in verse 5 foll.: 'He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads: and Thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed. Thou wast there and didst help me . . . and Thy hand levelled a way for those who believe in Thee; and Thou didst choose them from the graves, and didst separate them from the dead. Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies; they were motionless, and Thou didst give the energy of life.'

Here we have to ask, what connexion has the dragon with seven heads with the descent to Hades? In the first place it may be remarked that it is needless to trace this dragon further than Apoc. xiii 3, where he appears, as in the Ode, with seven heads; and on the authority of Apoc. xx 2 we may venture to identify him with 'the Devil and Satan'. Now in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Greek form c. 7 (23), Hades addresses Satan thus: '(O arch-devil, beginning of death, root of sin, end of all evil.' If the dragon in our Ode then is Satan, we find him alluded to, together with his 'root' (= sin), in a formal account of the *Descensus*.

There are two other points in the passage quoted from Ode 22 which must now be considered, viz. v. 7, the levelling of a way before those who believe, and vv. 9, 10, the 'dead bones' (obviously an allusion to Ezekiel). The first of these features appears in a less definite form in Ode 17¹⁰ (dealt with above): 'and from thence He gave me the way of His goings (or steps), and I opened the doors that were closed', &c. For further illustration we must go outside our present *Gospel of Nicodemus*. A moderate acquaintance with early Syriac literature is enough to reveal the fact that one of the most popular themes among Syriac writers of the fourth century was that of the *Descensus ad inferos*. Any one who will read through St Ephraim's Nisibene Hymns, nos. xxxv-lxviii, in the Latin version of Bickell or in the English one given in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* xiii pp. 193-219, will see at once that the author is using a document which presented practically all the features of our so-called *Gospel of Nicodemus*, though probably not identical with any of the three current recensions. The elaborate dialogues, in which Satan, Sheol (= Hades) and Death figure, are on exactly the same lines as in our documents, and they can only be explained by the use of a written source. The same is true of a long passage in Aphraates (written c. 335), *Hom.* xxii §§ 4-5. This evidence

of Ephraim and Aphraates for the existence in Syriac of a written account of the *Descensus* in the fourth century explains certain features, not found in our set documents, but shared by several Syriac writers. The most striking of these is the statement that when Christ departed from Sheol He trod a way for the dead to follow in. The following passages will illustrate the occurrence of this idea in Odes 17 and 22.

1. *Acts of Judas Thomas* (Wright, p. 155): 'And Thou didst descend to Sheol, and go to its uttermost end [cp. Ode 42¹⁷]; and didst open its gates and bring forth its prisoners [cp. 17^{8, 11}], and *didst tread for them a path* (leading) above.'

2. *Ibid.* p. 288: 'Thou didst descend into Sheol with mighty power, and the dead saw Thee and became alive, and the lord of death was not able to bear (it), and Thou *didst tread for them a path* (leading) on high; and in Thy footsteps all Thy redeemed followed.' On page 187 is a passage which gives us another idea already noticed in Odes 17¹⁴ and 42¹⁹: 'Jesus, right hand of the Father, who hast hurled down the evil one to the lowest limit,¹ and collected his possessions *into one blessed place of meeting*.'

3. Aphraates *Hom.* xii § 8 (ed. Parisot, col. 524): 'Our Redeemer divided (*or* broke open) Sheol, and shattered her doors, and He went into her midst and opened them, *and trod a way before all those who believed in Him*.'

4. St. Ephraim *Homily on our Lord* (ed. Lamy, vol. i p. 145; English transl. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* xiii p. 305): 'And He departed from Sheol, and took up His abode in the Kingdom, that He might *seek out a path from Sheol*.'

Here are four passages, from three different writers, all making in effect the same statement, that Christ trod a way for the dead out of Sheol. In the passage from Aphraates xii we have the idea in a form which is very close indeed to that found in Ode 22¹⁹, viz.: 'and (He) trod a way before all *those who believed in Him*.'

The second point for illustration in Ode 22 is the reference to the quickening of the dead bones. This is not found in the *Descensus* documents printed by Tischendorf; but it appears in the *Descensus* dialogues of St. Ephraim's Nisibene Hymns (xxxvii): 'I saw in the valley Ezekiel, who quickened the dead when he was questioned; and I saw the bones move which were (mingled together) in confusion. There was a noise of the bones in Sheol, each bone searching for its fellow and each joint for its mate . . . unquestioned the voice of Jesus, the commander of (all) creatures, quickened them.' I think it will appear from some of the variants cited by Tischendorf *Evang. Nicod.*

¹ Cf. Ode 42¹⁷: 'I went down with him to the utmost of his depth'; and *Gosp. Nicod.* Latin A c. 7 (24): 'et firma ima carcerum confregit.'

Latin A c. 4 (20) no. 3 that Ephraim is here reproducing a written source: cp. his 'questioned . . . unquestioned' with the 'divinis precibus . . . sine precibus' of the Latin document. In these Hymns we also find Satan addressed by Death as 'Dragon' (Hymn lvii), the Syriac word *tannin* being the same that is used in Ode 22.

The evidence here brought together leaves no doubt in my mind that Odes 17 and 22, equally with 42, deal with the descent of Christ to Hades. But they do not, I think, exhaust the allusions to this subject in the Odes. The mention of Death and Sheol together in 15³, as in the *Descensus* portion of 42, has already been pointed out. Ode 31, I believe, also refers to this event: cp. v. 6 'come forth ye that have been afflicted, and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace; and take to you immortal life'. The next verse (7) should, I think, be translated: 'and they made me a debtor to him (sc. Death) to whom I was not a debtor.' (For the omission of the usual 'referring' pronoun and preposition *leh*, see Nöldeke *Syr. Gram.* § 347.) Again, Ode 21 appears to me to be put into the mouth of the risen Christ, who is released from the bonds (of death?), clothed in light for darkness, and acquires 'members free from sorrow and affliction and pain'. With this compare [17¹⁴] 'because they were to me as my members, and I was their head'. Ode 33 also is intelligible as a message to the dead. The key to this interpretation lies in v. 2: 'and He destroyed perdition from before Him, and spoiled¹ all its belongings.' The spoiling of Death, or Hades, is a feature of the *Descensus* emphasized by Aphraates in his most elaborate passage on this subject, Hom. xxii § 4: 'and He went in to him (Death) and began to spoil his possessions'; and again: 'He oppressed Death by spoiling of his possessions.'

II. In Ode 11, in which again Harnack finds no interpolations, we have a description of Paradise, which presents practically all the features found in the *Apocalypse of Peter*. The following parallels will illustrate this statement (I quote from the edition of the *Apocalypse* by Robinson and James, p. 49).

Peter.

'The Lord shewed me a very great space.'

'The air there was illuminated with the rays of the sun.'

Ode 11.

v. 14: 'and He carried me to His Paradise.' v. 20: 'for there is abundant room in thy Paradise.'

v. 12: 'And the Lord was like sun shining on the face of the land.'

¹ This is the literal meaning of the word; while that rendered 'belongings' means 'preparation', or 'things prepared': it is sometimes used for 'a meal', but naturally applies to any kind of acquired property. The Greek may have been *σκεύη*; cf. Matt. xii 29 τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ἀπ᾽άσαι.

*Peter.**Ode 11.*

'And the earth itself blossoming
with unfading flowers . . . and . . .
plants . . . bearing blessed fruit.'

v. 11: 'and I became like the
land which blossoms and rejoices
in its fruits.'

'And so strong was the perfume
that it was borne to us even from
thence.'

v. 13: 'and my breath enjoyed
the pleasant odour of the Lord.'

'And the dwellers of that place
were clad in the raiment of the
angels of light.'

v. 10: 'and the Lord renewed
me in His raiment, and possessed
me by His light.'

'And with one voice they praised
the Lord God.'

v. 15: 'and I worshipped the
Lord on account of His glory.'

III. Ode 7¹⁶⁻¹⁷ I translate thus: 'For knowledge He hath set as His way. He made it broad and He made it long, and He brought it to all perfection. And He set in it the footprints of His light; and I (*or* it: sc. 'knowledge') walked from the beginning to the end.'

With the thought and language of these verses is connected a whole series of passages in the Odes, from the 'interpolated' and 'uninterpolated' parts alike. First, it is to be noted that Dr. Harris's '*traces of light*' are literally '*footprints of light*'. The fact that the same striking metaphor is found in 10⁷ also ('and footprints of light were set upon their heart, and they walked in my life and were redeemed'), is perhaps the reason why Dr Harnack has kept these two verses of Ode 7 as part of the original work, while he brackets out the two preceding verses and the one following. The thought in the two passages is clearly the same: '*footprints of light*' are left on the road, or in the hearts, of believers to guide them in the way in which they are to 'walk'. Compare again Ode 29⁶⁻⁷ ['For I believed in the Lord's Messiah, and it (*or* He) appeared to me that He is the Lord; and He shewed me His *sign*], and *led me by His light*'. The words in brackets are regarded by Harnack as interpolations.

I now turn to Ode 39, which begins: 'Great rivers are the power of the Lord: and those who despise Him they carry headlong.' But, it is said (vv. 5, 6), 'those who walk on them without blemish shall not fear, for a *sign* on them is the Lord; and the *sign is a way* for those who cross in the name of the Lord.' Here again, as in [29⁷], we have the Lord's 'sign' as a guide in the way. What is this sign? The answer is found in vv. 8 ff, which I translate thus: 'The Lord bridged them by His word, and He walked and crossed them on foot. And His *footprints* remain on the waters; and they are not effaced, but they are

like a (piece of) wood¹ which is established in truth (*or* with firmness). [And on this side and on that the waves were lifted up; but the *foot-prints* of our Lord the Messiah remain, and they are not obliterated neither are they effaced.] And a way was set for those who cross after Him.' The brackets again mark 'interpolations'. Here we have the 'sign' of Ode [29⁷] identified with the 'footprints' of Odes 7 and 10; and the thought connected with them is still the same—marks in the way for those who come after. But in 39 a further figure is introduced: these footprints are compared to a ξύλον firmly set up: by which is evidently meant some sort of road-post, either for direction, or simply to mark the boundary of the road. This figure may be illustrated from a Syriac writer. Philoxenus of Mabbōgh (+ c. 523) opens his seventh Discourse thus (I quote Dr Budge's translation²): 'The way of the rule and conduct of Christian life hath been trodden and made smooth by the example of the righteous men of old for whosoever wisheth to travel therein, and the marks of the footsteps of those who have before gone thereupon are before us, that we ourselves may go forward therein with ease. And like *sign-posts* and mile-stones which are set by the side of a natural road, that they may define [lit. 'shut in'] the place wherein the passers by are to travel, so are the examples and types of the men of old', &c. The word for 'sign-posts' is ܐܬܝܢܐ, from ܐܝܢܐ, 'to know', and it naturally denotes a notice of some sort. From its etymology, and the fact that it is coupled with 'mile-stones', it can hardly mean posts set at short intervals to keep vehicles on the road, though this is suggested by the context.

In Odes 7, 10, 29, and 39 we have now got the following equation: 'footprints of light' = 'footprints' = a 'sign' to mark the way = a wooden road-post. We may now turn to another passage, Ode 42¹⁻² (also bracketed out by Harnack). I translate as literally as possible: 'I spread forth my hands and drew near to my Lord. For the extension of my hands is His *sign*: my spreading forth is the outspread *wood* which is hung over (*or* on) the way of the Upright (*or* straight) One.'³ The three short verses of Ode 27 are nearly identical with this; and I suspect that Ode 27 is only the beginning of Ode 42, once copied out of place and afterwards regarded as a separate Ode. In the last clause of the passage just translated Zahn has suggested an alteration of the text which gives the sense, 'on which the Beloved was hanged'. This

¹ It is a mistake to translate ܥܠܡܐ 'tree': it means rather any piece of wood that is *not* growing in the ground, no doubt translating ξύλον.

² *Discourses of Philoxenus* vol. ii p. 184: the text is in vol. i p. 191.

³ This is very awkward, and I suspect that the original reading was ܐܬܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܡܐ, not ܐܬܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܡܐ. This gives the natural sense 'over the *straight* way': see the expression 'straight way' in 38⁷, translated 'right path' by Dr Harris.

emendation is a violent one: but it well illustrates the difficulty there is in understanding the passage if we regard it (as it is usually regarded) as a direct allusion to the cross. A piece of wood hung up over a way involves the idea of some sort of roadside direction. And that this is really the meaning is, I venture to think, made practically certain by the foregoing passage from Ode 39, where the 'sign' of Christ's footprints on the water is compared to 'a ξύλον established in truth (*or* firmly fixed)'. The cross may very well have been in the writer's mind also; but it does not satisfy the language in which the figure is couched. I would paraphrase the passage thus: 'I, standing with my hands outstretched, am the Lord's sign,—like a piece of wood hung up over the way.' Taken thus *vv.* 1-3 explain *v.* 4 also: 'and I became of no use' to those who did not hold by² me.' The road-sign is useless to those who do not observe its directions: just as in 39² those who despise the Lord are carried headlong, but (*v.* 5) those who are blameless do not fear, 'for the sign in them (the rivers) is the Lord.' Note that the word for 'sign' in both these Odes is not in any way connected by Syriac usage with the cross or the sign of the cross.

I think it will appear from this investigation that Odes 7, 10, 27, 29, 39, and 42—in their 'interpolated' and 'uninterpolated' parts alike—are linked up by a chain of ideas and expressions which can only be explained satisfactorily by supposing them to have one and the same author. On the count of mere language we may connect two more Odes with the group, viz. 6 and 11; for while we read in 7¹⁷: 'And He set upon it the footprints of His light; and I walked therein (i.e. in the way of knowledge) *from the beginning to the end*'; we find in 6⁴: 'for thus it was *from the beginning, and will be to the end*'; and in 11^{3,4}: 'I ran in His way in His peace, even in the way of truth: *from the beginning and even to the end* I acquired His knowledge.'

IV. In Ode 38⁸⁻⁹ is an obscure passage which I translate thus: 'it (truth) shewed me all the poisons of error and the plagues of death³—which (men) suppose to be sweetness—and the corrupter of corruption. I saw while the bride that is corrupted was adorned, and the bridegroom who corrupts was corrupted.'⁴ Then in *vv.* 10, 11 we have in the true apocalyptic style: 'And I asked the Truth, Who are these? and it answered me: This is the Deceiver and the Error; and they *imitate* the Beloved and his bride.' Dr Harris renders 'and they *are alike* in the Beloved

¹ Not 'of no account' (Harris): ܠܐ ܣܥܝܕܐ means 'useless'.

² The participial form ܡܫܝܒܐ expresses the continued action of holding on to; and the verb admits of the sense 'keep', 'observe'.

³ In the Syriac text there is an obvious displacement, 'of death' coming after 'sweetness'.

⁴ I can only translate by reading ܡܫܝܒܐ for ܡܫܝܒܐ.

and his bride'. But this is a mistranslation which obscures the whole sense of the passage: the Syriac verb ܡܡܝܢ followed by the preposition ܐ regularly means 'to imitate', as may be seen from most of the N.T. passages in which the Peshitta translates μιμοῦμαι or μιμητής. The Greek word was without doubt μιμοῦνται. Thus the whole complexion of the Ode is altered; and we have an idea which can scarcely be anything but Christian: that of a male and female Antichrist who pass themselves off as the Beloved and His bride—Christ and His Church (?), or, in the language of the Apocalypse, the Lamb and the bride of the Lamb.

V. Ode 28 contains two very suspicious coincidences with St Luke's Gospel. The first is in the opening figure: 'As the wings of doves over their nestlings' looks like an adaptation of Luke xiii 34. The Syriac word for 'nestlings' is that which translates νοσσιάν in the Gospel, and it means 'chicks'. The second coincidence is in v. 3: 'and my heart is delighted and exults, as a babe that exults in the womb of his mother.' The Syriac words for 'babe', 'exults', and 'womb' are those used in the Syriac versions at Luke i 41 to translate ἐσκήρτησεν τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ. Again Ode 22¹²: 'and that the foundation for everything might be Thy rock: and on it Thou didst build Thy kingdom', will probably strike most readers as an allusion to Matt. xvi 18: even if we adopt the reading 'light' for 'rock' from *Pistis Sophia*,—which, however, looks like a Gnostic substitution.

VI. All the words which lend the characteristic 'Johannine' colouring to the Odes in general are found in the 'interpolations': such are *grace, light, life, love, Word*. Moreover, other highly distinctive expressions are found in them. Such are: *beloved, kindness* (= χρηστότης, as we learn from the Coptic of Ode 25¹¹), *Most High, members, perfection, immortal life, without corruption* (ἄφθαρτος, ἀφθάρτως), *without grudging* (ἄφθονος, ἀφθόνως), *footprints*.

Further, a characteristic word or expression sometimes assumes further significance, as a mark of style, from its context: thus [17¹³] 'and I have given my *knowledge without grudging*'; 23⁴ 'walk in the *knowledge of the Most High without grudging*'. [10⁵] 'and it became to me for *praise of the Most High*'; 29¹¹ 'and I gave *praise to the Most High*'. [41⁶] 'and let our *faces shine* in His light'; 15² 'and His *light* hath dispelled all darkness from my *face*'; 40⁶ 'and my soul *shines* in Him'. Again Odes [27, 42] and 37 begin with the same Syriac words: 'I stretched out my hands.' In 23¹⁴ and [42¹⁸] there is the same curious allusion to the *head and feet*. Again, five of the Odes end with simple forms of doxology, viz. 11, 16, [17¹⁸], 18, 20.

Before closing these notes I should like to make some remarks on Ode 19, which Dr Harris places, together with the *Descensus* portion

of Ode 42, at a later date than the rest. Whether he is justified in doing so will perhaps depend on the date we assign to the whole collection. If I am right in finding three Odes which shew dependence on a *Descensus* document, instead of only one, there will appear good grounds for dating the whole collection not earlier than the middle of the second century. But in any case Ode 19 is a most interesting Christian document, from an age considerably earlier than the end of the third century, where it is quoted and assigned to its present position in the collection by Lactantius: or, as Harnack puts it, 'eine kostbare Reliquie aus einer Zeit, in der man solche Bilder noch wagen durfte und in der Christen (Landleute?) solche Bilder erbaulich fanden.' Its meaning then deserves careful study; and I must confess that I do not find Dr Harris's translation of it satisfactory. His first error is the substitution in *v.* 3 of ܡܕܝܐ for the MS reading ܡܕܝܐ. The phrase ܡܕܝܐ ܡܕܝܐ ܡܕܝܐ is simply *καὶ οὐκ ἔδει*; and the following half verse means 'and it was not proper that His milk should be cast away empty (or to no purpose)'. Dr Harris renders 'and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released'. But 'sufficiently' would naturally be ܡܕܝܐ, while the verb ܡܕܝܐ means 'to cast down', or 'away', and cannot be so weakened as to mean 'release'. In *v.* 4 the Holy Spirit opens Her¹ own, not the Father's, bosom (κόλπον must have been the Greek word), in order to catch the milk, that it may not be spilt. In *v.* 5 Dr Harris's translation ('and those who receive in its fullness are the ones on the right hand') is quite ungrammatical: the meaning is 'and those who receive (it) are in the perfection of the right hand', i.e. are in the perfect state of God's elect, who are set on His right hand. Compare Ode 8ⁿ, 'and by my right hand I set my elect ones.' In *v.* 6 Dr Harris has apparently not adverted to the fact that ܡܕܝܐ, 'womb', is feminine, and obviously the subject of the fem. verb ܡܕܝܐ. Hence he supplies a subject: '[The Spirit] opened the womb of the Virgin': thus cutting the Ode in two, and giving colour to the view that the second half, relating to the Virgin Birth, 'can almost be detached as a separate composition' (second ed. p. 117). But the subject of ܡܕܝܐ (whatever this verb may mean) is certainly 'womb': so Lactantius, 'infirmatus est uterus virginis.' When this is recognized it simplifies the interpretation of the verb ܡܕܝܐ itself, which has proved such a *crux* to translators. There is now no need to go outside the Syriac lexicons for a suitable meaning. In the first place the context leads us to expect an active verb, having the same object as the preceding 'and they who receive', i.e. 'it' ('the mixture'), understood in both cases. Such omission of a pronominal object, where it

¹ The Syriac word for 'spirit' is fem.

may easily be understood, is common in Syriac. In the present Ode this is carried to an unusual extent, since in the last two verses 'Him' has to be supplied five times in translating. I have little doubt that the verb is ܐܬܝܬܐ, from the root ܐܬܝܬ. Though well attested, this word is not common, and it probably indicates that there was something slightly peculiar in the use here of the original Greek verb also. Brockelmann's *Lexicon* gives the following meanings: (1) *attraxit, cepit*, (2) *spiritu duxit, hausit*, (3) *prorupit*; and Brun gives *allexit, rete venatus est, hausit, prorupit*. It is most commonly used as a hunting term, 'to catch in a net'; and there is a corresponding noun meaning 'a net'. The central idea appears to be that of drawing something into, or enclosing it in, a receptacle. In Neh. vii 3 the corresponding verb is found in Hebrew in the sense of shutting doors, and the Peshitta translates by the *ethpa'al* of ܐܬܝܬ. If we might suppose that the Greek word was ἐκράτησεν, of which ܐܬܝܬ would be a very good rendering in the present context, it would mean 'caught (it)' or 'took possession of (it)'; and ܐܬܝܬ would be a slightly more graphic equivalent. Lactantius's 'infirmatus est' is meaningless in the context, and appears to be based on a corruption in the Greek. Frankenberg (*Das Verständnis der Oden Salomos*) renders into Greek by ἐξελεύθη, which he says 'ist der gebräuchliche Ausdruck für Umkommen vor Hunger'. This is based on Lactantius, and is hardly more intelligible. If I am right in supposing that the Greek word was ἐκράτησεν, we can account for Lactantius's 'infirmatus est' by a very simple corruption, viz. ἡκράτησεν. But whether this conjecture is right or not, the Syriac verb as it stands gives a sense perfectly in harmony with the context: in fact the meaning which we are almost led to expect. I now translate verses 3-6 as follows:—

'And the Holy Spirit milked Him. Because His breasts were filled, and it was not fitting that His milk should be cast away empty (or to no purpose), the Holy Spirit opened Her bosom, and mingled the milk of the two breasts of the Father, and gave the mixture to the world, while they knew (it) not: and those who receive (it) are in the perfection of the right hand (cf. Joh. i 10-12). The womb of the Virgin caught (it), and received conception and brought forth.'

I have already referred to Ode 8²¹ for a parallel to the expression 'in the perfection of the right hand'. The same Ode has also (v. 17) an allusion to the breasts and milk of God: 'I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them, that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.' Dr Harris (second ed. pp. 50-51) compares also for the same idea Odes 4, 14, 35. Ode 19 further contains two expressions which are so distinctive of the style of the Odists as to call for special remark. These are 'perfection' (ܡܡܝܠܐ) and 'kindness'

(ܡܚܡܥܐ). The former occurs in *v.* 5, and ten times in other Odes, viz. 7^{13,16}, 9³, 17⁷, 18^{5,10}, 26⁷, 35⁷, 36³, 41¹⁴. The latter occurs twice in Ode 19, *vv.* 1 and 10, and seven times elsewhere, viz. 7⁴, 11¹⁷, 14³, 17⁷, 20⁹, 25¹¹, 42²¹ (in 25¹¹ the Coptic gives us the Greek word, *χρηστούτης*).

There are two more points on which I am obliged to dissent from Dr Harris. The one is his insertion in the text of ܡܚܡܥܐ (Brockelmann and Brun give only the form ܡܚܡܥ) 'in swaddling clothes' for the MS reading ܡܚܡܥܐ 'in redemption'. Such a graphic touch is quite out of place among the vague expressions which precede and follow. The second point is his interpretation of verse 8: 'and because she was not sufficiently prepared, and she had not sought a midwife.' There is nothing to suggest 'prepared'; and the word for 'sufficiently' is the same that in *v.* 3 was found to mean 'emptily'. The phrase ܠܥܡܐ ܡܚܡܥܐ ܝܥܡܐ ܠܐ can only be translated 'and it (the thing) happened not emptily'. But I am inclined to suspect a corruption here in the Greek, viz. *κενῶς* for *κοινῶς*. The verse will now run: 'and because it happened not emptily (*query*, in the common way?), and she had not sought (*possibly* did not require) a midwife . . . she brought forth . . . of her own will.' But it would be better still to omit the first 'and' (the letter *waw*), and begin a new sentence with 'Because', thus: 'Because it happened not in the common way (?), and (for this reason) she had not sought (*or* did not require) a midwife, . . . she brought forth . . . of her own will.' The sentence will now be of the same form as that in verse 3 *b*: 'Because His breasts were filled', &c.

My last remark is that the active part assigned to the Holy Spirit, who mixes the milk of the Father in her (?) bosom or lap, suggests Gnostic influence; and I am not sure that Harnack is right when he says that in the original the Spirit 'männlich gedacht ist'.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

REVIEWS

Divine Transcendence and its reflection in religious authority. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A., D.D. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1911.)

DR ILLINGWORTH'S latest book will be welcomed by the probably wide circle of readers already indebted to him. It forms a useful supplement to the works he has previously published, and is similar to them in character. It is written with the same grace and lucidity of style, the same temperance and dignity of expression, the same unpretentiousness of manner and aim. The book presents in an interesting form old truths which are in some danger of being obscured, and ideas that are more or less out of harmony with somewhat prevalent tendencies of thought.

Since Dr Illingworth wrote his well-known essay on Divine Immanence, the doctrine of which he then treated has increasingly commended itself to the general mind; and so exaggerated has become the emphasis on the immanence of God, that the equally essential truth of the Divine transcendence has been ignored in much popular theology. This tendency is indeed only an element in a wider one, as Dr Illingworth observes in his opening chapter. It is akin to the recent disposition to substitute psychology for philosophy as the substratum of theology; to base faith on inner experience rather than upon objective fact, probable induction, or apparently necessary presupposition; and to renounce 'authority' in religion in favour of individual or subjective conviction. The appearance of a work on the transcendence of God and on the reflexion of that truth in religious authority is therefore timely, and a protest against one-sided emphasis and exaggeration is opportune.

At the same time it may be doubted whether this book will bring conviction, on some points, to many who have it not already. Its author appears to have too little sympathy, to prove really persuasive, with the minds of those who would find difficulties in the way of accepting his arguments and conclusions; as if he had hardly felt the force of these difficulties, were a little impatient of them, and consequently were unable to do them justice. He sometimes chooses which objections to his views shall receive notice, regardless of whether or not they are the ones most profoundly felt at the present time. Thus, when submitting grounds for the theistic conception of God as a Being at once personal and (relatively) absolute, the only objections Dr Illingworth considers—if it may be said that he adequately 'considers' them—are two, of which one at least has already been dealt with in two of his

earlier books in a rather facile and perfunctory manner; two which he states to be 'current'—which is perhaps correct—or to have 'been raised of late years'—though they were already old when Lotze replied to them—and which, Dr Illingworth says, 'it may be convenient to notice.' If I shall not be taken too seriously, I may say there is a slightly sinister sound unintentionally conveyed by the word 'convenient' here. To find it convenient to notice 'one or two' current objections is less than is due from an apologist; it should be incumbent upon him to face, if not to seek for, *all* that are 'considerable'. And certainly there are some that have become current since Lotze's day. Pluralism, for instance, whether intellectualistic or empirical, whether represented by McTaggart or Howison or James, has raised difficulties for the transition from idealism (spiritualism) to theism, which nowadays need to be met. Nor can Lotze's reply to the objection that personality involves the distinction of self from not-self—a criticism which Dr Illingworth assures us has been 'answered again and again'—be taken as the last word on the matter; for the duality of subject and object seems to be involved in all experience of which we can form any conception, and the burden of explaining what can be the 'absolute' object of an 'absolute' subject surely lies with those who attribute perfect or infinite personality to 'the Absolute'. Dr Illingworth appeals chiefly to Plato and Aristotle for justification of the plea that finite or relative being is only rendered possible or conceivable by absolute being; but whether their teaching really succeeds, better than the many modern systems which have owed their intellectualism to Greek philosophy, in attaining to the Absolute One without, in consistency, involving the disappearance of the many, is a matter of doubt. Perhaps Dr Illingworth, if pressed, would seek refuge from the difficulty at which I have hinted in the Trinitarian idea of God. He asserts, indeed (p. 49) that 'the conception of absolute personality cannot be developed without leading in the direction of some such doctrine as that of the Christian Trinity in Unity'; but inasmuch as we are but referred, in this connexion, to his previous writings, where no serious proof of this dogmatic assertion is attempted, and since no notice whatever is taken of the fact that able theists—to name only Lotze, on whom Dr Illingworth sometimes relies without misgiving—*have* developed their conception of divine personality without being led even 'in the direction of some such' doctrine as the Trinitarian, I must confess that I find Dr Illingworth's argument unconvincing. This book, like its predecessors, fails to realize the complexity and the difficulties of some of the problems with which it undertakes to deal, and so repeats the chief fault, as well as the many excellences, of its author's previous contributions to apologetics.

These excellences will, I doubt not, be dwelt upon by many reviewers; and I trust it will not be inferred that I am blind to them if I devote myself almost exclusively to pointing out here what seem to me to be weaknesses in the work before us.

Among other points in the earlier chapters (dealing with philosophical questions) which call for criticism, is the contention that we increase the authority of religion when we trace it to an 'instinctive' origin. We read (p. 51): 'it is interesting to note that many modern psychologists are disposed to trace the historic origin of our religious consciousness back into the region of instinctive feeling or emotion; and this not with the effect of reducing it to a thing of merely subjective value, but rather as emphasizing its fundamental place in our original constitution and make.'

One may easily go astray in commenting on this passage, because its exact meaning is not easy to extract. But if it be intended to imply that because religious emotion probably belonged to human experience at a very early stage in its development, it therefore guarantees the reality of an over-individual or objective counterpart to itself as psychical process, the contention cannot be admitted. For psychological origin and deep-seatedness in our 'original constitution' do not concern validity of reference. And emotion such as may be called religious can hardly be regarded as prior to religious belief or as the parent of it; for emotion is feeling excited by an object which is either perceived or remembered or imagined, i.e. which is pre-supposed. The truth of the contention, then, depends on the strict applicability of the term 'instinctive'. It is only in this case that we can obtain any guarantee that there is a teleological significance attaching to primitive and emotional religious 'consciousness', or that there is an actually existing objective counterpart to this 'consciousness' as 'subjective' process; and indeed analogy with the maternal 'instinct' and other elementary and fundamental attributes of our race is expressly suggested by Dr Illingworth. Truly an instinct, *properly so called*, is an inherited and therefore 'original' reaction, markedly adaptive, universal or common to all members of the race. We should indeed possess a short cut to the goal of theology if the 'religious consciousness' were veritably an instinct. Theologians, again, have sometimes chosen to call the general tendency of mankind to invoke a higher power as 'instinctive'; indeed the term is greatly abused in theological literature, so that deserved discredit is thereby brought upon our apologetic. I would plead for its total abolition; for if correctly or strictly used it would never be relevant, and if used as in the cases to which I have here alluded, it illegitimately begs the question. The universality, fixity, and heredity of instinct, its mechanical correlation

with needs essential to the life or the persistence of the race, the impossibility of its coming into existence apart from the actual provision in the order of things for its satisfaction—all these characteristics are lacking to the impulses which lead man to religious belief and to bend the knee; and to call them ‘instinctive’ is only to arrive at an important result by misuse of terminology.

Dr Illingworth is again unhappy in his brief treatment of the teleology of nature. He seems to confound adaptation and design, between which both Kant and Darwin have taught us to distinguish; and he revives the teleology based on particular instances of adaptation, which is the least trustworthy kind. The theory of natural selection which, if true, destroys teleology of this narrow type, ‘when extended from organic to inorganic nature, as it must be’, we are told (pp. 60, 61), ‘if it is to prove its point, labours under very serious difficulties; and may be fearlessly met, as it has been met again and again, on its intellectual merits.’ A reader of an inquiring turn of mind would doubtless like to be told why the hypothesis referred to must be extended to the inorganic if it is to prove its point with regard to the organic world, and to be put in a position to judge for himself of the ‘seriousness’ of the difficulties under which the hypothesis labours. But oracular sentences like the one just quoted are rather frequent in this book. Another that may be selected as an instance occurs two pages further on: ‘Our inability to distinguish what is primitive in human nature from what is due to degradation is an instance of this difficulty [to trace the perpetual presence of God in history], from which much false generalization has arisen in recent years.’ What are the generalizations the falsity of which is here insinuated the reader does not know; consequently the sentence is wasted upon him.

Whether the latter part of *Divine Transcendence* is stronger than the earlier, which I have attempted to criticize, I would leave it to others to say. But here also, though, as in the chapters on philosophical questions, I entirely agree with the author’s main positions and conclusions, I am not always able to accept the arguments by which he seeks to commend them. The argument, for instance, in chap. viii, for the objectivity of the ‘inspiration’ of the Hebrew prophets, seems to imply that many subjectivities constitute an objectivity, and that the inspiration of a prophet may be inferred from the effects of his teaching on his hearers. However, there is very much in this and the adjoining chapters for which one cannot but feel grateful to their author.

Doubt again crops up in the reader’s mind as to whether some of Dr Illingworth’s statements connected with the results of New Testament criticism would be found as satisfactory as they are sanguine and positive by cautious experts in this branch of theological learning. How, for

instance, would the following passage (p. 93) commend itself? 'No subtlety of criticism will disturb the conviction of the Church that our Lord Himself, before His bodily presence was withdrawn within the veil, bade His disciples go and preach the Gospel, that He bade them baptize, and that at the Last Supper He bade them "do this in remembrance of me".' The denial that either baptism or the solemn 'breaking of the bread' was instituted immediately by Christ Himself is said (p. 137) to be 'one of those extravagances of criticism that can only be maintained by a reckless treatment of the New Testament and a total rejection of the tradition of the early Church'. 'It is not, therefore', the passage continues, 'a contention that need be seriously discussed, as in any way disturbing the universal Christian belief.' The contention here in question may not be sound, but it is not perhaps to be dismissed as contemptible and beyond the pale of serious discussion. Dr Illingworth, however, arrives at the conclusion (p. 194) that no impairing of the authority of the Gospels can take place for Christians. 'True, the Church was before the Gospels; but no authority, any more than a revelation, can be accepted without exercise of the understanding and reason; and for us, surely, the New Testament is the touchstone by which tradition and its claims are to be tested. The contents of the Gospels are the basis of the faith of the Church of to-day; and so far as the truth of the salient features of the Gospel is a matter of probability ascertainable by criticism, so far should criticism be allowed to be capable of affecting 'those who live in the power of' Christian belief.

F. R. TENNANT.

The Resurrection and Modern Thought. By W. J. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D. (Longmans, 1911.)

THIS book is a valuable contribution to the subject. Dr Sparrow Simpson tells us, in his Preface, that in his former writings 'exigencies of space precluded a full discussion'. He need not regret it since it has enabled him to take time and deal with every aspect of the doctrine. If on first sight of the contents one thinks that he has been too diffuse in numbers of chapters and subdivisions, further study shews that each chapter has its place in the development of the argument except chap. xvii, on the Baptismal Formula, which would be more in its place in an Appendix. It is a careful study of recent controversy, and is needed to support the author's discussion of the meaning of the Formula in Section III, which properly belongs to chapter xv and might with advantage be enlarged.

The plan is admirable. In Book I of the work 'The Witness of the Twelve', the author discusses our Lord's predictions of His Resurrection, the Empty Grave, and the Appearances of the Risen

Master. Prof. Kirsopp Lake's theories are discussed and 'his frank admission that the story of the empty grave is rejected on dogmatic grounds'. This is the key to the whole problem. We may have the deepest sympathy with those who cannot accept the doctrine of the Resurrection, but we have a right to demand that every theologian should state clearly whether his investigation into the origins of Christian doctrine is prompted by a secret hope or a secret despair.

We pass on in Book II to the witness of St Paul, whose personal testimony becomes of more or less importance according to the interpretation which we give of his conversion. The study of St Paul's theology leads to a chapter on the Historical Jesus and the Pauline Christ, and again Dr Sparrow Simpson shews the hollowness of criticism that calls itself free when it is bound by its presuppositions: 'Those who consider the teaching of Jesus irreconcilable with that of St Paul do so on the assumption that Jesus was a prophet and nothing more. But this is a dogmatic interpretation of His Person, which, of course, necessitates the result reached, because it virtually assumes it in its presuppositions.'

Book III brings us to the main subject, the Theology of the Resurrection. Christ's Resurrection is an evidence of His Divinity, the means of our justification, instrumental in the moral resurrection of Christians. Easter by Easter hearts perplexed by controversy find, in the mystical teaching of St Paul on the power of the Resurrection, the strengthening of their faith and hope, and they will find it well expounded to them in chap. xxi. A most valuable discussion follows of St Paul's teaching on the Resurrection-Body, with a summary of Patristic teaching, of post-Reformation English teaching, and of modern Roman teaching on this subject. Dr Sparrow Simpson's conclusion is that 'No doctrine of Bodily Resurrection can be more spiritual than that of St Paul. The solution of all the difficulty lies in recognizing that the Evangelists describe the terrestrial occurrences, while St Paul discusses the essential nature of the Risen Body. If this recognition were to prevail the future history of the doctrine must become far more spiritual than the dominant Latin tradition has made it hitherto.'

In Book IV, 'The Resurrection and Modern Thought', the documents considered as evidence are again passed in review, and the author frankly acknowledges the disconcerting character of the fact that the ending of the Marcan narrative is lost, and discusses the difficulty which modern writers feel about 'the unscientific frame of mind of the early disciples'. But he maintains that documents are not the only evidence. The Christian Church is explicitly founded on belief in the Resurrection and would remain if all documents had perished. And a great deal depends on the fact that the Resurrection of Christ is not

an anarchical incident in an otherwise normal career. The moral character and spiritual uniqueness of Jesus must be taken into account. 'It is of course true that we moderns cannot test His Resurrection by our moral consciousness as we can His character: but neither can we His claim to be Messiah. To accept His Christhood on the ground of His moral uniqueness, and yet to rule out His Resurrection, is arbitrary and unconvincing.'

This short sketch of the scope of the book does not do justice to the author's learning and judgement and power of expression, which will commend themselves to all who take time to read. There are one or two strange omissions. He does not seem to know the section on the Resurrection in Dr Kattenbusch's great work on the Apostles' Creed. At the end of years of labour over his second volume Dr Kattenbusch came to believe in the empty grave. Dr Harvey Goodwin's *Foundations of the Creed* (1889) also deserves mention as a book which has helped many of us to correct and supplement Pearson's exposition of this doctrine.¹

A. E. BURN.

The Reason of Life. By WILLIAM PORCHER DU BOSE. (Longmans, 1911. pp. 274.)

THE series of little volumes, of which this is the fourth, contains a fairly complete philosophy of religion, extracted from the New Testament. The Synoptic Gospels, St Paul's Epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, have been treated in the three previous treatises; now we have the Johannine writings dealt with in the same manner. Dr Du Bose is to be congratulated on the completion of his task. Those who have met this fine old scholar, a Confederate soldier in his youth, a thinker all his life long, and a writer in his old age, will not be surprised that he is still able to produce books free from any trace of senility, nor even that his style steadily improves in flexibleness, as if he were acquiring mastery of an instrument which at first did not work smoothly. The present volume is less of a commentary than the book called *High Priesthood and Sacrifice*. It is based throughout on Johannine ideas; but the author has given these a thoroughly modern form by using them to reconcile the claims of pragmatism and idealism. Nothing shews the freshness of Dr Du Bose's mind more clearly than his appreciation of the newest phases of philosophical thought. He has made a very able and successful attempt to shew that what is true in these

¹ On p. 402 some word is missing after 'Wilhelm and Scannell are' [authorities?]. For English members of the Roman Church. In the index, for 'Zahn 307' read 'Zahn 301'.

rival systems is contained implicitly in the earliest Christian philosophy, that which St Paul sketched out and 'St John' filled in.

The relation between idealism and pragmatism is, Dr Du Bose says, like that between hypothesis and verification; there can therefore be no real conflict between them. Experience tries all things, and uses or disuses, but never originates or creates. Religion is the most experimental of all sciences; but for the source and supply of the hypotheses on which it is to pass judgement, it needs the purest idealism. Pragmatism is right in maintaining that we are here not to correspond with the world as it is, but to re-form and make a new world out of it. But the type to which we are to conform, and to make our environment conform, is an eternal and absolute type.

Dr Du Bose's own position is a kind of 'personal idealism'. He draws a sharp distinction between 'things', which God directs by laws made automatic, and 'persons', who obey laws not automatic, but subject in part to the self-conscious and free wills of free persons. And as he insists on the personality and freedom of human beings, so he maintains that the witness to Jesus and the resurrection is nothing if it is not witness to a present Person and a present and actual experience. 'The tendency in these days is to divorce the historical Jesus from the symbolical Christ. The next step will be to dispense with the symbol, and thus to reduce God, Truth, and Life from Persons to abstract ideas and principles. Then will be the end of religion.' It is easy to see how this argument can be supported from the Johannine Gospel and First Epistle. The treatment of love as 'the seminal principle of life' is also very Johannine, and full of the earnestness of personal conviction and experience.

A few detached sayings may be quoted to illustrate the vigour and wisdom which characterize this book. 'Life is born in union and perfected in unity. That is why God is love, and all life is love; because love is the only real bond of union and unity.' 'Our Lord did not come into the world so much to make life different as to make it real.' 'No revelation of life is true because it is revealed; it is revealed because it is true.' 'There is nothing in God that is merely impersonal.' 'It is the worst of anthropomorphisms to think of God's acts as separate from Himself, as ours are.'

W. R. INGE.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1911 (Vol. lxxiii, No. 145 : Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM The value of the Establishment of the Church—H. ST. J. THACKERAY The present position of New Testament studies—C. E. A. BEDWELL The Temple Church—C. GORE The mystical element of religion—J. VAUGHAN Winchester Cathedral Library from the Reformation to the Commonwealth—The Board of Education and educational endowments—W. H. FRERE The Use of Exeter—Disestablishment and disendowment of the Welsh Church—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1911 (Vol. x, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). A. J. BALFOUR Creative evolution and philosophic doubt—H. BERGSON Life and Consciousness—A. LOISY The Christian mystery—A. HARNACK Greek and Christian piety at the end of the third century—W. SANDAY The Apocalyptic element in the Gospels—J. A. THOMSON Is there one science of nature?—L. P. JACKS A psychologist among the saints—H. JONES The corruption of the citizenship of the working man—W. C. D. and C. D. WHETHAM Decadence and civilization—J. E. CARPENTER The Sikh religion—J. B. PRATT The religious philosophy of William James—P. T. FORSYTH Revelation and Bible—F. THILLY The characteristics of the present age—THE BISHOP OF LONDON Social Service, No. 1 : another appeal to English gentlemen.

The Expositor, October 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 10 : Hodder & Stoughton). W. M. RAMSAY The thought of Paul—A. R. SIMPSON The broken heart of Jesus—A. SOUTER The secondary character of 'Ephesians'—C. A. SCOTT The Epistle to Philemon—R. A. AYTOUN The mysteries of baptism by Moses bar Kepha compared with the Odes of Solomon—J. OMAN Personality and grace, personality and system—A. E. GARVIE Is Paul's Gospel out of date?—J. MOFFATT Materials for the preacher.

November 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 11). S. R. DRIVER The Book of Judges—J. R. HARRIS Two Flood-hymns of the early Church—A. H. SAYCE The Jews and their Temple in Elephantine—W. M. RAMSAY The thought of Paul—J. OMAN Personality and grace : 2. Grace—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The prologue of Ecclesiastes—A. E. GARVIE The Gentile influences on Paul—H. H. B. AVLES St Matthew xvi 18.

December 1911 (Eighth Series, No. 12). W. M. RAMSAY The Thought of Paul—G. MARGOLIOUTH The Sadducean Christians of Damascus—S. R. DRIVER The Book of Judges—C. H. DODD Eucharistic symbolism in the Fourth Gospel—W. RICHMOND Note on the Great Omission by St Luke of St Mark vi 45–viii 3—J. W. DIGGLE The Duty of self-love—J. MOFFATT Materials for the Preacher.

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THE CHRISTIAN MESSIAH IN THE LIGHT OF JUDAISM ANCIENT AND MODERN.¹

ST LUKE ii 25: *And behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and this man was righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel.*

THE first two chapters of St Luke's Gospel give an idyllic picture of the pious circle into which our Lord was born. In the form largely of poetry the aspirations—the Messianic ideals—of this circle are set before us, which recall and sum up all that is best and noblest in the great Messianic utterances of the Old Testament prophets. The atmosphere that pervades them is essentially that of Old Testament prophecy at its highest level. Thus the Song of Zacharias, which may fitly be termed an Old Testament canticle, in the first strophe blesses God for the fulfilment of the promise to David, and looks for the fulfilment of the Abrahamic covenant, recalling such passages as:—

*There will I cause a horn to sprout for David;
I have prepared a lamp for mine anointed,
His enemies will I clothe with shame;
But upon him shall his crown be brilliant.²*

The reference to *the holy covenant* confirmed by an oath which *He sware to our forefather Abraham* recalls the great promise made to the 'father of the faithful' that his seed should become a great nation, and that in him *all the families of the earth should be blessed*.³

In the second strophe, again, the language of Old Testament prophecy is taken up—the great passage from Deutero-Isaiah about the Herald:—

¹ The Macbride Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, Sunday, Jan. 28, 1912, on 'Messianic Prophecy in relation to Christ'.

² Ps. cxxxii 17, 18.

³ Gen. xii 1-3.

Such is the Messianic expectation disclosed to us in the opening chapters of St Luke's Gospel. We catch a glimpse of a pious circle in Israel who were awaiting the advent of a Messiah who should effect the moral and spiritual redemption of his people; who should reign as a spiritual prince in the hearts of a regenerate people, and so fulfil the old promises made to the House of David; and one who should extend his spiritual dominion to the ends of the earth. These hopes were based and nourished upon Old Testament prophecy, and were cherished within a limited circle who were to be found both among the learned—especially among the disciples of Hillel—and also among the people. Among the latter were doubtless included some of the more spiritually minded of the apocalyptists. The fulfilment of these hopes in the person and career of Jesus of Nazareth may be said to be the theme of the New Testament generally.

Doubtless the poems on which this estimate is based are the product, to some extent, of reflexion. They exhibit the piety of the primitive Palestinian Christian Church. Their genuinely primitive character and their essential conformity to truth and fact are guaranteed by their whole tone and character, their Christology, and their setting. In them we ought to see, as I venture to think, translations of hymns, originally composed in Hebrew for liturgical use in the early Palestinian community of Hebrew Christians.

The Messianic ideals that have just been sketched were those of a minority, of which Zacharias the priest and Elizabeth, Joseph and Mary, the aged Simeon and the prophetess Anna were typical examples. To these we may add, as an example of the learned and aristocratic class, Joseph of Arimathaea, who also was *looking for the Kingdom of God*.¹ As in the days of the prophets, the loftiest and most spiritual hopes of the nation were the possession of a pious few.

Very different was the conception of the Messianic King cherished in the circles of the Zealot party. Here the Messiah was pictured as a political deliverer who should annihilate the power of heathen Rome, and establish a world-empire with Jerusalem for its capital. It was this delusive hope that captivated the imagination of the masses of the people, and led to the disastrous revolts against the imperial power, first in A.D. 66–70,

¹ St Mark xv 43 (cf. St Luke xxiii 51).

and finally in 133-135 under Bar Kokba. If a political Messiah could enlist the allegiance of so great a Rabbi as Aqiba, it will be at once apparent how far-reaching the appeal of this mistaken ideal must have been. And yet it would be a mistake to suppose that the purely political ideal ever satisfied the nation as a whole. Before both the earlier and the later revolts influential voices of protest were raised. The great teacher Jochanan ben Zakkai withdrew about A.D. 66 to Jamnia to found a school which was destined to perpetuate the religion of the Law; and Aqiba was rebuked by more than one of his colleagues for adhesion to an adventure, which, as they foresaw, was destined to bring about the ruin of the nation.

But, further, the Judaism of this earlier period down to A.D. 70 and even to A.D. 135 was a larger and more complex thing than it afterwards became. It embraced liberal elements which were later eliminated. The most eloquent witness, perhaps, of this is the great missionary propaganda which was carried on throughout the colonies of the Jewish Dispersion by Hellenistic Jews, and carried on, as Josephus attests and as the missionary labours of St Paul bear witness, with amazing success. The liberal party, which was strong among the Hellenistic Jews, and had influential support even in Palestine, was willing to divest Judaism of its accidental elements and to insist upon essentials—the profession of faith in one God, the observance of the Sabbath-rest, and the abjuration of idolatry in all its forms as well as its immoral accompaniments. In a word, all that it insisted upon was ethical monotheism. Circumcision was not demanded as a *sine qua non* for the admission of proselytes, only the purificatory bath of baptism.

‘Wash your whole stature’, says the Sibyl, ‘clean from impurity in running streams, and with hands uplifted to heaven, ask for forgiveness of your doing; then the worship of God shall heal gross impiety.’¹ It was the school of Shammai that insisted upon the letter of the Law about circumcision; it was probably also Pharisees of the same school who came into collision with our Lord, and provoked His stern denunciation. To this ‘Catholick Judaism’² Philo belonged, who conceived Israel’s

¹ *Sibyll-Oracles* iv 104 f.

² The phrase is Mr J. H. A. Hart’s; cf. his *The Hope of Catholick Judaism* (Oxford, 1910).

mission to be a priestly nation for the whole world: 'Israel', he says, 'is above all the nations beloved of God, one that has received the priesthood for the whole human race.'¹ To Philo the missionary propaganda of the Dispersion was an essential part of Judaism. Now of this wider Judaism, which included, as we have seen, some, at any rate, of the apocalyptists, Christianity claims to be the heir. And the claim has been justified at the bar of history. For the religion of Jesus took over, as a matter of fact, the Greek Bible of the Jewish Dispersion (the LXX), as well as the missionary propaganda with its fruits, the Greek converts. All these Rabbinical Judaism surrendered. Truly, as a distinguished Jewish scholar² has said: 'If Jesus was the Christ, then the religion of the Jewish Dispersion was Christianity.'

When we turn to the question of our Lord's own conception of His Messianic office we are confronted with undoubted difficulties. The subject has been much debated during recent years, and the discussion of it has given rise to much controversy. Into the full details of this it would obviously be impossible to enter now. But one or two considerations of a general character which bear upon the fundamentals of the problem may be permitted. Controversy has not been without definite results which have brought some important points into clear relief. It is admitted on all hands now that there is a large eschatological element behind our Lord's conception.

The most characteristic expression of our Lord's Messianic consciousness is undoubtedly summed up in His use of the Messianic title, which He appropriated to Himself, of the Son of Man. What is its significance?

It is generally agreed that the special significance of the term is largely determined by its use in the famous passage in Dan. vii 13f: *I saw in the night visions, and behold there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him.* The author of Daniel apparently used the term *one like unto a son of man* in contrast with the beasts (who represent the heathen world-empires) as a symbol for the people

¹ *De Abrah.* ii 15.

² Moriz Friedländer. *Das Judentum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt* p. 19.

of Israel. But it does not follow—as has so often been supposed—that the figure *like a man* (or *son of man*) has no individual or personal significance. On the contrary it seems probable that *one like unto a son of man* is really a descriptive term for an angelic being—presumably Michael, Israel's angel-prince, in the thought of the author of Daniel—who acts as Israel's representative and counterpart. The figure is thus both a symbol and a person. The author of Daniel probably borrowed this figure from tradition, from one form of which *the Man* of the Ezra-Apocalypse (2 Esdras xiii)—who is there identified with the Messiah—was also derived. This *Man* is a heavenly being or angel who has been invested with attributes proper only to Jahveh Himself. Thus, like Jahveh (Is. xix 1), he rides upon the clouds, and in the Ezra-Apocalypse his appearance is described in the terms of a theophany. The idea of the heavenly being, who thus comes to view as a firmly fixed feature in old apocalyptic tradition, is the source of the conception of the heavenly Messiah—the Son of Man—of the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch, the composition of which most scholars assign to the first century B.C. Here the angelic being of Daniel, invested with Messianic attributes, becomes the pre-existent heavenly Messiah who is to judge both men and angels. It seems clear, however, that this Messianic conception was not at any time widely known or popular among the Jews. *The Son of Man* was certainly not a current name for the Messiah among the Jews generally, though the conception of the pre-existent Messiah seems to be clearly present in the LXX of Dan. vii 13.¹ It was apparently cherished in certain (probably small) apocalyptic circles to which, no doubt, some of the earliest generation of Christians belonged. It is to this circle, presumably, that our Lord owed His knowledge of the idea, and its Messianic associations, as shewn by His appropriation to Himself of the title *Son of Man*. But in His hands the original conception was profoundly modified by being combined with the idea of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah liii. In the idea so modified and embodied in the term, Christ seems to have found the most adequate expression of His Messianic consciousness. It thus acquires in His mouth that

¹ ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὄραματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἤρχετο καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν.

combination of the ideas of humiliation and glory which is so striking a feature in His use of the expression. The Messianic interpretation of Dan. vii was also known to the Rabbis, though, as has been pointed out, it never resulted in the current popular use of the term *Son of Man* as a title of the Messiah. The great Jewish Rabbi Aqiba (early second century A.D.) spoke of the 'thrones' of Dan. vii 9 as prepared for God and for David,¹ an exegesis which presupposes the Messianic interpretation of Dan. vii 13. A later Rabbi (Joshua b. Levi, c. 250 A.D.) combined the two texts, which he interpreted Messianically, Dan. vii 13 and Zech. ix 9: 'Behold with the clouds of heaven came one like a Son of Man . . . Lowly and riding upon an ass.' How is the apparent contradiction to be reconciled? asks the Rabbi. The answer is: 'If they [i.e. the generation in which the Messiah comes] shall be worthy he will come with the clouds of heaven (i.e. in glory and majesty), and if not, he will come upon an ass' (i.e. in humiliation).² In this way the Rabbi strove to combine prophecies which he accepted as speaking of Messiah's humiliation and glory. The New Testament follows a different path. It sees the apparent contradiction resolved in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. In the Son of Man who had not where to lay His head, who willingly suffered the deepest of all earthly humiliation in the death of the Cross, and who was afterwards exalted to the Throne of God, the writers of the New Testament found a key which unlocked all the significance of the ancient prophecies, which shed a new and brilliant light upon many obscure passages, and solved all the apparent contradictions. Can it be wondered at that, with such an intense conviction as they possessed of the meaning of the life, death, and resurrection of their Lord, they should go forth as they did and preach with triumphant enthusiasm the gospel of the crucified but exalted Messiah?

It must be admitted, indeed, that in their appeal to prophecy and in their application of it there was something new as well as old. The New Testament in its citations from the Old Testament Scriptures preserves much of the old exegesis of the ancient synagogue, which has often been refined away or modified by the later Rabbis and teachers. An interesting example of this

¹ T. B. Sanh. 38b.

² T. B. Sanh. 98a.

meets us in the case of Ps. cx (*The Lord said unto my Lord*). In the New Testament (St Matt. xxii 44 and parallels) it is implied that the Messianic interpretation of this Psalm was the one generally accepted and current at the time among the Jews. Later, however, this view was largely displaced in favour of others, more especially of one which referred the words *my lord* to Abraham (so Rashi). But the older view is sometimes attested. Thus it reappears in the Midrash to Ps. xviii 36 in a comment on the words: 'Thy right hand hath upholden me.' 'R. Judan in the name of R. Chama says, "that in the time to come the Holy One—blessed be He—will make King Messiah sit at His right hand, as it is said (Ps. cx 1): *The Lord said unto my lord, Sit thou on my right hand*", &c.'

Another example, perhaps, is Psalm ii which is interpreted Messianically in the New Testament (especially the words *Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee*). As Dalman has shewn, there are not many traces in later Jewish literature of the Messianic application of Ps. ii. But such an interpretation is assumed in the seventeenth of the Psalms of Solomon—one of the classical expressions of Messianic doctrine in pre-Christian Jewish literature—while the Son of Man Vision of the Ezra-Apocalypse (2 Esdras xiii) gives an eschatological commentary on the Psalm interpreted Messianically. As Dalman says: 'One may assume that as time passed on the Christian [and, we may add, the apocalyptic] exposition of the Psalm became a deterrent to its common use by the synagogue.'¹

But, while there is much in the New Testament use of Old Testament prophecy which reflects the exegesis of the ancient synagogue, there is also an element which is undoubtedly new. The idea of a suffering and crucified Messiah was and is to the majority of Jews a stumbling-block. The conception was one that the Apostles themselves, as the Gospels shew, were only able to grasp gradually and painfully. Indeed it was not fully grasped until after the great experience of the Resurrection. Nor is there any trace of a pre-Christian Messianic application of the great Servant-passages. In Dan. xii 3 the righteous Servant is apparently identified with those 'who turn many to righteousness', i. e. those faithful teachers of the Law who amid

¹ *Words of Jesus* p. 271 f.

trial and persecution, and even perhaps martyrdom, are loyal to the true religion in their teaching.

Again, in the Book of Wisdom there are several unmistakeable allusions to the same chapter, especially in the description of the righteous man who suffers persecution. But the 'righteous one' of this Book is throughout, as Grimm has pointed out, a collective designation for 'the pious of all ages'. Further, in the great Messianic Psalm (xvii), belonging to the Psalter of Solomon, a righteous king is depicted who will come to purify his people; but not a word is spoken of a suffering Messiah. It is in the New Testament that this interpretation first emerges, and there, no doubt, it is to be traced ultimately to the mind of our Lord Himself. It thus marks a new development in the Messianic interpretation of prophecy, but one for which the way had already been prepared. For the earlier *Servant*-passages, especially Is. xlii 1 f, had already been interpreted in a Messianic sense in pre-Christian times. Thus the seventeenth of the Psalms of Solomon, just now referred to, contains clear allusions to Is. xlii 4 ('he shall not fail nor be discouraged'), which it applies to the Messiah, thus interpreting the passage in the sense given to it by the Targum: 'Behold my servant the Messiah.' The *Elect One* as a Messianic title in the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch also implies the same interpretation. Most modern scholars would agree that the *Servant*-passages in Deutero-Isaiah belong together; and that the term *Servant* throughout must bear the same significance. The Christian interpretation, therefore, is a legitimate development. It is true that the later Jewish commentators, including Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and David Kimchi, and their successors, consistently explain the figure of the suffering *Servant* as Israel in exile. The great mediaeval poet Jehudah Halevi declares that it is of Israel that the prophet said 'Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows'.¹ But how can the sufferings of the Jewish race in exile be said to be vicarious? According to the prophets and even later Jewish teachers (like Saadya) the sufferings endured by the nation were on account of its sins. If a collective sense is to be given to the term *Servant*, it must be the pious minority of the nation, the suffering righteous, that are meant. And the righteous, according to Dr Schiller-Szinessy, culminate in the Messiah.²

¹ *Kuzari* part ii. ² *Exposition of Isaiah* lii 13–liii (Cambridge 1892) p. 29.

On the Christian view of Christ as the great representative Man there is in fact no difficulty in applying prophecies which originally had a collective significance to the Messiah. As Dr Stanton has well said¹: 'The New Testament writers, in their application of the language of the prophets to Christ and His Church, pointed out the true fulfilment of what the prophets dreamed, in the deepest sense of the word fulfilment; that is, the complete realization of the essential idea of what they aspired after; while, at the same time, the fact that the aspirations of the prophets did actually in God's Providence prepare the way of Christ by training men in the expectation of Him and His Kingdom, in itself gives an authority to such an interpretation of their language... In the ideal of the theocratic king, or in the experience of some saint of God, or in God's relations to Israel as His child, or (in one instance) in the Psalmist's conception of the true destiny of man, features were shadowed forth, however dimly, which were recognized as existing in Jesus in their most perfect manner.' This is not to abnegate the rights of historical investigation which seeks to discover by all means at command the circumstances which conditioned the original composition of a prophecy, and the significance it bore to the original writer and readers. But the prophetic word did not exhaust its meaning with its original utterance and immediate application. It was constantly being re-interpreted and adapted to later circumstances and conditions. The preservation of the prophetic writings in a sacred Book through the centuries was bound to produce this result. As a great Jewish scholar² has said: 'The Bible is, and at all times was, a Word full of fresh life, not a dead book. This everlasting Word belonged not to a particular age; it could not be dependent [for its meaning] on the time when it was written down.' One important element, then, that must be considered with Messianic prophecy is the history of its interpretation. And this is largely dependent upon the nature of the Hope which is, (at once,) partly its outcome and partly a controlling factor in determining its general direction. It is all-important to bear this in mind when we come to estimate the Messianic conceptions of Rabbinic and of later Judaism.

¹ *The Jewish and Christian Messiah* p. 195 f.

² Geiger *Urschrift* p. 72 f.

The conceptions of the Messianic Age as these appear in the Midrashim and Haggadistic parts of the Talmud are too varied to be described in detail here. There is, of course, the period of tribulation which precedes the Messianic Age proper. In the wars of Gog and Magog the mysterious Messiah ben Joseph will be killed ; but will be restored to life by Elijah, the forerunner of the true Messiah ben David. The latter is pictured as a man of the Royal House of David, divine only in the greatness of his natural gifts. Through him the Kingdom of Israel, now gathered in, is to be set up, and is to be the world-power. This is usually thought of as of temporary duration—lasting 400 or 1,000 years—and during its existence it is to be marked by the enjoyment of great felicity. It will be terminated by the end of the world, and the Final Judgement.

It is, however, in the Jewish Liturgy that we find a more truly representative and nobler expression of the Jewish national Messianic hope. Here extravagant fancies are kept in check ; the language used is largely controlled by that of the Bible, at any rate in the public prayers ; and even in the hymns and piyyutim there is dignity and restraint. In the so-called ‘ Eighteen-Blessings ’ (*Sh'mōnē 'Esrē*),¹ which forms an integral part of all Jewish services, there are several allusions to or petitions for the coming of the Messiah, who is referred to as ‘ Redeemer ’ (i). In xiv and xv the prayer for the coming of the Messiah ben David becomes explicit :—

XIV : *And to Jerusalem, thy city, return in mercy as thou hast said ; rebuild it soon, in our days, as an everlasting building, and speedily set up therein the throne of David.*

XV : *Cause the Shoot (Branch) of David speedily to shoot forth, and let his horn be exalted in thy salvation, because we wait for thy salvation continually.*

The Eighteen Benedictions also contain petitions for the gathering in of the exiles, and the restoration of the sacrificial worship of the Temple. But the rôle and person of the Messiah are not emphasized. It is the Redemption that occupies the central point in the aspirations of petitioning Israel. The language often glides insensibly into that of prayer for the Redemption, without any

¹ The full text of these can be seen in Singer's ed. of the *Authorized Daily Prayer-Book* (Hebrew and English) pp. 44-54 (Eyre & Spottiswoode).

allusion to the Messiah at all. God Himself is Israel's Redeemer:—

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

And God Himself is Israel's true King:—

Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning; remove from us grief and sighing; and reign Thou over us, O Lord, Thou alone, in lovingkindness and tender mercy, and justify us in judgement.

In fact—and it is important that this should be remembered—the Messianic Age has always occupied a larger place in the thought of Rabbinical Judaism than the personal Messiah. The finest prayers in the Jewish Liturgy breathe the aspiration that God's sovereignty may be set up in all the world:—

Now, therefore, O Lord our God, impose Thine awe upon all Thy works, and Thy dread upon all that Thou hast created, that all works may fear Thee, and all creatures prostrate themselves before Thee; that they may all form a single band to do Thy will with a perfect heart, even as we know, O Lord our God, that dominion is Thine, strength is in Thine hand, and might in Thy right hand, and that Thy name is to be feared above all that Thou hast created (cf. Singer p. 239).

A prayer breathing similar sentiments¹ forms the conclusion of every service in the Synagogue.

It is, perhaps, hardly surprising, in view of the subordinate and unessential rôle assigned to the personal Messiah in orthodox Judaism, to find Reform Judaism eliminating the Messiah altogether. In an official manifesto of Reform principles put

¹ The 'Alôni, which runs as follows:—'It is our duty (עלנו) to praise the Lord of all things. . . . He is our God; there is none else. . . . We therefore hope in thee, O Lord our God, that we may speedily behold the glory of thy might, when thou wilt remove the abominations from the earth, and the idols shall be utterly cut off, when the world shall be perfected under the kingdom of the Almighty, and all the children of flesh will call upon thy name, when thou wilt turn unto thyself all the wicked of the earth. Let all the inhabitants of the world perceive and know that unto thee every knee must bow, every tongue must swear. Before thee, O Lord our God, let them bow and fall; and unto thy glorious name let them give honour; let them all accept the yoke of thy kingdom, and do thou reign over them speedily, and for ever and ever. For the kingdom is thine, and to all eternity thou wilt reign in glory; as it is written in thy Law, *The Lord shall reign for ever and ever.* And it is said: *And the Lord shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall the Lord be One, and His name one.*' (See Singer's *Authorized Daily Prayer-Book* p. 76 f.)

forth at Philadelphia in 1869, the following is the first of a series of statements:—

‘The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendant of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth, but the union of all the children of God in the confession of the unity of God, so as to realize the unity of all rational creatures, and their call to moral sanctification.’

Again, in another manifesto, put forth at Pittsburg in 1885, the following occurs:—

‘We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approaching of the realization of Israel’s great Messianic hope and for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.’

This, surely, is a confession of religious bankruptcy! As the fulfilment of the glowing hopes, expressed by the prophets and psalmists of Israel, of a divine intervention we are offered modern culture, and the spread of cheap enlightenment!¹

The hopes of orthodox Judaism and orthodox Christianity are not separated by such an impassable gulf. And yet the fundamental differences between them are sufficiently serious. The most important is concerned with the Person of Christ. Orthodox Judaism refuses to assign so exalted a position as is claimed for Jesus to any but God. It has consistently kept its Messiah within purely human limits. The nation is greater than any individual member of it. In order to maintain this position early Rabbinism was obliged to eliminate a good deal that belonged to the older and wider Judaism that preceded it; in particular it practically banned the whole of the apocalyptic literature which enshrined the developed conception of the heavenly pre-existent Messiah; it also banned the Hellenistic literature of Philo and his contemporaries and predecessors, together with their Greek Bible, the LXX. Recently a controversy has been carried on in a Jewish

¹ This language is not meant to apply to the *whole* position of Reform Judaism, but only to its dissipation of the substance of the Messianic hope. Faith in a real divine intervention—whether by the advent of a personal Messiah or the coming in of the Messianic Age—is surely essential to the hope, and it is deprived of most of its significance if it is thus rationalized away into a colourless evolutionary process.

newspaper¹ on the question whether Philo was a good Jew. According to one of the controversialists he was a good Diaspora-Jew, but his Judaism cannot pass muster from the point of view of orthodox Rabbinic Judaism. Was not Philo, he asks, ultimately responsible for the Christian doctrine of the Trinity?

Quite consistently, from its own point of view, Rabbinic Judaism will have nothing to do with any form of the doctrine of mediation, or a mediator. Inconvenient survivals from the older theology which suggested tendencies of this sort have been largely suppressed or relegated to the background; and passages have even been inserted in some of the oldest parts of the Liturgy, with a polemical aim against the Christian doctrine of the mediatorial Christ, who saves and redeems His people from their sins. The Law² occupies the central place, and is invested with supreme honour in worship and devotion. All this is but the expression of a profound conviction that God has chosen to make a supreme revelation of Himself and His requirements in the Divine Law; and that man is sanctified by the Divine Law which is the very principle of His perfection. The Law thus occupies in Judaism exactly the same position as the Person of Christ and the Incarnation in orthodox Christianity. Perfection is to be sought and attained in the one case in obedience to a system of ordinances; in the other in devotion to a personal Saviour who has realized the divine requirements in a sinless manhood. In the one case the ideal is set forth in a book; in the other it is embodied in a life.

Herein the fundamental and vital difference between Judaism and Christianity is manifest. The inexhaustible significance of the Person of Christ, its perennial religious value in meeting the varying spiritual needs of different ages, races, and civilizations; its attractive inspiring and redemptive power; have been—and are being—shewn in ways and with a frequency that are unmistakeable. A religion that sets forth its ideal in the abstract form of a book is necessarily inferior to one that transfigures worship into personal service, and holiness of character into personal devotion to the Incarnate Son of God.

Another fundamental difference between Rabbinical Judaism

¹ *The Jewish Chronicle* (January 1912).

² This and the following three paragraphs are derived from the writer's Essay, *The Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer-Book* (1906) pp. 14 f, 44 f.

and Christianity concerns the question of sin and forgiveness. The Rabbis may with truth be said almost completely to have spiritualized the idea of sacrifice and atonement. Nothing could well be nobler or higher than their doctrine of repentance. Even the acknowledgement of sin seems to be expressed in the penitential prayers in adequate language; while the emphasis that is laid on God's mercy¹ and yearning for the return of the penitent is fervent enough almost to be Christian.

Where Christianity and Rabbinical Judaism part company is as to *the means by which such true repentance is to be secured.*

In place of a Saviour who has died for the sins of the world, Judaism offers to the sinner the Law, the Day of Atonement. It has ever been deficient in sympathy with the unlearned, the ignorant, the weak, the fallen, the lost. 'Judaism', says Dr Dalman, 'exhibits no lack of benevolence, even outside the circle of its race-connexion. It possesses, however, nothing corresponding to the Christian efforts for saving the lost, nothing parallel to our home and foreign missions; nor can it possess anything of the kind', because it has failed to make Love the central principle of Religion.²

The need for reconstruction of the Christian apologetic in the face of Judaism asserts itself inevitably from age to age. What is needed to-day, for orthodox Jews, is a demonstration on a large scale of the truth of the New Testament claims to be the true and legitimate development of the religion of the Old Testament. If the kernel of the Old Testament religion lies in the teaching of the prophets, it will not be difficult to prove that the New Testament is its rightful heir. For if anything is certain it is that the New Testament is full of the prophetic spirit; Jesus Himself, according to Mr Montefiore, was the greatest of the prophets; while the beginnings of the Christian movement were marked by a great revival of the spirit of prophecy, which, according to the Rabbinical literature itself, is to be one of the signs of the Messianic time. It was in the prophetic spirit that the Christian missionaries went forth to realize the ideal of the older prophets, and make the Christian Messiah to be *the light to lighten the Gentiles.*

¹ Especially the thirteen attributes mentioned in Ex. xxxiv 6 f.

² *Christianity and Judaism* (E. T.) p. 47.

If all this could be set before orthodox Jews in a Jewish way, they would listen ; for they were never more ready to listen than at the present time. When a Jewish Rabbi like Dr Klein of Stockholm can publicly state, as he has just done,¹ that the prophetic religion is the true religion of Israel ; that the Law was an intruding element—a compromise ; and that one of the works of the Messiah, which was realized in Jesus, was the annulling of the binding character of the ceremonial Law, we are naturally startled. Surely along such lines as these a reconciliation between Church and Synagogue ought to be possible.

The antagonism between Church and Synagogue has wrought untold mischief to both. Judaism by organizing itself against Christianity has impoverished itself ; while the Christian Church has, in its turn, suffered by having Judaism as an opposing force outside. Nor is the fault entirely on the side of the Jews. I doubt whether Christianity has ever been presented to the Jews—at any rate since the second century—in a way calculated to make a large appeal to the best of them. Individual Jews have in all ages been drawn to the profession of faith in Jesus of Nazareth. But while the profession of Christianity involves, as it involves now, the repudiation by the Jew of his entire national past, and his absorption in one or other branch of the Western Church, can it be wondered at if the great mass of the best Jews refuse to contemplate such a surrender ?

It was a great disaster when the distinctively Jewish branch of early Christianity disappeared. Recently a remarkable tendency has manifested itself in more than one quarter to attempt to revive a Jewish form of Christianity. One ideal that has been expressed is the revival of the Church of the Hebrews, 'that branch of the Holy Catholic Church', to use Bishop Blyth's words, 'which was first developed', and is now 'in suspense'.² Such a Church would naturally possess its own Liturgy and offices, essentially Jewish in expression and character, and its own distinctive organization. If such a community could ever be organized on a strong basis, and maintained, it would gradually concentrate the strength—which is now scattered and dissipated—

¹ *Ist Jesus eine historische Persönlichkeit?* (Tübingen 1910).

² From a paper by Bishop Blyth, printed in *Church and Synagogue*, January 1902.

of Jewish Christianity, and would set this forth in a distinctive and arresting way before the world and before Jewry. It might well, we may believe, in time develope into that Jewish Branch of the Catholic Church of which Bishop Blyth speaks.

Most Jews—including those of the Reform Branch—believe, or profess to believe, that Judaism has still a future, and a mission to carry out in the future to the world at large. Most Christians, too, would agree; only they would say: No religious future of any significance to the world at large is possible for Judaism with Jesus of Nazareth left out. The Jews themselves admit that the religion of Jesus has partially accomplished the Messiah's work by winning so many millions to belief in God.¹ We would ask: What will be left for the Jewish Messiah to accomplish when he comes? No; the verdict of history justifies the Christian claim. Jesus of Nazareth has accomplished—and will more than accomplish—the work of the Jewish Messiah. In Him Israel should see not the destroyer of the Jewish race but its glorifier.

As a great scholar—Dr Briggs—who has investigated the whole subject of Messianic Prophecy in all its bearings has said: 'In Jesus of Nazareth the key of the Messianic prophecy of the Old Testament has been found. All its phases find their realization in His unique personality, in His unique work, in His unique Kingdom. The Messiah of prophecy appears in the Messiah of history. The redemption predicted as the completion of the redemption experienced in greater and richer fullness in the successive stages of the old covenant is at last completed in the Messiah of the Cross and the Throne, in the Lamb that was slain for the redemption of men, but who ever liveth as the fountain of life, and the owner of the Keys of Hades. . . . It was the same divine Being who devised the redemption of the world, who revealed it in prophetic prediction, who prepared for it in the development of history, who accomplished it in time and eternity. . . . None but God could give such prophecy; none

¹ In the early Middle Ages it was officially declared on Rabbinical authority that Christians were to be regarded as *Gere Tōshab*, i.e. proselytes of the gate (see Isaac b. Sheshet, Response 119; cited by G. Friedlander *Jewish Sources of Sermon on the Mount* p. 266).

but God can fulfil such prophecy. The ideal of prophecy and the real of history correspond in Him, who is above the limits of time and space and circumstance, who is the creator, ruler, and saviour of the world, and who alone has the wisdom, the grace, and the power to conceive the idea of redemption, and then accomplish it in reality through the incarnation, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and second advent of His only-begotten and well-beloved Son, very God of very God, the Light and Life and Saviour of the world.’¹

G. H. Box.

¹ *Messianic Prophecy* p. 498f.



THE PROBLEM OF THE DIDACHE.

THE *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, has been before the world nearly thirty years. It was published in 1883 by its discoverer Bryennius, who shewed in his learned Greek commentary that the new book had many points of contact with Christian documents already known. Further parallels were soon collected by Harnack, Rendel Harris, and other scholars. Harnack with amazing rapidity issued his great edition in 1884, and appended to it a full discussion of the origins of the Christian Ministry, basing on the new document a theory which he has since but little modified, and which in its main features has been widely accepted. A few years later Dr C. Taylor argued that the first part of the book was derived almost entirely from a Jewish manual of ethical instruction, called from its opening words the *Two Ways*. Criticism was then directed to the reconstruction of this Jewish manual, and to the question whether it had already been in circulation as a Christian manual before it was embodied in the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Moreover the whole series of quotations and references in patristic literature had to be examined afresh, to see how far they were explained by the use of the *Two Ways* alone, and how far they implied an acquaintance with the *Teaching* in its fuller form. In 1900 Joseph Schlecht published a complete text of the Latin version of which a small fragment only was already known. This version offers us the *Two Ways* in what appears to be very nearly its original form, but as a Christian manual bearing the title *De Doctrina Apostolorum*.

The result of these and other investigations has been to shew that the *Two Ways*, either as a Jewish or as a Christian manual, had a considerable vogue in early times ; but that the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* has left comparatively few traces of its circulation—hardly any, indeed, which are of value for determining its date. Much light has been thrown on the antecedents of the first part of the book ; but the second part, which deals with Church order,

is still an unsolved riddle. It does not seem to fit in anywhere, in either time or place. The community which it presupposes is out of relation to all our knowledge of Church history. It is as much an isolated phenomenon after all our researches as when it surprised us at its first appearance. We still ask, Where was there ever a Church which celebrated the Eucharist after the manner here enjoined? Where was there ever a Church which refused to allow Apostles more than a two days' stay?

The object of the present paper is to attack the problem afresh through an investigation of the author's indebtedness to the writings of St Paul and St Luke. Such an enquiry may seem to be foredoomed to failure: for Harnack has declared that there is no decisive instance of any acquaintance with St Paul's Epistles; and that, even if it be admitted that the author had seen them, he certainly did not regard them as in any sense authoritative: moreover quite recently the late Bishop John Wordsworth pronounced a similar judgement. Now I believe that this conclusion is one which the writer fully intended should be drawn; but I shall be disappointed if I cannot shew that he has used the writings of St Paul, St Luke, and even St John, though he has been at great pains to conceal his obligations.

We must begin with an examination of the title, and an enquiry into the author's intention in framing it. Although the book is frequently referred to as the *Teaching of the Apostles*, it is possible that this short title ought now to be confined to the Christian recension of the *Two Ways*, which is preserved to us in the Latin version. The manuscript which Bryennius discovered gives us two titles: first of all, Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, and then, as the first line of the text itself, Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* may have been the brief title by which the author himself proposed that his work should be familiarly known: for it was the Apostolic tradition—the instructions delivered by the Twelve—that he claimed to record. But the ultimate sanction of the tradition is expressed in the fuller title which is an integral part of the book itself: *The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles*.

The substance of this longer title is undoubtedly drawn from Matt. xxviii 19 f, the commission to 'the eleven disciples':

Πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες (v. l. βαπτίσαντες) αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν. The same passage is referred to after the conclusion of the moral precepts which constitute the first part of the *Teaching* (namely the *Two Ways*), when the writer in speaking of Baptism says: Ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

It is plain that the writer professes to record what the Apostles taught to the Gentiles (πάντα τὰ ἔθνη), whom they were commissioned to instruct and baptize. The 'eleven disciples' who are the repository of the Lord's teaching for the instruction of the Gentiles, become, by the addition of St Matthias, the Twelve Apostles; and thus we have the full explanation of the title, *The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles*.

How then does the writer proceed in order to produce a book which shall correspond to this title? He starts off with the words 'There are two ways', and he embodies apparently the whole of a pre-existing manual of moral instruction. It is quite possible that it lay before him in its Christian form, already entitled *The Teaching of the Apostles*: indeed, this title may have given him the cue for his own more elaborate work. After copying a few sentences he introduces a considerable interpolation (i 3 b-ii 1), which is largely taken from the Sermon on the Mount. He does not, however, quote our Lord's words exactly; for it is not his purpose to give us the Sayings of the Lord, but rather His precepts as conveyed through His Apostles: so he purposely blends the language of the First and Third Gospels, and further shews his independence by such a modification as 'Fast for them that persecute you'. We note at once this characteristic of his method: we shall have opportunities of observing it further as we proceed.

Having thus, with the welcome aid of the *Two Ways*, constructed a representation of the teaching given by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles as preliminary to Baptism, he enters upon a task demanding more originality: namely the presentation of their teaching as to the method of Baptism, the celebration of the Eucharist, and other points of Church order. It is of the first importance that we should bear in mind that what he sets

himself to record is the teaching given by the Apostles to the Church of their day. It is not as his own book, but as theirs, that he puts out this manual of Church discipline. He has no care, as other authors had, to invent a plausible situation to explain how this teaching was formulated or came to his knowledge : he prefers to remain in the background, and allow the *Teaching* to win its way to acceptance on its merits. The book no doubt is coloured by the circumstances of his own time and place ; and yet so little coloured that no one has ever been able to give convincing proof either of its locality or of its date. In attempting to interpret it we must constantly remember that two elements are everywhere present : the writer's desire to say nothing that might not be supposed to have been said by the Apostles, and his desire to issue instructions which should have some bearing on the Church life of his day. It is just because he has combined these elements so skilfully, that we cannot either date or locate him.

Our author's obligations to the *Two Ways* end with the warning : ' See that none make thee err from this way of teaching ; otherwise he instructeth thee apart from God.' The Latin version contains a few more clauses after this :—

' Haec in consulendo si cottidie feceris, prope eris vivo deo : quod si non feceris, longe eris a veritate. haec omnia tibi in animo pone, et non decip(i)eris de spe tua ; sed per haec sancta certamina pervenies ad coronam ; per dominum Iesum Christum regnantem et dominantem cum deo patre et spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

Our author has nothing of this. Indeed, he has quite another message : for, in contrast to the requirement that all the precepts must be observed, he introduces the principle of a higher and a lower standard of Christian living. Two passages of St Matthew's Gospel are ringing in his ears : ' Ye shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect ' (v 48), and ' If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor ' (xix 21). On the first he has already played in his interpolation from the Sermon on the Mount : ' Turn to him also the other cheek, and thou shalt be perfect ' ; and both are in his mind in the words which follow here :—

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὄλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

These words form the transition from the first to the second part of the *Teaching*, and they deserve to be studied with care. We must begin by asking ourselves, What Apostolic sanction could the writer have found for this doctrine of a higher and a lower observance, and for the precept 'Do what thou canst'? We naturally think first of the Conference at Jerusalem, which refused to lay on the Gentiles a yoke that even Jews found too heavy to bear, but yet insisted that they must by all means abstain from meats offered to idols. Here we discover much of the phraseology of our passage: ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν, ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι, Acts xv 10; and in v. 28 ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων, κτλ. Further, 'the yoke of the Lord' recalls 'My yoke' (Matt. xi 29).¹

But although the passage in the Acts is indubitably in the writer's mind, it does not really sanction two possible courses, a higher and a lower, but rather makes a distinction between Jewish and Gentile converts in regard to ritual requirements. Such a sanction is, however, found in St Paul's advice concerning Virgins in 1 Cor. vii 25-40, where we have a series of examples in which the Apostle offers two permissible courses, of which one in his judgement is the better and more consonant with Christian devotion. I should not venture to put St Paul's ὁ θέλει, ποιείτω (1 Cor. vii 36) side by side with our author's ὁ δύνη, τοῦτο ποίει, if it were not that there is strong reason for believing that considerable use has been made in the *Teaching* of this part of the Corinthian Epistle.² The very next topic to which the Apostle turns is the question of idol-meats, and there is a curious coincidence, if it be nothing more, in the language of 1 Cor. viii 4 περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὐ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἶδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ, κτλ.

But indeed I think we shall have to admit that there is more than coincidence, or at any rate that there are at this point more coincidences than one. Let us observe how the Apostle divides

¹ The worship of 'dead gods' is a phrase possibly suggested by the reference to 'the living God' (*prope eris vivo deo*), if we may suppose that the Latin version as quoted above continues to represent the original which was before our author.

² St Paul's argument is based on the transitoriness of the present world: παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου (1 Cor. vii 31): a thought which finds expression later in the *Teaching* (x 6), in the strange παρελθὲν ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.

this part of his Epistle into sections introduced by the formula 'Now concerning . . .'

Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε . . . vii 1.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων . . . vii 25.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων . . . viii 1 (with subsection Περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὖν . . . viii 4).

Περὶ δὲ τῶν πνευματικῶν . . . xii 1.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας . . . xvi 1.

Περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ . . . xvi 12.

It is certainly curious that, as soon as our author has done with his document, the *Tivo Ways*, and begins to write with a free hand, he adopts a similar method :—

Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως . . . vi 3.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος . . . vii 1.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας . . . ix 1 (with subsections Πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου . . . ix 2 : Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος . . . ix 3).

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν . . . xi 2.

The observation of this parallel in structure may incline us to give more weight than we otherwise should to the parallels in language which we have already noted, and to those which will presently come before us.

Our author now proceeds to treat the subject of Baptism. We have already observed that the earlier portion of the book is regarded as the instruction which the Apostles gave to the Gentiles before baptizing them, and that the formula is that which is given in Matt. xxviii 19. We have only to add that, in view of later correspondences, there is reason to think that the 'living water' (ἕδωρ ζῶν), which is ordered to be used if possible, is a phrase which has been borrowed from St John.

The mention of the pre-baptismal fast leads our author on to speak of fasting more generally. He is now back again at the Sermon on the Mount ; and the injunction, 'Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites ; for they fast on the second day of the week and on the fifth ; but do ye fast the fourth day and the preparation', shews how he can seize upon the sacred words and yet depart entirely from their spirit in the new application which he is concerned to make of them.

'Fasts' and 'hypocrites' suggest the next topic : 'Neither pray

as do the hypocrites ; but as the Lord hath commanded in His Gospel, so pray ye: Our Father . . . 'The Gospel' is mentioned again in xi 3, xv 3, 4. The Twelve Apostles can assume that the Gospel in a written form is already in the hands of their converts. It is probable that the writer supposed that St Matthew's Gospel was in circulation in the lifetime of the Twelve Apostles ; for it is to that Gospel that he is plainly referring. But it is certain that he himself was acquainted also with the Gospels of St Luke and St John. He will not even give the Lord's Prayer without a difference : for he changes *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* into *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* and *τὰ ὀφειλήματα* into *τὴν ὀφειλὴν*, and the doxology which he adds is in the unusual form, *ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*. He does not add *Ἀμήν*, a word which he reserves for the Eucharist. It is of course possible that his variations represent a liturgical tradition, for which he thus claims Apostolic sanction.

The precept to pray three times a day (*τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας*, as in Dan. vi 11) would find sufficient Apostolic authority in the Acts : at the third hour, when the Apostles are assembled, presumably for prayer, the Holy Spirit descends at Pentecost (ii 15) ; at the sixth hour Peter prays at Joppa (x 16) ; at the ninth Peter and John go up to the temple (iii 1), and the Gentile Cornelius prays at Caesarea (x 3).

We now come to the Eucharist: *Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου*. Then after a brief Thanksgiving we have *περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος*, followed by another brief Thanksgiving. Here two points surprise us : first, the Cup is placed before the Bread ; secondly, the word *κλάσμα* in such a connexion is exceedingly odd. The first point is illustrated by 1 Cor. x 16, 17 :—

Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ χριστοῦ; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐστὶν; ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν, οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν.

The only other parallel for this order in early Christian literature is Lk. xxii 14 f. We have seen enough of our author to be ready to believe that this is a piece of literary perversity on his part, and does not represent the practice of any Christian community. A few lines later he recurs to the usual order when

he writes, Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω ἢ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ οἱ βαπτισθέντες κτλ. ; just as, indeed, St Paul himself does in xi 28 δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω.

The passage in St Paul has provided our author with something more than this derangement of the usual order. It is possible that it has suggested to him the blessing of the Cup and of the Bread separately, each with a special Thanksgiving. And it is very probable that his picturesque illustration of the grains of corn scattered on the mountains and brought together into one loaf is a fancy elaborated to match St Paul's illustration of the unity of those who partake of the portions of the one loaf. We shall return to our author's illustration presently and examine its phraseology.

Meantime we must consider κλάσμα. To such a use of the word as we have here there is no parallel, says Harnack, to be found in the literature of the first two centuries. Again our author is perverse: if he does not use οἶνος but ποτήριον, according to custom, he will not use ἄρτος but invents a new technical term κλάσμα. What has suggested it to him? The plural κλάσματα is used in all the Gospels for the fragments which remain over when the multitude has been fed. St John who regards the incident as a symbol of the Eucharist uses κλάσματα twice in the passage: he also says εὐχαριστήσας (instead of εὐλόγησεν); and ἐνεπλήσθησαν (instead of ἐχορτάσθησαν), which is to be compared with the μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι which has raised much discussion in the *Teaching* (iv 1). That this is the source of κλάσμα we shall probably be prepared to admit, when we have examined the language of the Prayer which follows the second of the Thanksgivings. Let us first set the two Thanksgivings side by side:—

For the Cup.

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ
παιδός σου,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ
παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

For the Broken Bread.

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ
παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

It has been held that the Eucharistic formulae of the *Teaching*

were probably borrowed from some current liturgical use and were not the free composition of our author. This view has been based on the unmistakable signs of Johannine vocabulary which they present, and the supposed absence of any traces of St John's Gospel in the rest of the book. It has further been held that the phraseology is to be accounted for not by direct use of the Fourth Gospel, but by the prevalence of such phraseology in the district in which both these formulae and the Johannine writings came into existence. But I think we shall find that the Gospel of St John has been directly used here and elsewhere in the book, and that these Thanksgivings are quite characteristic of our author.

We note first that *πάτερ ἡμῶν* comes from the Lord's Prayer, which has already been given in full. Next we observe the use of *παῖς* as a title of our Lord. This is not what we should expect in a Johannine *milieu*. But our author is familiar with the Acts, and with the Apostolic prayer of Acts iv 24-30: and there (though probably nowhere else in all literature) we find the same juxtaposition of *Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου* and *τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν* (also below, *διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ*).

We proceed to examine the Prayer which immediately follows the Thanksgiving for the *κλάσμα*:—

Ὅσπερ ἦν τοῦτο (τὸ) κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἐν· οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

This Prayer is a literary *tour de force*. We have seen that St Paul, in the passage quoted above, after speaking of the blessing of the Cup and the breaking of the Bread, added words which concern the Bread alone; and we have suggested that our author's metaphor is a perverse imitation, almost a parody, of St Paul's metaphor of the unity of the loaf. We have traced the *κλάσμα*, which is here said to be *συναχθὲν*, to an equally perverse use of St John's *Συναγάγετε τὰ κλάσματα*. But we have yet to account for the awkward participle *διεσκορπισμένον*, which apparently means to say that the *κλάσμα* is composed of grains of wheat which once were widely scattered and then were brought together into one loaf (*συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν*). When we observe that the exposi-

tion of the metaphor is the gathering together of the Church from all parts of the world, we cannot mistake the reference to St John's interpretation of the prophecy of Caiaphas (xi 52): *ἵνα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν*. And we shall find further reason later for thinking that the high priest's prophecy had taken hold of our author's imagination.

We have now to consider the closing group of Thanksgivings and Prayers, ordered to be said *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*. It is really fruitless to enquire whether the writer had in view the combination of the Eucharist with a meal or not: such a situation would be offered to him by 1 Cor. xi. But the word *ἐμπλησθῆναι* cannot be pressed to indicate this, now that we have traced it back together with *κλάσμα* to St John's narrative of the Feeding of the Multitude.

First, then, we have two Thanksgivings:—

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σε, πάτερ ἄγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Σὺ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν· ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

We observe that the writer is systematic in the use of his doxologies: the short form (beginning with *σοὶ*) he uses four times in Thanksgivings; the longer form (beginning with *ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν*) is used at the close of the two Prayers, as he has already used it with the Lord's Prayer.

Next we note echoes of St John: comp. xvii 11 *πάτερ ἄγιε, τήρησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου, ᾧ δέδωκάς μοι*, and 26 *ἐγνώρισα αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄνομά σου καὶ γνώρισω*. Also Pauline echoes: comp. 1 Tim. vi 16 *ἀθανασίαν*, and 17 *ἐπὶ θεῷ τῷ παρέχοντι ἡμῖν πάντα πλουσίως εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν* (cf. iv 3, 4 *βρωμάτων ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάληψιν μετὰ εὐχαριστίας . . . ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλόν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον*): and in 1 Cor. x 4 *πνευματικὸν βρῶμα* and *πνευματικὸν πόμα*.

The phrase *ὀνόματός σου οὗ κατεσκήνωσας* is found in the LXX of Neh. i 9, Jer. vii 12; and *δυνατὸς εἶ*, *Κύριε*, is in Ps.

lxxxviii (lxxxix) 9. With Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα we may compare the Apostolic prayer from which our author has already drawn: Acts iv 24 Δέσποτα, σὺ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανόν, κτλ.

After these two Thanksgivings comes the following Prayer:—

Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου· καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων τὴν ἀγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

With this we may compare Matt. vi 13, xxiv 31, xxv 34, and I John iv 18 (οὐ τετελείωται ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ).

Last of all, we have a remarkable group of ejaculations:—

Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.

Ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβίδ.

Εἴ τις ἁγίος ἐστίν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἐστὶ, μετανοεῖτω· μαρὰν ἀθά.

Ἀμήν.

The first of these ejaculations may remind us of I Cor. vii 31 παράγει γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. The second is plainly from Matt. xxi 9, 15; but with a modification, after our author's manner, probably based on Matt. xxii 45 'If David therefore calleth him Lord, how is he his son?'

With the third we must compare, for structure as well as phraseology, I Cor. xvi 22 Εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα· μαρὰν ἀθά. After what we have seen of our author's indebtedness to I Corinthians we can have no doubt that this verse is in his mind at this point.

Lastly, the Ἀμήν with which he closes his Eucharistic formulæ, and which he has carefully refrained from using up to this point, doubtless comes from I Cor. xiv 16 Ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῇς ἐν πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ιδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; This passage also gives us the clue to the brief sentence with which he ends his directions as to the Eucharist—one of the most unexpected sentences in the whole of the book: Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν. Why are the Prophets suddenly introduced here, when no mention of them has been made hitherto? And what warrant is there anywhere for the celebration of the Eucharist by a Prophet? If εὐχαριστία in

this passage of St Paul be taken in the later technical sense of the Eucharist, and if by 'blessing in the spirit' St Paul is supposed to mean the blessing of the elements by a Prophet, we have at once the required Apostolic sanction not only of the celebration of the Eucharist by Prophets, but also of a certain freedom in their performance of the rite.

When we have travelled thus far, and have recognized how intimately acquainted the writer of the *Teaching* was with the First Epistle to the Corinthians, how he has imitated its subdivisions, borrowed its words and phrases, and modified its thoughts to suit his own purposes, we are inclined to ask whether certain other notable features of his book, besides the celebration of the Eucharist by the Prophets, may not be derived from the same source. For example, the fact has been much insisted on that he addresses his injunctions to the community and not to any officers of the community, even when he prescribes rules for Baptism and the Eucharist. The *Two Ways* is addressed to a single disciple (τέκνον μου): when the close of this is reached, the singular number is kept for a couple of sentences; but then we come to *Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε*, and with a few exceptions the plural is henceforth employed. It is quite likely that this mode of giving injunctions even as to ecclesiastical ceremonies in the form of an address to the whole community is simply taken over from St Paul, and is therefore to be regarded as a trick of the writer and no proof at all that he recognized any 'sovereignty of the community' in such matters.

I am tempted to go a step further and enter on more controversial ground. The Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers, of whom so much has been written since the book was discovered, have appeared to me increasingly unreal the longer I have contemplated them and the more I have tried to find any true parallel to them in any part of the Church. The Apostles are particularly shadowy personages, and the little that is said of them is simply grotesque. Here is the whole of it:—

'Now concerning the apostles and prophets, according to the command of the Gospel, so do ye. And let every apostle coming to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain save one day, and if there be necessity a second also; but if he remain three, he is a false prophet. And when he goeth forth let the apostle take nothing, save

only bread till he find lodging ; but if he ask for money, he is a false prophet.'

Who are these extraordinary beings, bearing an honoured name, of whom nothing but a most depreciatory warning is uttered? Hilgenfeld was driven to think they were Montanist apostles: 'Harnack,' he says, 'regards them as itinerating evangelists, but he cannot shew that such evangelists were called apostles by Catholic writers.' I confess that I think it more probable that they are a free creation of the writer, who had in his mind St Paul's words in 1 Cor. xii 28 'God hath set in the church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers'. How was his picture of the Church to which the Twelve Apostles addressed their injunctions to be duly drawn, if he left out Apostles and proceeded at once to Prophets, of whom doubtless he knew something, though but little to their advantage? He knew, as we know, that in the New Testament other Apostles are mentioned besides the Twelve ; not only true Apostles, but also 'false apostles, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into apostles of Christ' (2 Cor. xi 13). He may possibly have known of travelling evangelists, passing to mission-fields, and may have thought the term 'apostle' applicable to them: but if so, his experience of their kind was not fortunate, for he thought it quite likely that they might only prove to be another form of false prophet. At any rate, St Paul had given to Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers the first places in the Church: therefore something must be said about Apostles.

The Prophet was more of a reality. He is somewhat in awe of him, and is afraid to judge of his utterances. St Paul, indeed, had spoken of *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων* (1 Cor. xii 10), and had given the injunction, *προφήται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν* (xiv 29). It may be that our author limited οἱ ἄλλοι to the other Prophets; at any rate he forbids the community to judge: *πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε*—for this, he adds from Matt. xii 31, is the unforgivable sin. Some of them acted in a way that ordinary men would not be justified in imitating: yet perchance they were but following the precedent of some of the Old Testament prophets, whose strange actions were meant for a sign: their judgement was with God. His only resource against the numerous class of deceivers

is to enjoin that they be well tested before they are accepted as true prophets, and to lay down the simple rule that greediness is the sure sign of the false prophet.

From St Paul he had gathered, as we have seen, that Prophets might 'bless in the spirit' at the Eucharist, and therefore could not be limited to prescribed formulae. This is a sufficiently surprising statement, but now follows something more startling still: 'they are your *high priests*.' This is not said in reference to the Eucharist, though he twice speaks of that as a sacrifice, borrowing the word from Malachi. It is said in reference to the reception of firstfruits. He is making provision for a Prophet who desires to settle in a community. To him the Lord's words will apply, 'he is worthy of his meat.' 'Every firstfruit therefore of the produce of wine-press and threshing-floor, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; *αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν*.' In further enumerating kinds of firstfruits he twice uses the expression 'give according to the commandment'. No such commandment can be deduced from our Lord's words in St Matthew's Gospel: where then has he found his sanction for transferring the Jewish system of firstfruits to provide for the sustenance of Christian Prophets? If we turn again to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we find what we want in a command of the Lord which was certain to attract his attention (ix 13):—

Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν, οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παρεδρευόντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συνμερίζονται; οὕτως καὶ ὁ κύριος διέταξεν τοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καταγγέλλουσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ζῆν.

The Lord had said that they who preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel, and St Paul had given as the reason for this that the priests in the temple were accustomed to live of the altar. This is enough for our author, who transfers a list of firstfruits from the Book of Numbers, where they are ordered to be given to the priests, and thus makes an abundant provision for the Prophets, 'for they are your high priests'. We have thus accounted for the provision, but not altogether for the designation. Why *ἀρχιερεῖς*, and not simply *ιερεῖς* as in the Old Testament passage from which he has drawn? We have already seen how he has borrowed a striking phrase from the interpreta-

tion given by St John to the words of Caiaphas (xi 51 f *ἵνα . . . τὰ διεσκορπισμένα συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν*). Now the very same passage declares that the high priest, in virtue of his office, spoke as a prophet: *τοῦτο δὲ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου ἐπροφήτευσεν*. If their high priests were prophets, the Prophets 'are your high priests'.

The Teacher is added to the Prophet in a rather perfunctory way. He is just mentioned in xiii 2 *ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ*. Our author knows that Teachers come next to Prophets in St Paul's list, and he links them with Prophets in xv 1, 2. But he has nothing to tell us about them as a separate class.

But if Apostles, Prophets, and Teachers are the prominent personages of the Church, whether as occasional visitors or as making a prolonged stay, what of the ordinary government of a Christian community? Had the Twelve Apostles left no directions about that? When he has done with the Prophets, and has given some rules as to the Sunday Eucharist and its preliminaries of confession and reconciliation, he proceeds to speak of those who would ordinarily be responsible for worship and discipline: 'Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons, worthy of the Lord, men who are gentle and without covetousness and true and proved: for they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not, for they are your honoured ones together with the prophets and teachers.' He had Apostolic warrant for Bishops and Deacons in Phil. i 1 and in the Pastoral Epistles. From the latter source he draws his epithets, though somewhat in disguise; in 1 Tim. iii 3 we find *ἐπιεικής* and *ἀφιλάργυρος* of the Bishop, and of the Deacons we read (v. 10) *δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον*. But what chiefly interests us is the ground which he assigns for their authority: *ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων*. How are we to explain *λειτουργεῖν* in such a connexion? We have seen that he could find but little to say about Teachers, and that he merely linked them on to the Prophets. Now apart from 1 Cor. xii 28 there is only one passage which brings Prophets and Teachers immediately together: for in Eph. iv 11 Evangelists and Pastors come in between. This passage is Acts xiii 1, 2 'There were at

Antioch, in the church there, *prophets and teachers* . . . and as they were *ministering* to the Lord', &c. St Luke has derived his phrase λειτουργούντων τῷ κυρίῳ from the LXX after his manner, taking it over from 1 Sam. iii 1, where the young prophet Samuel was 'ministering to the Lord' (ἦν λειτουργῶν τῷ κυρίῳ). It is interesting to see how far the phrase has travelled.

The writer of the *Teaching* had doubtless to face the fact that the functions which he ascribes to Prophets were in his own day being performed by Bishops. But he had no Apostolic warrant for the celebration of the Eucharist by a Bishop, such as he had contrived to find in St Paul for its celebration by a Prophet. He succeeds, however, by the aid of Acts xiii 1, 2, in building a sort of bridge between Prophets and Teachers on the one side and Bishops and Deacons on the other. What was the actual constitution of the Church in which he lived, he does not enable us to determine. He may have identified Bishops and Presbyters, as he makes no mention of the latter; but such a conclusion is precarious. And as the instructions which he gives are those of the Twelve Apostles who are addressing 'the Gentiles' generally and not any particular community, we can draw no argument from his use of the plural 'bishops and deacons' to decide whether he thought of a single Church as ruled by one Bishop or by several.

If our conclusions are justly drawn, it must be recognized that the writer of the *Teaching*, so far at any rate as matters of Church organization are concerned, confines himself as strictly as he can to what the Twelve Apostles might reasonably be held to have enjoined, and bases his instructions on what he believes he can draw from the Apostolic writings. He disguises his borrowings indeed; but he also disguises the actual conditions of his own time. The result is that he contributes almost nothing, except doubtful exegesis, to advance our knowledge of the early Christian ministry.

This enquiry is far from being exhaustive. I have pointed to a method of composition which the writer of the *Teaching* has certainly employed. That method can be traced farther than I have traced it here: for I have not attempted to cover the whole ground, and indeed have not touched upon the apocalyptic section with which the book closes. My purpose has been to

indicate an element which has been strangely overlooked in the criticism of this much quoted manual. I wish to provoke discussion.

If what I have said be in the main accepted, certain prominent features of the book will cease to be more than literary curiosities. And then we must ask what notable features remain unexplained, and incapable of explanation, on the principle of deduction from apostolic writings. The kinds of water allowable for Baptism, and the bi-weekly fast—these at once suggest themselves; and (though the writer perhaps thought he found Apostolic sanction for them) the custom of praying thrice a day and the recognition of the professional Prophet may also be regarded as positive features, characteristic of the writer's situation. On the other hand 'silences' of the *Teaching* will be no secure guide. We shall not be at liberty to conclude that the writer knew nothing of a liturgical consecration of the eucharistic elements as the Body and Blood of the Lord, or of carrying the Eucharist to the absent, or of the Paschal fast and the Easter festival. For he may have been quite familiar with these things, and have omitted them simply for want of what he considered a definite Apostolic sanction.

Other questions to be considered afresh will be: Why is there no reference to Christian theology or soteriology in connexion with the preparation for Baptism? Why are there no allusions to persecution by the heathen? Why is St Paul never mentioned, though his epistles are laid under contribution? What after all was the writer's object in composing the book?

I do not propose to follow Dr. Bigg, who for quite different reasons from any which I have been suggesting placed the *Teaching* in the fourth century.¹ I should find it rather hard to conceive that it was written after Montanism had attained any considerable vogue. For from the orthodox standpoint there is too much said about Prophets, and from the Montanist standpoint there is too little; and there is nothing at all about women. Apart from pointing this out I make no suggestion

¹ It may be well to add that I had not seen Dr Bigg's little book, *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles* (London S.P.G. 1898), until after I had written the above. The popular form in which his work was published may perhaps be the reason why his trenchant criticisms have received so little attention.

as to a date, though I am ready to believe that both Barnabas and Hermas have been used.

I ask for a reconsideration of the problem. The question is not whether this or that feature of the book is susceptible of a better explanation than I have offered, but whether the writer's method was in reality such as I have supposed. Some of the points which I have taken may be dismissed as over-subtle; but if even half of what I have put forward be admitted by serious students, the pen must be drawn through many a sentence, and indeed through whole pages, of some recent descriptions of early Church life and organization.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

DOCUMENTS

THE COMMENTARY OF ORIGEN ON THE EPISTLE
TO THE ROMANS. II.

XXI.

iv 2, 3 εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα· ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν· τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει; ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

ἐπὶ τίνι ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ οὐ παντὶ σαφῶς διηγήσατο ἡ γραφή· 33
 ὅκειν δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος καθόλου αὐτὸν ἐκλαμβάνειν πεπιστευκέναι. καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς, εἰ μὲν τὸ καθόλου, πάντως καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος· εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ὅτι καθόλου ἐπίστευσεν· ἔστιν γὰρ μέτρα τοῦ πιστεύειν θεῷ διὸ Ἀβραὰμ μὲν ἐπίστευσε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς 5 δικαιοσύνην, οὐδὲν δὲ τοιοῦτον γέγραπται ἡνίκα εἶδεν Ἰσραὴλ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν μεγάλην ἃ ἐποίησε κύριος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις· καὶ ἐφοβήθη ὁ λαὸς | τὸν κύριον· καὶ 33 v ἐπίστευσε τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ Μωσῇ τῷ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ, οὐ πρόσκειται δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ τὸ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

νομίζω δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἐπιστήσαντας τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ τῆς γραφῆς 36 v ἐκτεθήσεσθαι τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Γενέσεως ῥητὸν οὐχ ὡς Παῦλος αὐτὸ ἔθηκεν ἐν τῇ 11 ἀρχῇ· οὐκ ἂν γὰρ ὁ οὕτως ἀκριβῆς ἐξέθετο τὸ ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλ' ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ. οὕτω δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς γεγράφθαι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιστολῇ ὅτι ἐλογίσθη ἡ πίστις τῷ Ἀβραὰμ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. νυνὶ δὲ ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς Ἀβραάμ. 15

XXII.

iv 4, 5 τῷ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ ὁ μισθὸς οὐ λογίζεται κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὀφειλὴν· τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ, πιστεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἀσεβῆ, λογίζεται ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

οὐδὲν ὦν δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς τῇ γεννητῇ φύσει ὡς ὀφείλων δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντα 34 v ὡς χάριν δωρεῖται· καὶ πάντα τὰ εὐεργετούμενα οὐκ ὀφειλομένης αὐτοῖς εὐεργεσίας εὐεργετῆται, ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεισθαι τὸν θεὸν ἰδίᾳ χάριτι εὐεργετεῖν οὓς ἂν εὐεργετῇ. νῦν οὖν νομιστέον αὐτὸ ἀπλούστερον καὶ καθόλου εἰρησθαι καὶ ἄλλως κοινότερον νοούμενον ἐπὶ τῶν οἰστισιν ἔργαζομένων καὶ τὸν 5 μισθὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνων λαμβανόντων, οὐ κατὰ χάριν ἀλλὰ κατὰ ὀφειλὴν.

XXI 1. R. 522 E-c 10. 525 d e XXII R. 522 d-523 c

XXI 6 ff. Ex. xiv 31 f 15 Rom. iv 9

XXI 7. τὸν om. C 13. Ἀβραάμ] read Ἀβράμ, and similarly at the beginning of l. 15. Origen's point is that the text in Genesis (xv 6) has Ἀβράμ, while the current texts of Rom. iv 3, 9 have Ἀβραάμ, which he suggests is a slip due to the carelessness of Gentile Christian copyists. Turner. XXII 1. γεννητῇ V:

γεννητῇ B C 3. τῷ V: τὸ B C 5. καὶ ἄλλως κοινότερον νοούμενον] are these words an insertion? The sense is complete without them. Turner.

ἡγήτεον δὲ αὐτὸ δύνασθαι λέγεσθαι φέρε εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ὡς ΚΑΙΝ ἔργαζο-
 μένων τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιοῦντων ἔργα πονηρά· τοῖτοις γὰρ ὡς ὀφειλόμενα νομίζω
 καὶ ὡς μισθὸν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰς κολάσεις. διὸ καὶ ὁ
 10 ἀπόστολος ὁψώνια μὲν τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον· οὐκ ἐτι δὲ ὁψώνια
 καὶ ὡς περὶ ὀφειλόμενα ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, ἀλλὰ χάρισμα αὐτοῦ· φησὶ
 γὰρ τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. οὐ
 νομιστέον οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔργων λέγεσθαι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὸ
 ὡς μέτρησιν μετρεῖται ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ἡμῖν· χάριτι γὰρ ἔσμεν σεσωσμένοι· καὶ τοῦτο
 15 οὐκ ἐξ ἡμῶν, θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον, ἵνα μὴ τις καυχῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ μέτρον τῶν
 ἡμαρτημένων ἡμῖν δίδοσθαι τὰς κολάσεις ἐπιολητέον.

XXIII.

iv 6-9 καθάπερ καὶ Δαυεὶδ λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὃς ὁ θεὸς
 λογιζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων· μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν
 ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐ μὴ λογισθῇ κύριος
 ἁμαρτίαν· ὁ μακαρισμὸς οὖν οὗτος, ἐπὶ τὴν περιτομὴν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν
 ἀκροβυστίαν;

35 μηκέτι πραττομένου τοῦ χείρονος ἄφεςις εἰκὸς δύναται γενέσθαι ἀνομῶν·
 ἀγαθοῦ δ' ἐπιτελουμένου, ὡς τὰ γενόμενα κώλυμα γενέσθαι τῶν προσημαρτημένων
 ἐξαφανίζοντα αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν, ἐπικαλύπτονται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι· ὧν προαγόντων,
 οὐδὲ λογίζεται ἐτι κύριός τινι τ(ὸ) ἡμαρτηκέναι.

XXIV.

iv 9-12 λέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην·
 πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι, ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ; οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ ἀλλ'
 ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ· καὶ σημεῖον ἔλαβεν περιτομῆς, σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς
 πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόν-
 των δι' ἀκροβυστίας, εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν δικαιοσύνην· καὶ
 πατέρα περιτομῆς τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσι
 τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ.

36 λαμβάνει δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως δικαίωσιν σημεῖον περιτομῆς ὡς περὶ
 36 γ σφραγίδα τυγχάνουσιν καὶ ἀποκλίνουσιν, δίκην τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων, τὸ
 μυστήριον τῶν ἐκ πίστεως δικαιουμένων· ἵν' οἱ μετὰ τὴν πίστιν ἐκεῖνοι
 γινόμενοι ἐκ περιτομῆς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἕτεροι ὄντες τῶν ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθη-
 5 σομένων τέκνων αὐτοῦ, ἢ εἰς τέκνα αὐτοῦ λογισθησομένων, ἕτερος ὣσιν λαὸς
 παρὰ τὸν ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιωθησόμενον· ἡ δὲ σφραγὶς ἐτηρεῖτο

XXIII R. 523 d e

XXIV R. 525 C-E

XXII 7. Gen. iv 2

10 ff. Rom. vi 23

14. Lk. vi 38

Eph. ii 8 f

XXII 9. ἡμαρτημένων V: ἐργαζομένων BC

14. ὑμῖν VC: ἡμῖν B

16. ἡμῖν

VB: ἡμῶν C

XXIII 2. κώλυμα] κάλυμμα Turner

3. ὧν V: τῶν BC

4. τῷ τῷ VBC

XXIV 2. ἀποκλίνουσιν] perhaps ἀποφαίνουσιν; ἀποκλείουσιν Turner

3. ἐκεῖνοι] ἐκγονοὶ Turner

4. γινόμενοι om. BC

5. ἕτερος... λαὸς V: ἕτεροι

... λαοὶ BC

6. τὸν... δικαιωθησόμενον V: τῶν... δικαιωθησομένων BC

μὲν μὴ λυομένη, ὅσον οὐδέπω ἐληλύθεισαν οἱ ἐκ πίστεως καὶ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ· ἥνικα δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ προειρημένος τεχθήσεσθαι λαὸς τῶν ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ καὶ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιουμένων, τότε ἡ σφραγὶς καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐκείνο ἐλύθη, ὥστ' ἂν λεχθῆναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τὴν σφραγίδα ἐκείνην λαβεῖν ὅτι ἐὰν ἰο περιτέμνησθε, Χριστὸς ὧμας οὐδὲν ὠφελῆσει.

XXV.

iv 15-17 ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται· οὐ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ πίστεως ἵνα κατὰ χάριν, εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν παντὶ τῷ σπέρματι· οὐ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὃς ἐστὶ πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν· καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε· κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστευσε θεοῦ τοῦ ζωοποιούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.

ἀσυκοφαντήτως ἀκούειν χρὴ τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐν τούτοις καὶ συνιέναι τοῦ 38 βουλήματος αὐτοῦ. φασὶ γάρ τινες· εἰ ἐνθα οὐκ ἔστι νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις, δηλονότι οὐδεὶς ἐν παραβάσει γέγονε πρὸ Μωσέως· εἰ δὲ μὴ γέγονέ τις, οὐδὲ ψεκτός· οὔτε οὖν Κάιν οὔτε πάντες οἱ διὰ τὰς ἐαυτῶν ἁμαρτίας τὸν κατακλυσμὸν παθόντες ἢ οἱ ἐν Σοδόμοις ἐν παραβάσει γεγονασιν· καὶ πρό γε τούτων 5 Ἀδὰμ καὶ ἡ Εὐὰ. λεκτέον οὖν πρὸς τούτους ὅτι ὁ Μωσέως νόμος οὐ τὴν ἐν τῇ κρίσει ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται ἀλλὰ τὴν κατ' αὐτόν, τοὺς μὲν λιθολεύστοις ποιῶν, ἑτέροις δὲ ἐπὶ πυρὸς κατακαίων, ἢ ἑτέρα ὑποβάλλων τιμωρίᾳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴπερ οὐ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις, ὅτε ὅσα ὁ νόμος λαλεῖ τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ. ὅρα δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτῷ Παύλῳ νόμον πίστεως ὀνομαζόμενον 38 v θεοῦ ὀργὴν κατεργάζεσθαι, καὶ παραβάσιν εἶναι ἐνθα ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς πί- 11 στεως νόμος καὶ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, σαφῶς δὲ αὐτὸς ἕτερον μὲν εἶναι νόμον τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃ μόνῳ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺνῆδεται κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, ἕτερον δὲ νόμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἑαυτοῦ ἀντιστρατεύμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νῦός. καὶ ὅρα μήποτε οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθὺς ὀργὴν κατεργαζόμενος, καὶ οὐ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος οὗτος ἐκεῖ 15 οὐδὲ παράβασις ἐστίν· καὶ οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδαμῶς εἰσὶ κληρονόμοι, εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι κεκένωται ἢ πίστις.

ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν χαρισμάτων τῶν διδομένων κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς 39 πίστεως, κατείλεκται καὶ ἡ πίστις· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μεθ' ἑτέρα ἄλλω 39 v πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς φησι καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὧμιν 20

XXV 1. R. 526 *de* 4. 527 B 7. 527 DE 10. 527 CD 18. 529 C
18. 528 *ab*

XXIV 10f. Gal. v 2 XXV 9. Rom. iii 19 10. Rom. iii 27 13. Rom.
vii 22 f 18. Rom. xii 6 19. 1 Cor. xii 9 20 f. Phil. i 29

XXV 3. Μωσέως] + εἰδέναι BC οὐδὲ VB: οὔτε C 9. ὅτε] perhaps ὅτι
10. λαλεῖ] Possibly there should be only a comma here, not a full stop, so that
the following words ὅρα δὲ αὐτοὺς introduce the apodosis: but the construction
seems incomplete as it stands; perhaps (ἀ)ρα δεῖ(ῃ κατ') αὐτοὺς Turner 12. θεοῦ,
σαφῶς] perhaps θεοῦ. σαφῶς Turner 19. κατήλεκται BC 20. ἡμῖν BC

ἐχαρίσθη οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεῖν ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν. οἶμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐλλιπῆ πεισθέντες εἶναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πίστιν . . .

εἰ καὶ ἐκ πίστεως οὖν οἱ κληρονόμοι καὶ ἡ ἐπαγγελία ἵνα κατὰ χάριν, οὐδ' 25 αὐτὴ ἡ πίστις ἢ πρὸ τῆς χάριτος, καθ' ἣν λέγεται διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ πίστεως ἵνα κατὰ χάριν, χωρὶς χάριτος ὑφεστάναι οὐ δύναται.

παντὶ δὲ τῷ σπέρματι, φησὶν, ἦτοι τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἢ τῷ ἐκ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἀλλ' εἰ ἔχοι πρὸς τ(ῷ) ἐκ τοῦ νόμου τὸ 30 ἔκ τῆς πίστεως. εἰ γὰρ μὴ οὕτως ἐκλάβοιμεν, ἔσται ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῖς ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Χεττούρας, ἅπερ οὐκ ἀρέσκει.

(τοῦ αὐτοῦ)

ἀναγκαῖον δέ, φησὶν, ἐξετάσαι φαίνεται πῶς ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως καὶ τῷ 35 κατὰ χάριν τὸ βεβαίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν· ἄρα γὰρ εἰ ἦν ἐκ νόμου, οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν βεβαίαν τυγχάνειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. πρόσχες οὖν οἰονεῖ δευσοποιός τις βαφὴ γίνεται ἐκ πίστεως περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς λελογισμένης 40 εἰς δικαιοσύνην, ὥστε τὴν δι' αὐτῆς ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ χάριν ἴσχειν διὰ τὸ ἀνέκ- πλутон αὐτῆς, ἢ ἀμετάβολόν γε τὴν βεβαιότητα· ἥτις οὐκ ἐμφαίνεται περὶ τὰ ἐκ νόμου ἔργα. ἀποστρέφειν γοῦν ποτὲ δίκαιος ἀπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ λέγεται καὶ ποιεῖν ἀδικίαν· οὐκ οἶδα δὲ εἰ καὶ περὶ τῆς πίστεως γέγραπται ὅτι 45 ἀπέστρεφέν τις ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως, ἅπαξ μαρτυρηθεὶς πεπιστευκέναι καὶ δικαιω- θεὶς διὰ τὴν πίστιν. εἴτα καὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ ἐπισφραγίζει ὁ θεὸς ἀπόστολος τὸ εἰρημένον αὐτῷ.

(τοῦ αὐτοῦ)

[ὁ δὲ λέγει τοῦτο ἔστιν· ὥστε οὐκ ἔστι μερικὸς θεὸς ἀλλὰ πάντων 50 πατὴρ, οὕτω καὶ αὐτός. καὶ πάλιν ὥστε ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἔστιν οὐ κατὰ τὴν φυσικὴν συγγένειαν ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκείωσιν πίστεως, οὕτω καὶ αὐτός· ἡ γὰρ 45 ὑπακοὴ ποιεῖ πατέρα πάντων ἡμῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν συγγένειαν, τὴν παχυτέραν ἐκείνην κατασχόντες, δείκνυσιν ταύτην κυριω- τέραν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν λόγον ἀνάγων. καὶ μετὰ τούτων κἀκεῖνο ἐμφαίνει ὅτι καὶ ἀμοιβὴν τῆς πίστεως ταύτην ἔλαβεν· ὥστε ἂν μὴ τοῦτο ἦ, κἀν πάντων ἡ 55 πατὴρ τῶν τὴν γῆν οἰκούντων, τὸ κατέναντι οὐκέτι χώραν· τὸ γὰρ κατέναντι 50 τὸ ὁμοίως ἔστιν. τὸ γὰρ παράδοξον τοῦτο ἔστιν, οὗς οὐκ εἶχεν ἐκ φύσεως τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρεᾶς λαβεῖν.]

XXV 24. R. 528 b. 27. 529 C-b 31. 528 d e-529 B 42-51. This passage is really from Chrysostom *ad loc.*, see Field's edition (*Bibliotheca Patrum* Oxford 1849) p. 117

XXV 37 f. Ezek. xviii 24

XXV 21. καὶ τὸ V: τὸ καὶ BC αὐτοῦ V: αὐτὸν BC 22. ἐλλιπῇ] ἐλλιπεῖ VBC 23. πίστιν] A line seems to have been omitted in V, probably *per homoeoteleuton*; e.g. χωρὶς τῆς ἀπὸ θεοῦ χαρισθείσης λέγουσι τῷ σωτῆρι πρόσθετος ἡμῶν πίστιν. Cf. R. 528 A 'ni addita fuerit etiam ea quae ex deo est, dicunt ad Salvatorem, Auge nobis fidem', cf. C, p. 34 n. 27. τῷ 3° V: τὸ BC 28. τῷ V: τὸ BC τ(ῷ) τὸ VBC 30. Ἰσραὴλ V: Ἰσραὴλ BC 31. τῷ (bis) V: τὸ BC 40. τὴν μαρτυρίαν BC: τὴν μαρτυρίαν (sic) V 42. μερικὸς οὐκ ἔστι BC 47. τούτων V: τούτων BC 49. οὐκέτι] οὐκ ἔχει Chrys.

ὅποια, φησί, τὰ πολλὰ ἔθνη ἦν ὧν τέθεικεν αὐτὸν πατέρα ὁ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτῷ διδοὺς θεός.

περὶ γὰρ τῶν διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν νεκρωμένων, ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ νεκρὰ γεγένητο ἐν σώματι ζῶντι, οἶμαι νῦν αὐτὸν λέγειν· ψυχὴ γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτάνουσα αὐτὴ ἀποθανεῖται. 55
τίνα δὲ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἢ οἱ ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ὄντος καὶ μὴ μετέχοντες αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καλούμενοι πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ εἰπόντος ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν· καλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἵνα ὑπακούσασιν αὐτοῖς χαρίσῃται τὸ εἶναι. ἀλλ' ἴσως τις πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρεῖ, πῶς ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐτέρωθί φησι μεθ' ἑτερα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ, ἀλλ' εὐδὴλον ὡς ἑτερόν ἐστι τοῦτο δογματιζόμενον τοῦ ὄντος καὶ μὴ ὄντος ὅσον ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ἐκείσε συμφράσεως· ὄντες μὲν γὰρ ἐνθάδε οἱ κατὰ σάρκα σοφοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ εὐγενεῖς· μὴ ὄντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλως παρὰ τούτοις διακείμενοι ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόληψιν.

XXVI.

ἰν 18-22 ὃς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, οὕτως ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου· καὶ μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει κατενόησε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἤδη νεκρωμένον, ἑκατονταετῆς που ὑπάρχων, καὶ τὴν νέκρωσιν τῆς μητрас Σάρρας· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, δοὺς δόξαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι ὁ ἐπήγγελται δυνατὸς ἐστι καὶ ποιῆσαι· διδὲ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.

ὅρα μήποτε ὡς Ἀβραὰμ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν, οὕτω καὶ 40
πάντες οἱ τῆς πίστεως Ἀβραὰμ υἱοὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι περὶ πάντων πιστεύουσιν, εἴτε περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν εἴτε περὶ τοῦ κληρονομήσειν βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ἢ βασιλείαν θεοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐστίν, ὅσον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δυνατῷ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἀψευδέσιν 5
ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πιστεύειν ἐλπίζόντων τυγχάνει. καὶ ἐπεὶ περ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι πιστεύει, διὰ τοῦτο μένει πῖστις, ἐλπίς· ἀφ' ὧν γεννᾶται καὶ τὸ τρίτον μέizon τοῦτων ἡ ἀγάπη· καὶ νομίζω στοιχειώσεως μὲν ἔχειν λόγον τὴν πίστιν, προκοπῆς δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα, τελειότητος δὲ τὴν ἀγάπην.

ὅτι δὲ οὐ διὰ τὸ γῆρας λέγεται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ νεκρωμένον, δῆλον 10
ἔσται τῷ ἐπιστήσαντι τίνα τρόπον προσθήμενος Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα τοῦνομα Χεττοῖραν· καὶ ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν τελεγτὴν σάρρας, ἧτις ἔζησεν ἔτη ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ· πρεσβύτερος δὲ τῆς Σάρρας δεκά ἔτεσιν εὐρίσκεται σαφῶς ὁ Ἀβραὰμ· εἰ οὖν διὰ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ὡς φασί τινες, ἐπαιδοποίησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ, πῶς χωρὶς ἐπαγγελίας μετὰ ἑκατὸν εἰκοσιεπτὰ ἔτη ἔτεκεν τοὺς ἀπὸ Χεττοῦρας· 15
ὥστε ἐν ἐπαίνῳ λέγεται ἡ τοιαύτη νέκρωσις τοῦ τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς νεκρώσαντος· ὅτε γάρ τις πνεύματι τὰς πράξεις τοῦ σώματος θανατοῖ, τότε σβέννυσσι πᾶσαν τὴν πεφνυῖαν ἀνάπτεσθαι ἐν αὐτῷ πύρωσιν· ὥστε τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαάκ γένεσιν μὴ

XXV 54. R. 530 A-c XXVI R. 531 E-532 D

XXV 54. Ezek. xviii 4 56. Apoc. i 8 58 f. 1 Cor. i 28 61. 1 Cor. i 26
XXVI 7 f. 1 Cor. xiii 13 11 f. Gen. xxv 1 13. Cf. Gen. xxiii 1 16. Col. iii 5
17. Rom. viii 13

XXV 59. ἐτέρωθι om. B C 61. συμφράσεως [= 'context'] V; ἀποφάσεως B C
63. παρὰ τούτοις] παρὰ τούτους Turner XXVI 13. δεκαετῆς B C

εἶναι ἀπὸ πυρώσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας θεοῦ· ἄξιοι γὰρ γεγόνασιν τ(οῦ) τοῦτου
20 ἐπιγραφῆναι πατριάρχου γονεῖς.

XXVII.

iv 23-25 οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον· ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι'
ἡμᾶς οἷς μέλλει λογιζέσθαι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν
κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν· ὅς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν καὶ ἠγέρθη
διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.

- 40 v νῦν τὸ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον εἰληπται ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δι'
ἡμᾶς ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ ἡμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἵνα Ἀβραὰμ ἐντυχὼν ὁ Μωυσέως προγε-
νέστερος τῷ μεταγενεστέρῳ αὐτοῦ γράμματι ὠφελήθῃ. εἰ δὲ οὐ περὶ τοῦ
Ἀβραὰμ μόνου γέγραπται τὸ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ
5 ἡμῶν, οἷον εἰ προαναφωνοῦντος τοῦ λόγου τὴν λογισθησομένην ἐκ πίστεως
δικαιοσύνην τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν,
πρίσχυες ἐπιμελέστερον μήποτε μόνος καὶ πᾶς πιστεύει ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγείραντα
Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν ὁ συνεγερεθὲς Χριστῷ, ὥστ' ἂν εἰπεῖν
καὶ σπῆρει καὶ σπῆρει ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἐπογρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ· συνηγέρθη δὲ
10 Χριστῷ ὁ σύμμορφος γεγόμενος τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ συναποτεθῆ-
κεναι συζῶν αὐτῷ· εἰ γὰρ συναπεθάνομεν καὶ συζήσομεν· συναπέθανεν δὲ
Χριστῷ, ἐπεὶ καὶ Χριστὸς ἀποθανὼν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· καὶ αὐτὸς
ἀποθανὼν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ συζῇ Χριστῷ· ζῇ δὲ Χριστῷ ὁ ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς
περιπατῶν.

XXVIII.

v 5-9 ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος
ἀγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν· ἐτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν κατὰ καιρὸν
ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανεν· μόλις γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται· ὑπὲρ γὰρ
τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τάχα τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν· συνίστησι δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην
εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἐτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν·
πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον δικαιοθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ σωθисόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ
ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς.

- 43 ὅπου μὲν ἀσθενεῖς ἢ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὀνομάζει, καὶ ἑαυτὸν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐμπερι-
λαμβάνει· ὅπου δὲ λέγει ἀσεβεῖς, οὐκέτι. καὶ τάχα εἰκότως ὁ ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον
ὢν, ὅς ἠσθένει δια τῆς σαρκὸς, ἀσθενὴς μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἁμαρτωλός, οὐ μὴν καὶ
κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τῆς διαστολῆς τῶν γραφῶν καὶ ἀσεβής, λεγόντων τῶν ὑπὸ
5 νόμον ἁμαρτανόντων τῷ θεῷ καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἁμαρτάνωμεν σοὶ ἐσμεν εἰδότες σοὶ

XXVII R. 533 B-534 A

XXVIII R. 541 C D

XXVII 9. Eph. ii 6

10. Rom. viii 29

11. Rom. vi 8

12. Rom.

vi 10

13 f. Rom. vi 4

XXVIII 3. Rom. viii 3

5 f. Wis. xv 2

XXVI 19. τ(οῦ)] τὴν V B C : perhaps τὴν τοῦτου ἐπιγραφῆν οἱ Turner
XXVII 1. αὐτὸν . . . περὶ οἱ. C 2. οὐ γὰρ ἵνα] οὐ γὰρ ἂν Turner ἐντυχὼν

V : ἐντυχὼν BC

3. εἰ δὲ . . . ἐλογίσθη οἱ. BC

6. ἐγείραντα] + τὸν κύριον

ἡμῶν BC

11. συναποθάνομεν V : συναποθάνομεν (ss. o) B : συναποθάνομεν C

12 f. Punctuate ἐφάπαξ, . . . ἁμαρτίᾳ· and for συζῇ Χριστῷ, ζῇ δὲ Χριστῷ read συζῇ
δὲ Χριστῷ Turner XXVIII 4. ἀσεβής] ἀσεβεῖς V B C

τὸ κράτος· ἀσεβεῖς δὲ τότε οἱ νομιζόμενοι εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον τυγχάνουσιν, ἐπὶν ἐγκαταλιπόντες τὸν θεὸν τῶν πατέρων ζητοῦσι τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν.

πρὶν δὲ προσελθεῖν ἡμᾶς θεοσεβείᾳ ἀγάπῃ ἐν ἡμῖν οὐ συνειστήκει, πάντα γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ θεὸν ἀγαπῶμεν· ὅτε δὲ τοιούτων ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε, τότε συνέστη καὶ ὑπέστη ἐν ἡμῖν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπη, 10 πάντων περιαιρεθέντων τῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θανάτῳ ἀφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἐμποδιζόντων τῇ συστάσει τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπης. κατὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν διύγησιν τοῦ συνίστησιν ἀκουστέον, συνιστάντος καὶ ὑφιστάντος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην, τὴν οὐδενὸς ἐτέρου κυρίως ἢ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τυγχάνουσαν.

(Ὡριγενοῖς)

[οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν ἀθάνατον ζωὴν ἀναμένομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν παρόντα 43 ὡς βίον ὡς προσοικειωθέντες τῷ θεῷ σεμνυνόμεθα, τὰ κατὰ τὸν δεσπότην Χριστὸν 16 λογιζόμενοι, ὃς μεσίτης ἡμῶν γενόμενος τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπραγματεύσατο.]

XXIX.

vi 5 εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτοι γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα.

πλάσας τὸ ὄνομα τέθεικεν, φυτὸν τι ἐπιστάμενος τὸν Ἰησοῦ θάνατον, φέρον 58 ὡς κάρπους ἀναιρετικούς τῆς ἁμαρτίας· ὃ φυτῷ ὁ λόγος γεωργεῖ ἐν τοῖς παραδεξαμένοις τὴν διδασκαλίαν τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ, ποιῶν αὐτοὺς συμφύτους τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου· ὁμοίωμα μὲν γὰρ τι τοῦ θανάτου ἐκείνου δύναται ἢ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει ἀναλαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνου θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτίαν μὴ ποιήσαντος, 5 μὴδὲ γνόντος ἁμαρτίαν, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ τῇ καθαίρεισει οὐχὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ἁμαρτίας ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐν ἡμῖν, οὐχ οἷον τε ἐστὶν ἀποθανεῖν τινὰ τῶν ἡμαρτηκόντων· πάντες δὲ ἡμάρτον καὶ ὑστεροῦνται τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ, δικαιοῦμενοι δωρεάν, καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἧς.

ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ λέγει· σὺνῆγειρεν καὶ σὺνέκαθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπογραφήσις ἐν Χριστῷ 10 καὶ εἰ σὺνῆγέρθητε τῷ Χριστῷ, τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖτε· πῶς οὖν ἐνταῦθα λέγει, καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα; πρὸς τοῦτο λεκτέον ὅτι διττῶς ὀνομάζει τὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁ ἀπόστολος· μίαν μὲν τὴν ἥδη καθ' ἣν ὁ ἅγιος σὺνανέστη Χριστῷ καὶ συνεγερεθεὶς αὐτῷ τὰ ἄνω ζητεῖ· ἐτέραν δὲ τὴν ὅταν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, περὶ ἧς καὶ Δανιὴλ προφητεύων φησὶν πολλοὶ τῶν καθυγδόντων ἐν γῆς χώματι 15

XXVIII 8. 539 e-540 c 15 : see below XXIX 1. R. 563 b-d 10. R. 565 c d

XXIX 5 f. 1 Pet. ii 22 6. 2 Cor. v 21 8 f. Rom. iii 25 10. Eph. ii 6 11. Col. iii 1 14. 1 Cor. xiii 10 15 f. Dan. xii 2

XXVIII 15 ff. This passage is headed τοῦ αὐτοῦ in B, immediately after the foregoing passage of Origen : in V, with the heading Ὡριγύ, it follows a passage of Theodoret; it is in fact Theodoret's comment on Rom. v 11, see Marriott's edition (in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Oxford 1852) p. 47. 'δεσπότης Χριστός' is a sure indication of the Antiochene School—Theodoret or Theodore XXIX 2. ὃ φυτῷ : perhaps ὁ φυτὸν, Turner 4. ὁμοίωμα . . . θανάτου om. C S. δὲ V : δὴ BC 10-18. Ἀνώνυμον BC : continuous with foregoing in V after a blank space of a quarter of a line

ἀναστήσονται, οἷτοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ οἷτοι εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην αἰώνιον· τὴν ἑτέραν μὲν σὺν τῶν ἀναστάσεων οἱ ἅγιοι ἐροῦσι συνεπηγέρθαι Χριστῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν καὶ ἀναστήσεσθαι.

XXX.

vi 8-10 εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, πιστευόμεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ· εἰδότες ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει· θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει· ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· ὁ δὲ ζῇ, ζῇ τῷ θεῷ· οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς νεκροὺς μὲν εἶναι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

- 81 v ἀποτετολμημένως ἐπιφέρει τὸ θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυσφημοειδές· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοί φασιν ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν οὐ τῷ κυριεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐκόντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τεθεικέναι ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων ἑαυτοῦ· φησὶν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ σήμερον αἶρει 5 τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τίθωμαι αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ. ὁ μὲν οὖν τις πρὸς ταῦτα φήσει ὅτι θάνατος λέγεται νῦν ὁ μέσος καὶ ἀδιάφορος, ὃν κατὰ τὸ κοινότερον ἀπέθανεν ὅτε, ὡς φησιν ὁ Παῦλος, ἀπέθανεν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς. ἀλλὰ πῶς ταύτῃ δυνήσεται συναγορεῦσαι τῇ διηγῆσαι τὸ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, καὶ τὸ ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ; ἀλλ' ἴσως ὁ τοιοῦτος 10 ἐρεῖ ὡς τὰ αὐτὰ ὀνόματα τίθησι διττῶς ἢ γραφῇ, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματικῶν, ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ· ὡς καὶ περὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος γεγραμμένον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἴδωρ καὶ τὸ πιεῖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅτε μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ σωματικοῦ ὅτε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ τετάχθαι δοκεῖ· καὶ τὸ περὶ τοῦ θερισμοῦ ὡσαύτως φησὶν. φήσει τοίνυν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ τὸν 15 ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι, τὸ μὲν ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ τάσσοντα οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινότερου θανάτου, τὸ δὲ θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει, ὡς θανάτου νῦν τοῦ μέσου ὀνομαζομένου. ἕτερος δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἐρεῖ ὅτι θάνατος ἐνταῦθα λέγεται ὁ κυριεύων Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἄλλος ἢ ὁ ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῦ οὗ τύπος ἦν τὸ κατὰ τὸν 82 Ἰωνᾶν κῆτος προφητευόμενον καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰωβ φάσκοντος ἀλλὰ καταράσαιο 20 αὐτὴν ὁ μέλλων τὸ μέγα κῆτος χειρώσασθαι. πρὸς ὃν θάνατον ὀδεύων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μέσου θανάτου ἔλεγεν, οὐ διὰ τὸν μέσον θάνατον ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνον, νῦν ἡ ψυχὴ μου τετάρακται καὶ περίλγπος ἐστίν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἕως θανάτου. οἶονεῖ γὰρ ἀπῆει εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ διὰ τοὺς κρατούμενους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς τάχα διὰ τοῦτο εἰρησθαι τὸ εἰς χοῦν θανάτου κατήγαγες με. καὶ ἑαυτὸν

XXX R. 566 c 5. 567 A 7. CD 17. E a

XXX 3. Jn. x 15 4. Jn. xv 13 4 f. Jn. x 18 7. 1 Cor. xv 3 12. Jn. iv 8-15 13. Jn. iv 35 19. Jonah i 17 19 f. Job iii 8 22. Jn. xii 27 Mt. xxvi 38 24. Ps. xxii 15

XXIX 18. τῷ Χριστῷ C XXX 2. οὐ τῷ VBC mg.: οὕτω C ὑπὸ V: ἀπὸ BC 11 περὶ] πραγμ. τό (compare l. 13 τὸ περὶ τοῦ θ.) Turner 18. τύπος VBC mg.: τύπος C 19. κατεράσαιο C 23. οἶνεῖ BC 24. ἐρείσθαι BC

πεποίηκεν αὐτῷ ὑποχείριον ἱπῆκουσ γενόμενος μέχρι θανάτου. διὰ γὰρ τὸ 25
 γεγονέναι ἐν αὐτῷ κατακριθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατέκρινε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὕσαν ἐν
 ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ. ὥσάν τις παραδείγματος ἔνεκεν ἐλεύθερος ὢν δούλον
 ἑαυτὸν παραδίδωσιν τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα παρ' αὐτῷ γενόμενος
 ἐλευθερώσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ οἰκονομικῇ δουλείᾳ τοὺς πολίτας ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ
 κινδύνου, διὰ τοῦ ἐνέδρου τινὶ ἀποκτείνει τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ 30
 πολεμίους· ἐκυριεύθῃ γὰρ ὁ τοῦτο δράσας ὡς οὐκ αἰχμάλωτος ἀλούς ἀλλὰ
 φρονήματι χρυσάμενος ἀριστέως. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν
 τῇ δουλείᾳ, ἵνα μηδεὶς θανάτου γένηται τῶν μαθητευομένων αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ
 δούλος· οὗτος γὰρ ὡς φησὶν ἡ γραφή κατήργησε τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ
 θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸν διάβολον, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. τάχα δὲ καὶ παρέδωκεν 35
 ἑαυτὸν τῷ θανάτῳ κυριευθσόμενον ῥυόμενος τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκρατημένους
 καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἑαυτὸν προδιδούς, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο καταστρατηγήσῃ καὶ
 καταργήσῃ τὸν θάνατον.

XXXI.

vi 12-14 μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι εἰς τὸ
 ὑπακούειν αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ· μὴδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν
 ὄπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ ὡς ἐκ νεκρῶν
 ζῶντας, καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὄπλα δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ· ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν
 οὐ κυριεύσει· οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χάριν.

ἀνωτέρω μὲν εἶπεν ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, νυνὶ δὲ 84
 οὐκ εἶπεν τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μὴ βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι,
 διδάσκων ὅτι ὥσπερ θρόνος καὶ βασιλείον ἐστι τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν
 σῶμα· τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν, καὶ πάλιν τὸ φρόνημα τῆς
 σαρκὸς θάνατος. ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἔργα σαρκὸς ἐστὶν ἅπερ 5
 ὁ ἀπόστολος φανερά ὠνόμασεν. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ τάξας καὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις ἐδίδαξεν
 ὅτι καὶ αὗται σαρκὸς εἰσιν ἔργον, ἀπολύων ἡμᾶς περισπασμοῦ, ἵνα μὴ νομί-
 ζωμεν τινὰ μὲν εἶναι ἔργα σαρκὸς, τινὰ δὲ ἁμαρτήματα οὐ σαρκὸς μὲν ἦτοι δὲ
 ψυχῆς ἢ νοῦ. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς ζητῇ πῶς καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς σαρκὸς
 εἰσι κατελεγμένοι, λεκτέον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι αἱρέσεις γίνονται ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τῆς 10
 σαρκὸς, περὶ οὗ φησὶ πού ὁ Παῦλος εἰκὴ ἐμβατεύων καὶ φγισιόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 νοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν.

τάχα δὲ καὶ ὅτε ἁμαρτάνομεν βασιλευούσης τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ἡμῶν
 σώματι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐσμέν ἢ περ τὸ θνητὸν σῶμα καὶ σὰρκος· οὐ μὴ γὰρ φησι
 καταμεῖνῃ τὸ πνεῦμα μοι ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖσι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι 15

XXX 26. R. 567 b-d

XXXI R. 569 d-570 B

XXX 25. Phil. ii 8

26. Rom. viii 3

34 f., 38. Heb. ii 14

XXXI 1. Rom.

v 4 4. Rom. viii 7

4 f. Rom. viii 6

5 ff. Gal. v 19

10 ff. Col. ii 18

14 f. Gen. vi 3

XXX 25. ὑποχείριον om. C

29. δουλίᾳ BC

32. καὶ om. BC

34. οὗτος

γὰρ ὡς V: οὕτως γὰρ BC

37. παραδιδούς BC

XXXI 2. θνητῷ VB mg. C:

θανάτῳ B

7. αὐται (sic) C

ἀπολύων BC

8. μὲν 2^ο om. BC

9. ζητεῖ (ss. η)

(sic) V ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις om. BC

15. καταμείνει (ss. η) B

αἰτοῦς σάρκα. καὶ αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ ἔοικε μὴ μένειν, ἀλλ' ἦτοί διὰ κακίαν γίνεσθαι σὰρξ ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν πνεῦμα· ὅτε γὰρ κολλᾶται τῇ πόρῃ γίνεται εἰς σάρκα μίαν πρὸς αὐτήν, ὃ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύμα ἔστιν.

καὶ ἤδη τοῦτο εἶρηκεν, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς νεκροὺς μὲν εἶναι
 20 τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῶντας δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. τινὲς δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς ἀντι-
 διαστολήν λήψονται λέγεσθαι ἐτέρων οἱ ἔζησαν μὲν τῷ θεῷ οὐ μὴν ἐν Χριστῷ
 Ἰησοῦ. ἡμεῖς δὲ φαμεν μήποτε ἀδυνατόν ἐστιν ζῆν μὲν τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ
 Ἰησοῦ (. . .) ἐπεὶ περ εἶδεν τὴν Χριστοῦ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐχάρη· εἴτε Μωσῆς ἔζησεν
 τῷ θεῷ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἔζησεν, ὅστις γε καὶ μέζονα πλοῦτον ἠγάτατο τῶν
 25 Αἰγύπτου θησαυρῶν τὸν ὀνειδισμόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐπιθυμῆσαντες
 πολλοὶ προφῆται καὶ δίκαιοι ἰδεῖν ὃ εἶδον οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ὧν ἤκουσαν,
 34 ν οὐκ ἂν ἤλθον εἰς τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ὄρεξιν ἔξω τυγχάνοντες τοῦ
 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ζῆν τῷ θεῷ.

ζητῆσεις δὲ εἰ χρὴ φάσκειν πάντα τὸν ζῶντα τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
 30 νεκρὸν εἶναι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ λέγεται· ἂν, εἰ μὲν ὡς νεκρὸς τῇ
 ἁμαρτίᾳ ἔζη ποτὲ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐρευνώτος πνεύματος
 καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ φωτισθεὶς εὕρῃ τινὰς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐξηκέναι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ
 ποτὲ ζῶντας τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι οὐκ εἴ τις ζῇ τῷ θεῷ ἐν
 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὗτος ἤδη πάντως νεκρὸς ἐστιν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ πάντες
 35 ἡμῶν διὰ τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, δῆλον ὅτι πᾶς ζῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ
 ἔζη ποτὲ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, καὶ ὕστερον νεκρὸς γινόμενος αὐτῇ ἔζησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐν
 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

ἕτερος δὲ εἶποι ἂν ὅτι ἐνδέχεται καὶ διδομένου τοῦ ζῆν τινὰς τῷ θεῷ ἐν
 Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μηδέποτε γενομένους ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἦττον κάκεινους νεκροὺς
 40 εἶναι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ὥσπερ χωρὶς νόμου ἁμαρτία ἦν νεκρά, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ποτὲ ζῆν
 ἔλθοῦσα ἐπὶ τὸ γενέσθαι νεκρά.

δείκνυσσι δὲ ὃ θεὸς ἀπόστολος καὶ ἐτέρωθεν τῆς νίκης τὴν εὐκολίαν, ἁμαρτία
 γὰρ ὑμῶν, φησὶν, οὐκέτι κυριεύσει, οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χάριν.
 πρόσχες ἐνταῦθα τῇ ἀποστολικῇ ἀκριβείᾳ, τίνα τρόπον τὸ κυριεύειν τάσσων
 45 ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ σωτῆρος θάνατος εἶπεν αὐτοῦ
 οὐκέτι κυριεύσει, ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ σωτῆρος ἔπρεπεν λέγεσθαι τὸ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ οὐ κυριεύσει, οὔτε ἐφ' ὑμῶν
 κυριώτερον ἦν τὸ θάνατος ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει· καὶ ἵνα μὴ ταῦτόν περὶ τοῦ
 σωτῆρος καὶ ἡμῶν λέγηται ὡς παραπλησίον.

XXXI 16. R. 570 a b 19-41. No parallel in R 42. R. 571 D-b

XXXI 17. I Cor. vi 17 19 f. Rom. vi 11 23. Jn. viii 56 24 f. Heb. xi 26
 25 f. Lk. x 24 31 f. I Cor. ii 10 34 f. Rom. v 12 35. 2 Cor. v 14
 40. Rom. vii 8 45 f. Rom. vi 9

XXXI 17. δ' V B : δ' C 20. θεῷ ἐν V : θεῷ οὐ μὴν ἐν B C 21. μὴν V B : μὲν C
 22. τῷ om. C 23. Apparently a line has been lost, probably by homoeoteleuton,
 introducing the name of Abraham (e.g. ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ [δὲ μὴ ζῆν]· εἴτε γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ
 ἔζησεν τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ), ἐπεὶ περ κτλ., Turner. There is no sign of a
 lacuna in V 30. δὲ om. C λέγεται· ἂν, εἰ μὲν : perhaps λέγει ἂν ὃ μὲν Turner
 34 f. ἐὰν δὲ . . . τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ om. B C 43. ὑμῶν V : ἡμῶν B C ἐστε + φησὶ B C
 46. ἀφ' ὑμῶν B 49. λέγεται V C mg. : λέγεται B C

μετὰ ταῦτα ὥσπερ αἰτίαν παριστὰς τοῦ ἁμαρτίαν ἡμῶν μὴ κυριεύειν φησὶ 50
 τὸ οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χάριν· κατὰ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Παῦλον
 ἡ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος ἐστίν, καὶ νόμος παρεσχέθη ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ
 παράπτωμα ἀλλ' ὅπου ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐκεῖ ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις
 νῦν δὲ ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ τὴν περισσεύουσαν χάριν, διότι οὐκέτι ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλ'
 ὑπὸ χάριν. δικαίῳ γὰρ νόμος οὐ κεῖται, οὐ γὰρ δέεται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ γράμματος 55
 νομικῆς διδασκαλίας εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ θεοῦ θεοδίδακτος ὢν, ὡς
 Παῦλος διδάσκει λέγων περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀγάπης οὐ γὰρ χρειαίαν ἔχετε ἡμῖν γράφεσθαι,
 ἡμεῖς γὰρ θεοδίδακτοί ἐστε εἰς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους. εἴ τιτι οὖν συμπέφυκεν
 ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ νόμος, ὡς μὴ ἕτερον μὲν βούλεσθαι τὸν νόμον ἕτερον δὲ εἶναι τὸ
 θέλημα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐκ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ νόμον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χάριν· οὕτω ὅσο
 νοητέον ἀλλ' ἦν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυρίως τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ.

XXXII.

νὶ 19, 20 ὥσπερ γὰρ παρεστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δούλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ, καὶ
 τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὕτως νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δούλα τῇ
 δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ἀγιασμόν· ὅτε γὰρ δούλοι ἦτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ
 δικαιοσύνῃ.

ἐπειδὴ, ὡς πολλαχοῦ (φησὶν) ἐτηρήσαμεν, τὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ὄνομα ἀντὶ 87 ν
 τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔσθ' ὅτε παραλαμβάνεται, λεκτέον ὅτι καὶ νῦν τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ
 λεγόμενον ὅτε δούλοι ἦτε τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ ἀρετῇ. καὶ παρ-
 ακολουθεῖ τῷ γενικῷ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὀνόματι τὸ γενικὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς δικαιοσύνην
 ἐν τοῦτοις ὀνομάζεσθαι. δόξει δὲ εἰδικῶς τὸ εἰς ἀγιασμόν λέγειν, προτρεπόμενος 5
 εἰς ἀγνείαν καὶ καθαρότητα βίου τὸν δυνάμενον χωρεῖν.

XXXIII.

νὶ 21, 22 τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἶχετε τότε ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἐπαισχύνεσθε; τὸ γὰρ
 τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος· νυνὶ δέ, ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας δουλωθέντες
 δὲ τῷ θεῷ, ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἀγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

ἐξετελιζὼν τὸν καρπὸν τῶν δούλων τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξιον λόγου 87 ν
 τοῦτό φησιν· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ τις πρότερον ἐν ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ πεπραγμένοις
 ἴσπερον εἰς συναίσθησιν ἐλθὼν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων αἰσχύνεται, ταῦτα καρπὸς
 ἂν εἴη ἀχρηστος, ἄωρος εἰς βρώσιν καὶ εἰς οὐθέν ἐπιτηδεύς· καὶ γὰρ τέλος τῶν
 τοιούτων ἔργων οὐκ ἄλλο ἢ θάνατός ἐστιν, ὁ ἐχθρὸς Χριστῷ τῷ εἰπόντι

XXXII R. 574 C

XXXIII R. 574 D

XXXI 52. 1 Cor. xv 56 52 ff. Rom. v. 20 55. 1 Tim. i 9 57 f. 1 Thess.
 iv 9 61. Ps. i 2 XXXII 6. Mt. xix 12 XXXIII 3 f. Sap. iv 5

XXXI 53 f. ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν V: ὑπερεπερίσσευσαν B ἡ χάρις . . . περισ-
 σείουσαν om. B νῦν δὲ . . . χάριν (1) om. C 55. τοῦ om. C 56. θεδι-
 δακτος B 61. ἦν V: ἡ BC XXXII 1. φησὶν seems clearly an addition
 of the catenist 5. εἰδικῶς V: ἰδικῶς BC XXXIII 2. τοῦτο om. BC
 3. ἐλθὼν τῶν V: ἐλθόντων BC 4. ἀχρηστος V C mg.: ἀχρηστος B C

ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ, κυριεύ(ω)ν τῶν τοιούτους καρποὺς ἐννοχότων. ἐν ᾧ θανάτῳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ μνημονεύων θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ πᾶς ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ τέθηκεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ζῇ τῷ θανάτῳ, ὅπερ ταυτόν ἐστιν τ(ῷ) ζῆν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ.

- 68 ἡμέτερος καρπὸς εἰς ἀγιασμόν· οὐχ ἡμέτερος δέ, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν
10 φύσιν, ὁ φέρων τῷ ἤδη συννησθημένῳ αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνῃ. ὅτι δὲ ἡμέτερον μὲν τὸ κρεῖττον, οὐ τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ χεῖρον, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ λέγων εἰ τὸ ἀλλότριον ἐπιστεγύθῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐρένεσθε ἄξιοι, τὸ ἡμέτερον τίς ὑμῖν δώσει; κἂν γὰρ μὴ γενώμεθα ἄξιοι τοῦ κρεῖττονος, ὡς ἡμέτερον αὐτὸ τῇ φύσει οὐ λαμβάνομεν διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. ἐρεῖ δέ τις ἐνταῦθα τὸν εἰς ἀγιασμόν καρπὸν εἶναι τῶν δεδο-
15 λωμένων τῷ θεῷ τὴν παντελὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφροδισίων καθάρευσιν· καὶ φησιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τοῖς μὲν ἐν γάμψι ἁρμόζειν τὸ ἐλευθερωθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, τοῖς δὲ ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ὡς μεῖζον τὸ νυνὶ δὲ ἐλευθερω-
θέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἔσχατον καρπὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀγιασμόν διὰ τὸ δεδολωσθαι τῷ θεῷ δεδολωσθαι πολὺ πρότερον τῇ δικαιο-
20 σύνῃ μὴ πάντως ἔχειν τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀγιασμόν διὰ τὸν κατὰ συγγνώμην λόγον.

XXXIV.

vi 23 τὰ γὰρ ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας θάνατος, τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

- 68 v καλὴ ἡ διαφορὰ, ὀψωνίου μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τεταγμένον, χαρίσματος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ· οὔτε γὰρ ὀψώνια ὡς ὀφειλόμενα δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ χάρισμα, οὐδὲ χάρισμα ἡ ἁμαρτία ἀλλ' ὀφειλόμενα ὀψώνια. τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔταξεν ἀπλῶς ζωὴ αἰώνιος, ἀτελής γὰρ αὕτη νοεῖται ὅτε μὴ ἐν Χριστῷ
5 Ἰησοῦ ἐστιν τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. δηλοῦται δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἁμαρτία τῷ βασιλευμένῳ ὑπ' αὐτῆς δίδωσι τὸν θάνατον, καὶ οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφέρει τὸν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον, ὁ γὰρ θεὸς θάνατον οὐκ ἐποίησεν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ἐὰν δέ τις πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνθυποίσῃ καὶ τὸ ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω καὶ κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, ἐροῦμεν ὅτι ἀποκτενέει ὁ θεὸς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο ζωοποιήσῃ τὸν
10 ἀποθανόντα τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ.

XXXIII 9. R. 575 BC

14. R. 574 DE

XXXIV R. 575 d-576 D

XXXIII 6. Jn. xiv 6

6 f. Ps. vi 5

11 f. Cf. Lk. xvi 12

20. 1 Cor. vii 6

XXXIV 7. Wis. i 13

8. Deut. xxxii 39

XXXIII 6. κυριεύων τῶν] κυριεύοντων VBC

8. τῷ] τὸ VBC

ἀμαρτία V:

ἀναμαρτία BC (C notes sic in mg.)

11. καὶ V: δὲ BC

12. Note the

reading ἡμέτερον in Luke xvi 12. But Origen elsewhere appears to have ἡμέτερον, and perhaps that should be read here, Turner 18. ἔσχατον seems to be contrasted with πολὺ πρότερον, or it might be tempting to substitute ἔχειν τὸν (the sentence is clearly imperfect) Turner 20. αὐτοῦ] + ἔχει BC τὸν 2° V: τοῦ BC

21. λόγον VC: λόγου BC mg.

XXXIV 5. ἐστιν τῷ κ. ἡ. V: τῷ κ. ἡ. ἐστι BC

8. ζῆν ποιήσω V B: ζωοποιήσω C

9. ἀποκτενέει V: ἀποκτενεῖ BC τὸν VC: τὸ B

A. RAMSBOTHAM.

A SIXTH-CENTURY FRAGMENT OF ST MARK.

IN the British Museum there is a MS bound in curious wooden boards containing the *Notae Tironianae* (so called from Tiro, the freed-man of Cicero), a collection of shorthand symbols. At the end of this MS, which belongs to the tenth century, are two leaves from two ancient Latin MSS, fols. 117 and 118. The MS was purchased by the Museum on July 13, 1907, from O. Turville Petre, Esq., of Bosworth Hall, Leicester, and is now numbered *Addit. MSS 37518*.

The MS has the name 'I. Fortescue de Salden' written in a sixteenth-century hand on its first leaf. This is probably the Sir John Fortescue of Salden, Buckinghamshire, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who died in 1609. The MS descended from the Fortescue family to the Turvilles of Bosworth Hall, into whose possession it came at the beginning of last century, and whose book-plate of arms it bears. Bound up in the curious binding of the MS by some careful hand of the sixteenth century were two precious and highly interesting leaves containing Latin writing of great antiquity. The first of these leaves contains, in a bold uncial hand of the seventh century, eight short prayers, seven of which are found in the Gelasian Sacramentary. The second leaf contains on one side the fragment of St Mark which we now publish. On its other side there are two ecclesiastical lections—St John xiv 7-14 followed by St Luke xxiv 49-53—written without separation as though the two formed one continuous narrative. These lections cover twenty-two lines, and are in a hand that belongs to the eighth century or early ninth. Their text is practically Vulgate; but xiv 7 > *utique et patrem meum*; xiv 12 *propter opera ipsi credite* [*ipsi* seems unique]; and xxiv 52 *reuerſi* with *a c d e r* against *regreſſi* of *b ff vg*. To the copyist of these lections we owe the preservation of the last leaf of an ancient exemplar of St Mark which he rescued in order to use its blank side.

The uncials are bold and large—fully twice as large as those in *ff*, but less round, and more approximating in shape to the later (as I believe) uncial formation found in *k*. The boldness and excellence of the letters betoken a scribe who was a master in the art of calligraphy.

The writing is older than that of any other Latin Biblical text that the British Museum contains, and may be assigned without hesitation to the first half of the sixth century. The punctuation is only by a small central point as in *b* and *ff*. The capitals are very little larger than the other letters. The scribe has a curious habit of occasionally writing *t* so that it is half as high again as the other letters. Twice (once in verse 15 and once in verse 19) he writes this *t* in ligature with the base of the letter *e* to form *et*.

Two correctors have revised the work of the first hand. The first corrector uses the same dark ink with yellow infusion as the copyist, and always writes in the same gracefully shaped bold uncials, even when employing lettering which may be called diminutive. There is nothing in ink or lettering to differentiate him with certainty from the original workman. The second corrector used darker ink, and belongs to the late seventh century. He writes *assumptus* in full above *adsumptus* in verse 19; and his lettering exhibits a later stage—approximating to *q*—of uncial writing.

Our fragment has two readings of great interest and importance. (1) At the beginning of verse 15 instead of *Et dixit eis* we read *Et dixit dñs ihs discipulis suis*. This new reading, if known to Tatian, would support his identification of St Matt. xxviii 16–20 with St Mark xvi 15–20; for it indicates that the incidents of verses 14 and 15 relate not to the same occasion, but to two different occasions. The recently discovered Freer Gospels have, in fact, a long interpolation between verses 14 and 15, and part of this interpolation was known to Jerome.

(2) In verse 17 we read *Signa autem eos qui uelut apostoli crediderint haec sequentur*. It is true that the words *uelut apostoli* are above the line; but they were inserted either by the first hand or by a corrector who used the same ink-pot. Signs are promised according to this text only to those who have faith as the apostles had.

No other readings are of equal note with these two. The spellings *cretiderit*, *baptizatus*, and *quit* are all ancient; *biberent* for *biberint* should also be noted; whilst *condempnabitur* and *egros* are deteriorated spellings frequent in Irish and Spanish MSS of the seventh and eighth centuries. Finally, *sermone* is found in our MS and only elsewhere in G J Z of the Vulgate. The Gospel of St Mark has no *Amen* appended by the first hand, nor any subscription; but at the bottom of the text in the middle (not in the right-hand corner as in *ff*) the first hand has written Q xii. This indicates that our leaf was once the ninety-sixth in an uncial Evangelium, written probably in the Vulgate sequence, Matthew, Mark, Luke, John—certainly St Mark was second. Our MS, in order that the text of St Matthew and St Mark should fill 96 leaves, must have contained more than 18 lines on each page (according to my calculation 20); but if, as is highly probable, the text was preceded by the prefatory matter and Capitula found in the Irish MSS D and Q, then 22 lines on each page would be demanded by the space.

Our leaf, of which the vellum is stouter and thicker than that of *ff* and more like some pages of *h*, would seem to have lain long with its text side on an earthen floor, as fine particles of sand still adhere to it. The ink has suffered much deterioration in consequence, and in spots has become extremely faint. Moreover the lection-writer, who saved

our leaf from destruction, clipped it not only on both sides, but also at the top (where I believe either two or four lines are now missing) and at the bottom, in order to reduce its size to his requirements. Letters thus clipped away at the sides have been restored in brackets.

The fragment both in spelling and calligraphy recalls the work of the early Irish scribes. It is certainly a Vulgate text, but a Vulgate text of the earliest known type. We know from an inscription they bear that the *Notae Tironianae* were in Belgium in the twelfth century; but this tells us nothing, as it was probably not until the sixteenth century that they received the valuable appendix of our fragment together with another ancient Latin leaf.

St Mark xvi 15-20]

credider]unt. ¹⁵ Et dixit dñs ihs discipu
li]s suis. euntes in uniuersū mun
d]um praedicate euangeliū om[ni
cr]eaturae. ¹⁶ qui crediderit et bab
ti]zatus fuerit saluus erit qui uer[o
no]n crediderit condempnabitur.
¹⁷ Sig]na autē eos qui crediderint haec
se]quentur in nomine meo daemonia
ei]cient linguis loquentur nouis
¹⁸ se]rpentes tollent et si mortiferū
qu]it biberent non eos nocebit su
pe]r egros manus inponent et bene
ha]bebunt. ¹⁹ Et dñs quidē ihs post quā
lo]cutus est eis adsumptus est in cael[ū
et s]edit a dextris dī. ²⁰ illi autē perfecti
prae]dicauerunt ubique dño coope
ran]te et sermone confirmante sequē
ti]bus signis.

Q xii

¹⁶ crediderit *m*²
*m*² *vel m*^{dior}

baptizatus *m*²
¹⁸ quid *m*² *vel m*^{dior}

saluus *m*² *vel m*^{dior}
¹⁹ assumptus *m*²

¹⁷ uelut apostoli
²⁰ + amen *m*²

E. S. BUCHANAN.

NOTES AND STUDIES

A NEW MS OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

FOR more than two years, ever since Dr Rendel Harris first published the 'Odes of Solomon' in October 1909, scholars have been expressing their regret that so interesting a document should have been preserved only in a single late copy. All the while a much older MS of the Odes was lying unnoticed at the British Museum, where it had been housed for some seventy years, and been duly catalogued for forty years!

B. M. Add. 14538 is described in Wright's *Catalogue* pp. 1003-1008, and is assigned by him to the 10th century. The greater part of the volume (*fol.* 1-148) consists of extracts from earlier writers arranged under headings: what follows (*fol.* 149-155) is in a different and to my eyes a rather earlier hand, as if an earlier MS had been bound up with what precedes. In this latter part there are about 50 lines on the page and the margins are very small, giving the impression that the leaves have been cut down to fit the rest. Wright's description of the leaves which concern us (*fol.* 149-152) runs as follows:—

[illegible]

Nothing more was needed to tell us that we have here a MS of the Odes of Solomon, followed (as in Dr Harris's MS) by the Psalms of Solomon, and on examination this proves to be indeed the case.

Dr Wright's description needs some little correction and supplement. The four surviving leaves of Codex Nitriensis, which I shall call N, contain the 'Odes' from xvii 7 to the end, immediately followed by the 'Psalms', the extant portions in the numeration of Ryle and James

being i 1-iii 5 and x 4-xviii 5, but the last section (*fol.* 152) is both defaced and lacerated. There are no headlines, and as neither title nor colophon is preserved, the name of Solomon does not appear. The single Odes and Psalms are written quite continuously, but as in Dr Harris's MS (H) each 'Ode' ends with Halleluia (here written .ܘܠܝܐ), while the Psalms have no such ending. Ode xlii ends at the end of the last line of *fol.* 151 a, 'Psalm' i beginning *fol.* 151 b without any break or superscription except ܠܡܢܝܢ, i.e. 'No. 43'.

It should be remembered that the division into 'Psalms' and 'Odes' so far as the Syriac Version is concerned, is modern and artificial. They are numbered in one series in N, the only headings being ܠܡܢܝܢ, ܠܡܢܝܢ, &c. (i.e. 'No. 27', 'No. 28'). In H the corresponding headings are ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ, ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ (i.e. 'Ode Twenty-seven', 'Ode Twenty-eight'). The collection was also known as 'The Psalms (ܠܡܢܝܢ) of Solomon, son of David',¹ but the *zmirta* of H exactly corresponds to the *ψδῆ* of Lactantius and the *Pistis Sophia*, as may be seen from Eph. v 19, so that there can be little doubt that the proper name of the whole Sixty Poems in Syriac was ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ.

The collations given below will shew how near the text of N is to that of H, in other words how generally satisfactory Dr Harris's text is, so far as the Syriac version of the Odes is concerned. It may further be added that if stiffness and absence of really characteristic native idiom be any test, the Syriac version may be accepted as a very faithful rendering of the original Greek of the Odes. From our point of view that is a merit, as it enables us more clearly to realize what this original Greek may have been like. At the same time it tends to prove that the literary history of the Odes and Psalms of Solomon in Syriac was neither long nor influential. Quite recently Mr W. R. Newbold has attempted to prove that Bardaisan was the author of the Odes,² but I do not suppose his theory will commend itself to any one who is familiar with original Syriac literature. The Odes in Syriac are a creditable piece of work, but their language is a very different thing from the graceful and flexible tongue in which the Acts of Judas Thomas and the Dialogue on Fate are written.³ No theory of the

¹ So *C. U. L. Add.* 2012, which quotes a few verses from 'Psalm 58' (i.e. Ryle and James xvi), as pointed out by Dr W. E. Barnes in *J. T. S.* for July 1910.

² *Journal of Biblical Literature* xxx 161-204.

³ As a simple instance, contrast the ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ of the Peshiṭta in Matt. xxviii 20 with the ܠܡܢܝܢ ܠܡܢܝܢ of Ode xlii 6.

origin of these Odes is satisfactory, which regards the Syriac translation that we possess otherwise than as an exotic.

The discovery of a Nitrian MS of the Odes helps us to bring them back to their proper home, to the land of Egypt. As long as it seemed that the great Monophysite Library of St Mary Deipara contained no copy, it might be guessed that these Odes had had some peculiar ecclesiastical history in their Syriac dress. Now we can see that in all probability they are part of the literary activity of the Syriac Monophysite community in Egypt, the school that produced the translation of the Acts of SS. Peter and Paul and Luke.¹ All three authorities for the Odes in Syriac are of a definitely Jacobite character. The notice detected by Dr Barnes occurs in a late Jacobite MS, Dr Harris's MS is in a Jacobite hand, and the much older Nitrian MS is appended to a catena of extracts arranged and selected in the interests of Monophysite controversy. Moreover the small range of variation between N and H precludes the idea that they were much read.

One or two general remarks on the Odes may be added here. In discussing the style and meaning of these poems hardly sufficient attention seems to me to have been given to the fact that they come before us as Odes of *Solomon*. They are found bound up with the 'Psalms of Solomon', a pseudepigraphical work composed between 70 and 40 B.C. No doubt these Psalms were called Solomon's, because they are more or less modelled in style upon the Canonical Psalter, the Psalms of David. In fact, we may regard the ascription of these 'Psalms' to Solomon as an indication that the Davidic Psalter was already closed when they were written.

As for the Odes, there is nothing to shew that the name of Solomon was not associated with them from the first, whether they appeared separately, or (as I think more probable) they were first published as an enlarged and Christianized edition of the Solomonic collection. The mention of the *χριστός* by Solomon in the Psalms may have inspired the Odists to make Solomon speak of theology and grace in a more intimate and less political fashion. But pseudepigraphical composition amongst Jews and Christians had its own rules. Not, of course, that the authors tried to make the hero of old time prophesy or write in accordance with real historical verisimilitude: that would indeed be a literary anachronism. But, for all that, certain historical anachronisms were always avoided. It may almost be expressed in a formula—the Seers of old are supposed to foretell *events* and to understand *doctrines*, but they must be silent about *names*. Thus in Daniel xi we read all about the wars of the Syrian and Egyptian Diadochi, but the names

¹ See Guidi in the *Nachrichten v. d. k. Gesell. d. Wissenschaften*, 1889, p. 52.

of Antiochus and Ptolemy are never mentioned. In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs no one doubts that John Hyrcanus is meant in *Levi* xviii, but his name is not uttered. The second of the Psalms of Solomon 'describes the death of Pompey in unmistakable terms', but the most definite detail 'Solomon' is allowed to set down is 'thrust through upon the mountains of Egypt'. Scholars have disputed whether the Odes of Solomon are Jewish or Christian, but in either case we must not expect more definiteness of statement than is appropriate for a pseudepigraphic work.

To the Early Christians the Psalms of David were a storehouse of specifically Christian doctrine. We ought not to expect that a work which calls itself 'Odes of Solomon' would be much more definitely Christian, on the surface and in the matter of names and catchwords, than the Psalms of David. The Odes of Solomon appear to me to be intended as adumbrations of Christian doctrine in exactly the same way that Psalm xvi (xv) 10 was supposed to indicate the Resurrection, or Psalm xxii (xxi) 17, 19 to indicate the details of the Passion. And this is what makes the interpretation of the Odes to us so exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory, so far as the date and position of the writer is concerned. The Psalms of Solomon 'prophesy' events: we can therefore date these Psalms by the history of events. The Odes of Solomon, on the other hand, 'prophesy' doctrines, and the history of doctrines and dogmas is not so sharply defined a chronological series as the history of events.

This may sound almost too obvious to lead to anything, but as a matter of fact the neglect of these elementary considerations has led several scholars to make definite and (to my mind) untenable statements about the Odes. Thus Dr Harris can still describe the Odist as a 'man who had no Eucharist so far as his language goes', and as a 'mystical writer whose affinities are not with priesthoods or sacraments'.¹ But is it not expecting too much, to expect that 'Solomon' will *name* the Christian Mysteries? Ode xlii is acknowledged to be Christian, because the writer speaking in the person of the 'Son of God' describes the Harrowing of Hell, and because at the beginning of the Ode is a mention of the 'Tree' and the 'outstretched hands' that are the Lord's Sign. What is not mentioned by name is Jesus and the Cross. But no one would say that the writer was really unaware that the name of the Son of God was Jesus or that He was crucified. Similarly, because the writer in other Odes speaks of cups of milk and never mentions Baptism or Eucharist, we are not at liberty to suggest that these institutions are not all the time in his mind. It is not a question of the *Disciplina arcani*, but of the style appropriate for pseudepigraphical composition.

¹ Harris, ed. 2, p. xvi.

Those who have been reading Dr Schweitzer's new book will understand why it is the theology of the Fourth Gospel and not that of the Pauline Epistles and of the Synoptics that is again and again suggested by the 'Odes of Solomon'. It is because both the Fourth Gospel and the Odes are representatives of the early Greek-Christian theology,¹ which was dominated by the idea that the bodies of the faithful are delivered from 'corruption' by partaking of 'Spirit'. Like the Fourth Gospel, the religion of the Odes may be described as the Greek Mystery-religion, transfigured by the historical event of the Incarnation, an event which brought the life-giving *πνεῦμα* to men and thereby gave them salvation and a foretaste of apotheosis.

Collation of N with Harris's text (ed. 2).

ODE 17

7 N begins, fol. 149 a N
10 N 11 N
15 N (so always)

ODE 18: Title N (in red, and so always)

3 መገኛ] መገኛህ N ምጽ] ምጽጽ N 4 ጽጌህ] ጽጌህ N
 5 ጽጌህ N 6 መገኛ] so N (as txt.) 8 ጽጌ] ጽጌ N
 N (=H) 11 ጽጌ] om. N 13 ጽጌ] om. N
 14 ጽጌ] ጽጌህ N (so always) 15 ጽጌ] ጽጌህ N
 17 መገኛህ] መገኛህ N

ODE 19

3 ሙሉ፤ ሙሉ N ሙሉ፤ ሙሉ N (=H)
6 ሙሉ፤ ሙሉ N (sic) 8 ሙሉ፤ ሙሉ N ሙሉ፤
N (sic) 10 ሙሉ፤ ሙሉ N (=H)

ODE 20

4 հավան, հավան N հավան N

5 հավան N (*sic*) հավան N

7 հավան N (= H) հավան N

8 հավան N 9 հավան N

¹ See *Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung* pp. 157-159.

ODE 21

3 **ሕ]** **ሕ** **ሕ** **ሕ** N (**ሕ** H) 5 **ወወወወ]** **ሕወወወ** N
ሕወወወ] **ሕወወወ** N 6 **ሕወወወ]** N *fol.* 149 b 7 **ሕወወወ]**
ሕወወወ N

ODE 22

2 **ሕ** **ሕወወወ]** **ሕ** **ሕ** **ሕወወወ]** N (*sic*) 3 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]**
ሕወወወ] N 5 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 6 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
7 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 10 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]**
ሕወወወ] N (= *ἐνέργειαν*) 12 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N

ODE 23

1 **ሕወወወ]** + **ሕ** N **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 4 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]**
ሕወወወ] **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N **ሕወወወ]** *pr.* **ሕ** N
5 **ሕወወወ]** N (= H) 6 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
7 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 8 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
9 **ሕወወወ]** N (= H) **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N **ሕወወወ]**
ሕወወወ] N 12 **ሕወወወ]** + **ሕ** N **ሕወወወ]** + **ሕወወወ]** N
13 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
14 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
15 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N **ሕወወወ]** *pr.* **ሕ** N
16 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 17 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
18 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 19 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]**
ሕወወወ] N 20 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N

ODE 24

1 **ሕወወወ]** *pr.* **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N 3 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N
ሕወወወ] **ሕወወወ]** N (= H) 4 **ሕወወወ]** *pr.* **ሕ** N
ሕወወወ] N (= *txt.*) 7 **ሕ** N (= *txt.*) **ሕወወወ]** *pr.* **ሕወወወ]** N

ODE 25

2 **ሕወወወ]** N (= H) 4 **ሕወወወ]** **ሕወወወ]** N

5 መክቲ] መክቲ N 7 ቤ] ቤ N
 8 ሚ] N (*sic*) ሚ] ሚ N
 10 ክቲ] ክቲ N ሚ] N *fol. 150 a*
 11 ክቲ] ክቲ N (= H)

ODE 26

1 ክቲ] N (= H) 9 ሚ] ሚ N
 11 ክቲ] ክቲ N 12 ሚ] ሚ N
ክቲ] N (*sic*) ክቲ] ክቲ N

ODE 27

1 ክቲ] ክቲ N (*sic*)

ODE 28

1 ክቲ] N (= H) ክቲ] ክቲ N 2 ክቲ] ክቲ N
 H (*see facsimile*), ክቲ N ክቲ] ክቲ N 4 ክቲ] ክቲ N
ክቲ N (*ክቲ 20 now washed out*) 6 ክቲ] ክቲ N
ክቲ] ክቲ N 7 ክቲ] ክቲ N
ክቲ] ክቲ N 9 ክቲ] ክቲ N
ክቲ] ክቲ N 10 ክቲ] ክቲ N 11 ክቲ] ክቲ N
ክቲ] ክቲ N 14 ክቲ] ክቲ N
 16 ክቲ] ክቲ N (= H *mg.*) 17 ክቲ] ክቲ N

ODE 29

2 ክቲ] ክቲ N 4 ክቲ] ክቲ N
 7 ክቲ] ክቲ N 8 ክቲ] ክቲ N

ODE 30

No variation.

ODE 31

2 ክቲ] N (= H) ክቲ] ክቲ N
 4 ክቲ] ክቲ N 6 ክቲ] N *illegible*
 7 ክቲ] ክቲ N (?) 8 ክቲ] N *illegible*
 9 ክቲ] ክቲ N (= H)

ODE 32

1 **අදිඨවං**] *N fol. 150 b* 2 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
ඉක්කු] **ඉක්කු** (*om.* **ඉක්කු**) *N*

ODE 33

6 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 10 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
ඉක්කු] **ඉක්කු** (*N (= H)*) 11 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
ඉක්කු] **ඉක්කු** *N*

ODE 34

5 **ඉක්කු**] *om.* *N* **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*

ODE 35

1 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 3 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
ඉක්කු] **ඉක්කු** *N* 4 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N (sic)*
5 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 6 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
6 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*

ODE 36

1 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 2, 3 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
ඉක්කු] **ඉක්කු** *N* 3 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
4 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 6 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
7 **ඉක්කු**] *om.* *N* 8 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*

ODE 37

1 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*

ODE 38

2 **ඉක්කු**] *N (= H)* **ඉක්කු**] *pr.* **ඉක්කු** *N*
3 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N (sic)* 4 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
5 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 6 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
8 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N (sic)*
9 **ඉක්කු**] *N (sic)* **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
ඉක්කු] **ඉක්කු** *N* 10 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N*
13 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N* 14 **ඉක්කු**] **ඉක්කු** *N (sic)*

- 15 N 16 N fol. 151 a
 17 N 18 N
 19 N
 21 N (= H)

ODE 39

- 2 N 4 N
 7 N 9 N
 10 N

ODE 40

- 4 N 5 N
 6 N
 7 N
 8 N (= H)
 9 N (= H)

ODE 41

- 1 N 2 N
 3 N 4 N
 5 N 6 N
 7 N 8 N
 9 N 10 N
 11 N 12 N (= H)
 13 N 14 N
 15 N 16 N
 17 N

ODE 42

- 2 N 3 pr. 5 N
 4 N (= H) 5 N
 6 N 7 N
 8 N 9 N
 10 N 11 N
 12 N 13 N
 14 N 15 N
 16 N 17 N
 18 N 19 N
 20 N 21 N
 22 N 23 N
 24 N 25 N

PSALM 1: Title (= 43) N fol. 151 b

- 3 N (= H) 4 N
 5 N 6 N
 7 N 8 N
 9 N 10 N
 11 N 12 N
 13 N 14 N
 15 N 16 N
 17 N 18 N
 19 N 20 N
 21 N 22 N
 23 N 24 N
 25 N

PSALM 2: Title אֲנִי (= 44) N

- 1 אֲנִי N (*sic*) 2 אֲנִי N
 3 אֲנִי om. N 4 אֲנִי N 5 אֲנִי N
 7 אֲנִי N 8 אֲנִי N
 11 אֲנִי N* 14 אֲנִי N (= H)
 15 אֲנִי N 16 אֲנִי N
 19 אֲנִי N 20 אֲנִי N (= H)
אֲנִי N (= H) 23 אֲנִי N (= *txt.*)
 24 אֲנִי + אֲנִי N 28 אֲנִי (= *ἐκχέαι*)
אֲנִי N (*letters badly formed*) 29 אֲנִי N
 N (= *τοῦ ἐλπεῖν*) 30 אֲנִי N (= H)
 32 אֲנִי N 35 אֲנִי N (= H) אֲנִי N
אֲנִי N אֲנִי pr. N אֲנִי N (= *txt.*)
 37 אֲנִי N (= H) 38 אֲנִי ... אֲנִי om. N
 39 אֲנִי N 40 אֲנִי N

PSALM 3: Title אֲנִי (= 45) N

- 1 אֲנִי N 2 אֲנִי N (*rest as H*)
 4 אֲנִי N 5 אֲנִי om. N אֲנִי N fol. 151 b ends

[N fol. 152 contained PSALMS x 4-xviii 5, but the leaf is torn and defaced and only a selection of readings is here given.]

PSALM 10

- 4 אֲנִי first words legible
 9 אֲנִי N (= H)

PSALM 11: Title אֲנִי (= 53, *sic*) N

- 9] om. N

PSALM 12: Title אֲנִי (= 54) N

- 4 אֲנִי N אֲנִי pr. N (*sic*)

PSALM 13: Title **ܡܢܐ** (= 55) N

5 **ܕܡܢܐ**] **ܕܡܢܐ** N (**ܕܡܢܐ** H)

PSALM 14: Title **ܡܢܐ** (= 56) N

PSALM 15: Title **ܡܢܐ** (= 57) N

9 **ܡܢܐ** **ܡܢܐ** N (*sic*)

PSALMS 16, 17: Titles illegible

37 **ܡܢܐ**] **ܡܢܐ** N 41 **ܡܢܐ** **ܡܢܐ** N (= λαοῦ
μεγάλου hil) 46 **ܡܢܐ** N (= ἐν ἰσότητι ilmgf)

PSALM 18: Title **ܡܢܐ** (= 60) N

4 **ܡܢܐ** **ܡܢܐ** **ܡܢܐ** N (σπέρμα ἀ. υἱοῦ 'I. Gr.)

In the above list all differences of reading and spelling are noted, including the plural points, but not differences of punctuation or other differences of pronunciation indicated by dots, except in a few cases where the sense is affected. The punctuation of N is normal; e.g. **ܡܢܐ** for *hānōn*, **ܡܢܐ** for *hennōn*, &c. The point in **ܡܢܐ** ('from'), found in H, never occurs in N. **ܡܢܐ** (*āthā*, 'sign') always has a point. **ܡܢܐ** ('he brought') appears to have a point *below* the line (e.g. xxii 11), while **ܡܢܐ** ('I am') has a point *above* the line (e.g. xlii 6).

I have been saved the necessity of attempting to demonstrate the essential unity of the Odes by the admirable paper of Dom Connolly in the January number of this JOURNAL, a paper that ought to be digested by all those whose general impressions of this curious work have been derived from Dr Harris or from Dr Harnack. Especially timely are his remarks upon Ode 19 (pp. 307-309): the chief point upon which I have any doubt is whether so comparatively rare a Syriac word as **ܡܢܐ** (*sic* N) would have been used to translate so ordinary a Greek word as ἐκράτησεν. Even at the cost of mere repetition it is worth while saying once again that **ܡܢܐ** means 'emptily' or 'to no purpose', and not 'sufficiently', at any rate in this context. In Ode 19, however, N brings in no various reading of importance: of the modern conjectures, the only fortunate one is Dom Connolly's suggestion that the copula should be omitted at the beginning of ver. 8, and as a matter of fact it is absent from N.

In what follows I have given the more important changes introduced by N, so far as they affect the translation. I have not included the

addition or omission of small particles, changes of number, &c., which do not appreciably affect the meaning. For the general convenience of the English reader I have taken as my standard the translation given in Dr Harris's 2nd ed., without however either criticizing or endorsing his translations generally, except so far as they are affected by the readings of N or call for some special note.

Ode 17

11 my bondmen] the bondmen N

Ode 18

3 it stood] they stood N (i.e. 'my members')

4 remove] cast away N

8 N agrees with H (Dr Harris's MS): (?) read 𐤀𐤁𐤁 for 𐤀𐤁𐤁 (same pronunciation) and render '8 And thou wilt preserve from me all that holds fast by evil things'

Ode 19

3 N has 'and she that milked Him is the Holy Spirit'

8 and because] *om.* and N (*see above for this Ode*)

Ode 20

4 your reins] thy reins H, my reins N (*sic*)

5 'by the blood of thy soul' N H: 'by', as so often in Semitic, is the 𐤀𐤁𐤁 of price, and means 'at the price of'

devour] deceive N (and H)

9 grace] goodness N

Ode 21

4 the thought of the Lord] cf. *Ode 20*¹: I believe personally that the Odist has the Christian Eucharist in mind

5 His light] *om.* His N served] passed N

Ode 22

2 cast me down] put them for me N

6 a rampart] Diettrich's conjecture is the text of N

10 energy] *sic* N; helps H

The first six verses of the Ode form one sentence; remembering that relative clauses which are logically in the 2nd pers. are often expressed in Syriac by the 3rd pers., we may translate thus:—

'He who brings me down from on high and brings me up from below, and who gathers the things that are betwixt and puts them for me, and who scatters my enemies and my adversaries, He that gave me authority over bonds to loose them, that overthrew through me the Dragon with seven heads and didst set me over his root to destroy his seed—it is Thou, Thou wast there and helped me, and in every place Thy Name was encircling me!'

Ode 23

4 the Most High] the Lord, and ye shall know the grace of the Lord N

13 forests] peoples N

14 and that which was a sign upon it] and that which had come upon it N (*sic*)

18 And those . . . extinct] and the persecutors were quenched and became extinct N (*so also* Frankenberg)

Ode 24

1 the Messiah] *pr.* the head of our Lord N

3 the birds . . . wings] she flew and dropped her wings N

3^b-5^a should be translated thus:—

‘And the abysses were opened and (then) were hidden; and they were asking for the Lord like women with child, ‘and He was not given to them for food, because He was not theirs; and the abysses were themselves immersed at the immersion of the Lord.’

Of course it all refers to the Baptism, or rather to the process of the Incarnation of the Messiah, of which His Baptism is itself the complete symbol. *ḥubbāʾā* means ‘immersion’, not ‘seal’: cf. also *Ode* 31, and Exod. xv 5, 10.

Ode 25

4 I shall see him] they have been seen N

10 the truth] thy truth N

11 admirable] N has ‘of the Lord’, like H

Ode 26

12 translate: ‘For he that interprets will be dissolved and that which is interpreted will remain’

Ode 28

7 and . . . drink] and immortal life has embraced and kissed me N

14 nor was . . . theirs] neither did they recognize my birth N

16 make attack] cast lots N (= H^{mg})

Ode 29

2 goodness] grace N

7 him] me N (see J. R. H.’s Note)

Ode 31

2 found] received N

Ode 34

4 read: ‘where the beautiful one is encircled on every side’

5 read: ‘for everything is above, and below there is nothing, but it is imagined by those who are without knowledge’

Ode 38

2 pits] + empty N

3 arms] steps (*or*, ladder) N

8^b, 9 The best translation I can make of this difficult passage is : 'it made clear to me all the poisons . . . and the corrupter of corruption. I saw a corruptible bride being adorned and a bridegroom who corrupts and is corruptible.' No doubt Antichrist and Heresy is meant, using the words in a wide sense : what is really peculiar is that Heresy or Error is regarded as the bride of the Deceiver. Of course in *v. 11*, as Dom Connolly points out (p. 306), 'alike in the beloved and in his bride' should be translated 'resemble the beloved and his bride'. I cannot however feel quite certain that 'beloved' should have a capital letter. The figure of bridegroom and bride is not elsewhere used in the Odes for Christ and Church, and we cannot be sure that 'beloved' really had the definite article in the underlying Greek. The Syriac may mean no more than 'a beloved one and his bride'. The Deceiver and Error are like a bridegroom and a bride, and those who have dealings with such things are like folk who go to a wedding feast and get drunk.

Ode 40

5 and my tongue his psalms] and my tongue is sweet with his colloquies and [my members] are fat with his psalms N (*hole in veilum*)
8 inheritance] profit N (= H)

Ode 41

1] Let us praise the Lord, all ye His children, and let us receive the truth of His faith N
3 live] rejoice N 4 us] *om.* N
17 song] + to the Lord N

Ode 42

4 of no account . . . me] useless to those that know me, in order that I might be hidden to those that were not holding me N
25 and my name . . . heads] and I considered their faith, and I put upon their heads my name N

F. C. BURKITT.

THE TEXT OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED SCHOLIA OF ORIGEN ON THE APOCALYPSE.¹

I. SCHOLIA i-xxvii.

i ll. 7-10 ἐν γοῦν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς αἷς γράφουσιν, ὡς ἄλλοι τὰ θνητῶν ἀξιώματα, προτάττουσι τοῦτο αὐτό. καὶ γοῦν ὁ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Παῦλος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ συμφώνως πράττουσι τὸ αὐτό.

Perhaps *πρ(ο)τίττουσι* should be read a second time instead of *πράττουσι*.

iii ll. 4, 5 τὸ γὰρ συννετῶς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ μὴ προχείρως ἀκούειν ἀλλὰ πιστῶς μακαρίζεται.

μακαρίζεται is Harnack's emendation for the MS reading *μακαριουσιεῖ* (?). Wohlenberg proposes doubtfully *μακαρισμένη*: I should prefer *μακαρίους* (πο)ιεῖ.

iv ll. 1, 4 τοὺς τρεῖς χρόνους περιείληφεν ὁ λόγος . . . τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ λόγου νοήσας.

This would be more intelligible to the reader if it were printed
ὁ Λόγος . . . τοῦ Λόγου.

v ll. 1-3 οὐ γίνεται ἀτεχνῶς ἐν ὧς ἐν οὐδὲ πολλὰ ὡς μέρη ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν ἑνθεν καὶ ἄλλως πάντα ἐν κύκλος γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πασῶν τῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἐν . . .

¹ [I owe to Dr Armitage Robinson's paper in the January number of the JOURNAL my first acquaintance at close quarters with the new fragments of Origen and the *editio princeps* of Harnack and Diobouniotis. I owe also to his private kindness the opportunity of seeing two contributions to the criticism of the fragments which appeared almost simultaneously with his own—one by Dr G. Wohlenberg in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* for January 19 and February 2, the other by Dr Otto Stählin, the eminent editor of Clemens Alexandrinus, in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for February 3—and of printing (within square brackets) some fresh suggestions of his. A complete edition of the fragments, on the model of the editions of the Greek Origen on Ephesians, 1 Corinthians, and Romans, may some day, I hope, appear in the JOURNAL. Meanwhile the object of the following notes is both to put together for English readers the net result of the labours of Robinson, Wohlenberg, and Stählin, and to add some further suggestions of my own for the consideration of any scholars who may later on occupy themselves with the text. I should wish to add that, though it is inevitable to differ somewhat frequently from Harnack's readings or punctuation or exegesis of the fragments, the theological world does lie under a very deep debt of gratitude to him not only for his identification of the author of the Scholia, but also for his prompt publication of them. Scholars into whose hands an *anecdote* falls are too often tempted to consult rather their own reputation than the public benefit, and to keep back their work indefinitely in the hope of continually improving it.—C. H. T.]

Harnack gives up the attempt to emend; 'locus corruptus est.' Wohlenberg rightly sees that ἄλλως πάντα ἐν suggests dittography of the preceding ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν, but his further suggestions are unconvincing 'ἐνθεν: ἐνθεον, oder besser ὡς πάντα ἐν ἐνθεν καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς πάντα ἐν ἐνθεν'—which hardly sounds like Greek. Stählin points out that the whole Scholion (whether incorporated by Origen in a work of his own or no) comes really from Clement *Strom.* iv 156, and that the reading there is ἀλλ' ὡς πάντα ἐν. ἐνθεν καὶ πάντα.

v ll. 4, 5 οὐ μόνον τὸ τέλος ἀρχὴ γίνεται καὶ τελευτᾷ πάλιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνωθεν ἀρχὴν οὐδαμοῦ διάστασιν λαβῶν.

The punctuation seems perverse: omit the comma or transpose it after ἀρχήν, and translate 'ends again at the original beginning'.

v l. 6 διὸ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πιστεῦσαι μοναδικόν ἐστι γενέσθαι ἀπερισπάστως ἐνουμένον ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ ἀπιστήσαι διστάσαι ἐστὶν καὶ διαστήναι καὶ μερισθῆναι.

The meaning, I think, is that just as the Word is Himself a circle in which end and beginning are one, so our faith in Christ is a union which goes from Him to us (δι' αὐτοῦ) and from us to Him (εἰς αὐτόν) without any break in the continuous process. The reference is rather to Col. i 16 than (with Harnack) to Rom. xi 36.

vi ll. 3, 4 εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅπλα δικαίων καὶ βέλη ἐκλεκτὰ καὶ μάχαιρα ἐπαινετή.

Wohlenberg satisfactorily explains the middle term of the three by reference to Is. xlix 2 ἔθικέ με ὡς βέλος ἐκλεκτόν. Perhaps the ὅπλα δικαίων are an echo of 2 Cor. vi 7 διὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης or more probably of Ps. v 13 ὅτι σὺ εὐλογήσεις δίκαιον, κύριε, ὡς ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας κτλ. To what passage exactly the 'sword that is praise-worthy' points I cannot say, unless it is Eph. vi 17. [μάχαιρα ἐπαινετή is sufficiently accounted for by the passage from Isaiah, xlix 2, since it includes the phrase καὶ ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα μου ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξείαν. And is not Rom. vi 13 in mind in the passage generally? Compare ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ and ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης τῷ θεῷ with ll. 5, 6, στρατευομένων . . . τῷ θεῷ . . . καὶ τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. The plural βέλη ἐκλεκτά is in harmony with Orig. in *Ps.* cxx (cxix) 4 οὐκ ἂν δὲ φαρέτρα ἦν τῷ θεῷ δι' ἐν βέλος, κ.τ.λ.: see the context for the βέλος ἀγάπης and τετρωμένη, ll. 16, 17.—J. A. R.]

vi ll. 3-7 εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶν . . . οὐδὲ ἀμφιβάλλειν περὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰρημένων.

As the εἰ γὰρ clause is the protasis, the οὐδὲ ἀμφιβάλλειν clause must be the apodosis and must contain the main verb of the sentence. Read therefore οὐ δε(ῖ) ἀμφιβάλλειν.

vi ll. 11, 12 οἱ μὲν οὖν φαῦλοι μελετήσαντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ψευδῶν δογμάτων τὸν νοῦν ἱκανῶς ἠκόννησαν ὡς μάχαιραν ὀξείαν ἐπὶ κακῶ τῶν ἀκούοντων.

Ps. lxiv (lxiii) 3 ἠκόννησαν ὡς ῥομφαίαν τὰς γλώσσας αὐτῶν. In the first part of the clause τὸν νοῦν is Harnack's addition (assimilating

line 12 to line 13); but if *ικανῶς* is correct, *μελετήσαντες ικανῶς* must, I suppose, be taken together, and *τὸν νοῦν* is out of place between them. [For *ικανῶς* compare Orig. in Ps. lxiv (lxiii) 3 οἱ ικανοὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψευδῶν δογμάτων κ.τ.λ.—J. A. R.]

ll. 15, 16 οἱ μὲν γὰρ φαῦλοι τιτρώσκουσι μαχαίρᾳ, ἡ γλῶσσας δὲ σοφίαν ἰώντας† καὶ τιτρώσκουσιν ἀγάπῃ· τῇ ἀγάπῃ οὖν ἔτρωσεν ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος.

No wonder that Harnack noted 'locus corruptus est'. But he was wrong in supposing further that something had fallen out; Wohlenberg completely restores text and sense by pointing to the two biblical passages which Origen has in mind, Prov. xii 18 εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες τιτρώσκουσι μαχαίρᾳ γλῶσσαι δὲ σοφῶν ἰῶνται, and Cant. ii 5 (= v 8) τετρωμένη ἀγάπης ἐγώ.

vii ll. 1–5 ὁ ταύτας, ὡς ἔχει, θείας θεωρίας ἀνεωγμένως νοήσας τὸν θεὸν λόγον εἶναι τὸ ἄλφα, ἀρχὴν καὶ αἰτίαν τῶν πάντων, πρῶτόν τε οὐ χρόνῳ ἀλλὰ τιμῇ—αὐτῷ γὰρ προσφέρεται δόξα καὶ τιμή . . . ὅτι ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ὡς τὸ τέλος ἐπάγων τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ γινομένοις τὸ ω εἶναι εἴρηται. καὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἔσχατος πάλιν οὐ κατὰ χρόνον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος ἐπάγων.

Clearly if the text is right as printed, Harnack is right that 'aliquid deest'. Wohlenberg makes an approach to giving the sentence a construction by supplying *νοήσει* after *νοήσας*. Stählin suggests *οἶδεν* for *εἶναι*. Even these alterations leave a great deal that is to me unintelligible. To Harnack are due (1) correction of *ἀνεωγμένως* for MS *ἀνοιγμένως*, (2) the marks of a *lacuna* after *τιμή*, (3) the insertion of *τό* before *τέλος*, (4) the insertion of *τό* before *ω*. It may be remarked in passing that it is extraordinarily misleading to have words printed in the text which are not in the MS and are not in any way distinguished typographically from the rest; no edition which claims to be called critical has the right to do this, least of all an *editio princeps*. Of the four changes introduced the last seems certainly right, but none of the rest are certain and perhaps none are probable; the third is obviously unnecessary, since the phrase *τέλος ἐπάγων* occurs again without the article two lines lower down. With *ἀνοιγμένως* of the MS compare xxv 7 ἡνοίχθαι MS ἡνεῶχθαι Harnack: late Greek departed so commonly from the Attic forms of *ἀνοίγνυμι* that I should rather scruple to alter the MS readings. In the words *αὐτῷ προσφέρεται δόξα καὶ τιμή* allusion is I think meant to be made to Apoc. v 12, 13.

vii ll. 13–16 ὁ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὰ γράμματα, τὸ α φημί καὶ τὸ ω, οὐ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀλλ' ἅπερ γράφει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οἶδεν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων καὶ τέλος τῶν πάντων κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν θεολόγον Ἰωάννην εἰπόντα κτλ.

The MS gives *ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρχή* for *τὸν αὐτὸν ἀρχήν*, and with an improved punctuation there is no reason at all why the MS reading

should not be retained : ὁ ταῦτα μαθὼν τὰ γράμματα, τὸ α φημί καὶ τὸ ω, οὐ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀλλ' ἅπερ γράφει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οἶδεν. ὁ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων κτλ. 'He who has learnt all this knows that the letters, α and ω, are not the material letters of the alphabet, but those which the Holy Spirit writes.' So far the clause is closely connected with the preceding sentences ; a new paragraph might begin with the next words.

- ix ll. 2-5 ἐπεὶ οὖν ἥλιος ἡμέραν καὶ οὐ νύκτα φωτίζει, τοῖς ἐν νυκτὶ διάγουσι χρεία λυχνίας οὐ φωτός. τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ κατὰ τὴν θείαν παιδευσιν φωτίζον τοὺς ἀκούοντας. καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀλλαχοῦ αὐτὸ δεῖ ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, λυχνίας τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὠνόμασεν.

I do not understand how, on this reading, it is proposed to construe the sentence τοῦτο . . . φωτίζον, seeing that φῶς is the only neuter noun, and that it has just been said 'there is no need of light'. Read, for χρεία λυχνίας οὐ φωτός, χρεία λυχνα(ί)ου φωτός : 'those who cannot get daylight must needs have candle-light.' Again, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀλλαχοῦ αὐτὸ δεῖ cannot be right : Wohlenberg sees this, but his suggestion αὐτὸ λάμπει is unnecessarily violent, and we want nothing more drastic than αὐτο(ῦ) δεῖ. 'Because it is just in the churches that the candle-light is wanted, he called the churches candlesticks.'

- ix ll. 6, 7 τῷ ζ' ἀριθμῷ, μυστικῶ ὄντι, διὸ ἅγιος καὶ εὐλογημένος ἐστίν.

Compare Scholion xxviii l. 7 εἰ οὖν . . . ἔχει λοιπὸν ἐπτά κέρατα, ἁγίαν βασιλείαν καὶ εὐλογημένην ἔχει. Seven in both cases is 'holy and blessed', because God 'blessed the seventh day and hallowed it', εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐβδόμην καὶ ἡγίασεν αὐτήν, Gen. ii 3 = Exod. xx 11. So also Schol. xxvii l. 7 θειῷ ἀριθμῷ σφραγίδων.

- ix l. 9 ἵν' οὖν ὠφελήσῃ τοὺς δυναμένους ὁ τὸν λύχνον ᾤψας.

The biblical reference is rather to Luke, who alone uses the phrase λύχνον ᾤψας (viii 16, xi 33), than with Harnack to Matt. Harnack, perhaps rightly, doubts τοὺς δυναμένους, and tentatively suggests the very remote substitute τοὺς ἀνθρώπους : possibly τοὺς δεομένους, cf. δεῖ in l. 5.

- [ix l. 10 ἐπὶ τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἐπὶ λυχνίᾳ ἐτίθετο αὐτόν.

The MS has ἐπὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ λόγου ὡς ἐπὶ λυχνίᾳ : and the genitive of the MS should stand in the first clause, and ἐπὶ λυχνίας (with Luke viii 16) should be read in the second, ε and ι being often confused in the MS.—J. A. R.]

- ix ll. 14-16 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ λείπονται τούτου οἱ νυκτερινὴν κατάστασιν ἔχοντες. ἀλλ' οὖν φωτίζονται ὑπὸ λύχνου ἐκεῖθεν ἀφθέντος.

The MS has ἀλλ' οὐ, for which Diobouniotis conjectures and Harnack accepts ἀλλ' οὖν. I believe they are quite right, though Wohlenberg wants to return to ἄλλον.

x ll. 1, 2 τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν, ἃ σὺν ἀγάπῃ κατορθοῦνται. ἀγάπη is perhaps a reference to Rom. v 3-5.

[x l. 4 εἰ καθάπαξ ἐνεκαλείτο ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν ἀγάπην.

Better perhaps εἰ καθάπαξ ἐνεκάλει τὸ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν ἀ.—J. A. R.]

xi ll. 5, 6 ὡς μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ μὴ βλαβῆναι.

Typography should come to the assistance of the reader here: ὡς μὴ ἀδικηθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀντὶ τοῦ 'μὴ βλαβῆναι'.

xi ll. 8, 9 ἰσοδυναμεῖ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ φθείρεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν ναὸν αὐτοῦ.

MS τοῦτο τό: I should prefer ἰσοδυναμεῖ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ φθείρεσθαι κτλ.

xi ll. 9-12 οὐκ ἀδικεῖται δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ δευτέρου θανάτου. οἰόμενός τις ἀδύνατα εἶναι περὶ ἀγγέλου ἐκλαβεῖν ἀπολυθῆσεται τοῦ περισπασμοῦ γνοῖς ὡς πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις δεκτικὴ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀποδοθέντων σηματομένων περὶ τοῦ θανάτου. ἴσως δὲ ὁ ταραττόμενος τὸν κοινὸν θάνατον ἐν νῷ λαβὼν πέπονθεν ταραχήν.

Harnack, who notes 'usus insuetus' of the word *περισπασμοῦ*, supplies three parallels from Origen (p. 50); I can add two more, from Orig. *in Eph.* iv 15 (*J. T. S.* iii 415 ll. 91, 92) and (still closer) *in Rom.* vi 12 ἀπολύων ἡμῶς περισπασμοῦ. I find more difficulty in seeing meaning or connexion in the text as it stands; and I suggest οὐκ ἀδικεῖται δὲ οὐδὲ ἐκ τούτου. τὸ(ν) δεῦτερο(ν) θάνατο(ν) οἰόμενός τις ἀδύνατα εἶναι περὶ ἀγγέλου ἐκλαβεῖν κτλ. 'And he is not injured even by this. If any one thinks that it is impossible to interpret of an angel [*sc.* the angel of the church of Smyrna] the "second death", his doubts will be solved when he recognizes' &c. There should be a full stop after ἐκ τούτου, and only a colon after περὶ τοῦ θανάτου: Dr Armitage Robinson has rightly divined that the final clause in the passage merely means 'he who doubts on this point perhaps in reality only doubts because he has been thinking of natural death' (*J. T. S.* Jan. 1912 p. 295). Harnack has rightly accepted ἴσως for the MS ἴσος: Wohlenberg thinks of Ἰησοῦς.

xiii l. 3 οὐκ ἀπεγνωστέον καὶ περὶ ἀσάρκων τινῶν ψευδομάντεων ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι δι' ἀποκαλίψεως γὰρ ἐδείχθη τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.

Presumably the words should be οὐκ ἀπ(ο)γνωστέον, and the meaning 'we must not reject the idea that . . .' The *ἄσαρκοι ψευδομάντεις* are surely not human, though both Harnack and Stählin interpret them as heretical teachers; the point of the last clause is exactly that the reference to immaterial spirits is natural enough in a 'revelation' of things hidden.

xiv ll. 4, 5 τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ μάννα τὸ κεκρυμμένον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὄνομα καινόν.

Full stop after *κεκρυμμένον*, and here the first part of the comment ends. The succeeding words are simply the *lemma* from Apoc. ii 17,

which the rest of this scholion expounds : see Dr Armitage Robinson p. 295.

xiv ll. 5, 6 ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ πνευματικῶν ὁ λόγος ἀνωτέρω, χωριστέον παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ δηλουμένου περὶ τῆς ψήφου.

‘Corrupta videntur’ Harnack. Wohlenberg restores text and sense by placing the comma after λόγος, and from the MS reading χωρεῖταιον deducing χωρητέον instead of χωριστέον. ‘We must rise above all material ideas.’

xiv ll. 9–15 ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν προκοπὴν οἰκίαν τῇ ἐκ τῆς προκοπῆς ποιότητι ἔχει τις προσηγορίαν, αἰ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν προτέρων παρερχομένων, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν γραφόμενον ὄνομα τοῦ τελειωθέντος, οὐκ ἔχον ἕτερον μετὰ τοῦτο, αἰ καινόν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν ἀδιάδοχον Καινὴν Διαθήκην καὶ ἔτι τοῦ κρυπτοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἀνθρώπου παραστατικόν. τοῦτο οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων μόνος.

Harnack’s text is here quite unintelligible ; but we owe to him one excellent emendation, τοῦ κρυπτοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ κρούστου(?) of the MS. In restoring a consecutive meaning to the passage, we will begin by dividing it in the middle, at the point where the break comes between the comment on καινόν and the comment on ὁ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν : place a full stop therefore after Καινὴν Διαθήκην. What follows ought to be easy enough : ἔτι is in the MS ἐπί, and αὐτῶν is αὐτῶ : read therefore καὶ ἐπ(ε)ὶ τοῦ κρυπτοῦ τῆς καρδίας ἀνθρώπου παραστατικόν τοῦτο, οὐδεὶς αὐτ(ὸ) οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ λαμβάνων. ‘And since this new name is indicative of the “secret man of the heart”, no one knows it save he who receives it.’

The first sentence is not quite so simple : but there are no differences of reading to record, save that ἔχον of the text is ἔχων in the MS. It is fairly clear that we have to do with two premisses and a conclusion. The first premiss, ἐπεὶ γὰρ . . . παρερχομένων, presents no difficulty ; the crux lies in the second, and in the point where it passes over to the conclusion. Possibly the comma at τελειωθέντος should go, and ἔχων should be emended not into ἔχον but into ἔχει (εἰ for ω is very easy). Read in that case τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν γραφόμενον ὄνομα τοῦ τελειωθέντος οὐκ ἔχ(εἰ) ἕτερον μετὰ τοῦτο, αἰ καινόν ἐστι : and translate ‘for since in every advance a man has a title corresponding to the quality of the advance, the former names on each occasion passing away [Apoc. xxi 4], and since the final “name which is written” on him who is perfected admits no other after it, it is always “new” just as the New Testament has no successor and is always new’.

xv ll. 8–12 ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ’ οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφοιτήσας, διὰ τοῦ χαλκολιβάνου παραβάλλονται—διὰ τὸ θεῖκον λίβανος, χαλκὸς διὰ τὸ τοῖς κτίσμασι συγκαταβαίνειν ἔχον ποιεῖν ἐπιπορευόμενον διεγερτικὸν τῶν κοιμωμένων.

Harnack's text differs from the MS mainly by the correction of *ἐπιπορευόμενος* to *ἐπιπορευόμενον*: but he has rightly queried the word *ἔχον*, for which Wohlenberg and Stählin both make the simple but brilliant emendation *ἦχον*. Some smaller supplementary changes are however necessary to complete the restoration. The whole clause from *χαλκός* onwards must be taken together: the feet are not compared to brass because He condescends to creation, but because as He moves about the clang of His footsteps is meant to rouse the sleepers. Retain therefore the MS reading *ἐπιπορευόμενος*, and write *χαλκός διὰ τὸ τοῖς κτίσμασι συγκαταβαίν(ω)ν ἦχον ποιεῖν ἐπιπορευόμενος διεγερτικὸν τῶν κοιμωμένων*. The first part of the sentence might stand as it is, if *παραβάλλονται* can mean 'set before us', 'presented to us'; but if, as I rather think, it can only mean 'compared', I suppose we must alter text and punctuation as follows—*οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ, καθ' οὓς ἐπιπορεύεται τῷ παντὶ διαφουτήσας δι' αὐ(τ)οῦ, χαλκολιβά(ν)ω παραβάλλονται*. This also has the advantage of echoing rather more closely the wording of the biblical text 'like to fine brass'.

xvi l. 1 *ἐπίστησον μὴ ἐφαρμόζη*.

Here, and in xix 2, 3 *ἐπίστησον μὴ . . . ὧσιν*, Harnack emends the indicatives of the MS, *ἐφαρμόζει* and *εἰσίν*, into subjunctives. I think he is wrong, and that Origen uses *ἐπίστησον μὴ* with the indicative.

xvii ll. 2-4 *διὰ τὸ τὰ ἔργα τῆς γνώμης ἐκείνης προσήφθαι τῇ Ἰεζάβελ εἰς πορνείαν κατασπασάσῃ καὶ χρήσιν εἰδωλοθύτων πειρωμένη*.

χρήσιν cannot be accusative after *πειρωμένη*. If the editors had understood that the definition at the end of the clause is attached to *τῆς γνώμης ἐκείνης* and not to *τῇ Ἰεζάβελ*, they would not have needlessly altered the readings of the MS *κατασπᾶν* and *πειρωμένης*. Render 'because the practices of that theology are attached to the name of Jezebel, since it attempts to drag men into fornication and the use of *idolothyta*'. [So too Stählin.]

xviii l. 3 *πρὸ ἀνατολῆς τοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡλίου*.

Mal. iv 2 *ἀνατελεῖ ὁ μῦν . . . ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης*.

xix l. 4 *ἀσυντρόχαστον*.

Not in L. S., who recognize only *ἀσίντροχος*: but see *συντροχάζω*.

Harnack notes that Origen uses *ἀσυντρόχαστον* in the *de oratione*.

xx l. 1 *ἄγιος, ἀληθινὸς ὁ μὴ μετουσία ἀλλ' οἰσία ὧν τοιοῦτος, αὐτὸς ἔστιν ὁ θεὸς λόγος*.

The first two words should be separately printed, as a *lemma* from Apoc. iii 7: the comment begins with *ὁ μὴ*.

xx ll. 8-10 *διὸ οὐδεὶς ἀνοίξει τὰ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ νόμου, οὐκέτι ἐφεξῆς τὰ λοιπὰ φυλαχθῆναι χώραν ἔχοντα. ἀνοίγει μὲν τὰ δυνατὰ ἀνθρώποις νοῆσαι, κλείει δὲ ὅσα μὴ δύναται ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ γνῶναι*.

MS *οὐκετι φν υφεξεις τα λοιπα λαχθηναι*, and Dr Armitage Robinson

pointed out (*J. T. S. Jan.* p. 295) that the words *ὑφέξεις τὰ λοιπά* have nothing to do with the text, which reads straightforwardly if they are omitted, 'the literal meaning of the Law has no longer any place for observance'. *ὑφέξεις τὰ λοιπά* is perhaps a direction to the copyist, jotted down in the margin of the MS, and unintelligently incorporated as a gloss. Certainly the last line does not seem to be Origen's: the interpretation of 'opening' and 'shutting' is inconsistent with what precedes, and is rather suggestive of a more literal school of interpretation. *ἡ παρούσα* reminds us of the Antiochene writers, and their favourite contrast between *ἡ παρούσα κατάσταση* and *ἡ μέλλουσα κατάσταση*. But they did not accept the Apocalypse.

xxi ll. 5-7 καὶ ἐπιμετεωρίζονται οὗτοι εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς πτεροῖς. λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν κτλ.

Wohlenberg has done excellent service here, having seen that this is no biblical citation but an introduction by Origen to the citation from Job which follows: καὶ ἐπ(ε)ὶ μετεωρίζονται οὗτοι εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς πτεροῖς, λέγεται περὶ αὐτῶν κτλ.

xxi ll. 11-12 ἐρχόμενος γὰρ δι' ἐνεργειῶν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρα οὐκ ἐκβάλλεται ἔξω.

Jo. vi 37 τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς με οὐ μὴ ἐκβάλω ἔξω.

xxi l. 15 καταβάσα παρὰ θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

Not from Apoc. xxi 2 (as Harnack) but simply from the verse on which the Scholiast is commenting, iii 12.

xxii ll. 1-4 ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ὑπάρχει οὐ διὰ τὸ πίστεως καὶ ἀληθείας μετέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ βέβαιον κατ' οὐσίαν εἶναι· ἀληθινὸς γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀληθινὸν εἶναι.

From βέβαιον onwards in this sentence exactly half the words are given by the editors in a form different from the MS, which reads *δια το βεβαιος και ουσια ειναι αληθινος γαρ τον αυτον επ' αυτου το αληθεια και αληθινος ειναι*. Both Stählin and Wohlenberg make their proposals for improvement: the former writes *διὰ τὸ βέβαιον καὶ οὐσίαν εἶναι· ἀληθ(ιν)ῶς γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀλήθειαν καὶ ἀληθινὸν εἶναι*, the latter *διὰ τὸ βέβαιος καὶ οὐσία εἶναι· ἀληθινὸς γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἀληθινὸς εἶναι*. I am sure that Wohlenberg is right against Harnack and Stählin in retaining the nominatives of the MS with *τὸ . . . εἶναι*. I think too that *οὐσία* of the MS is right, comparing *xx 1 ὁ μὴ μετουσία ἀλλ' οὐσίμ ὢν τοιοῦτος*. And lastly Wohlenberg's *ἀληθινὸς γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀλήθεια . . . εἶναι*, 'for "True" is the same thing in his case with being "the Truth"', seems to give just the sense we want with the minimum of change in the wording of the MS. But I should propose to transfer the second *ἀληθινός* into the first part of the sentence, so that the whole would read *διὰ τὸ βέβαιος καὶ οὐσία εἶναι ἀληθινός· (ἀληθινός) γὰρ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀλήθεια εἶναι*.

xxii ll. 14-18 τὸ αὐτὸ δ' ἐστὶν λέγειν· μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι, καὶ τό· ἐγενήθη γὰρ μοι εἰς πλησμονήν, οἷονεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ πόλλ' ἔξετε[?] ἐν ἐμοί· ὅταν γὰρ τὴν περί τινος μνήμην ἀποκαλεῖ ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ ὁ κύριος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἤμεσεν, γενόμενον αὐτῷ εἰς πλησμονήν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτης καὶ κακίας παχύτητα μὴ χωροῦντα ἐν ἐαυτῷ.

For ἐπὶ πόλλ' ἔξετε—truly a counsel of despair—the MS gives *ἐπιπολλεζεται*, and the true reading suggested itself independently to Stählin, Wohlenberg, and myself, *ἐπιπολάζετε* 'you remain undigested', literally 'you keep on the surface of the stomach'. ἀποκαλεῖ: the word means 'to stigmatize' (as in the next scholion, l. 6 ὁ δὲ καὶ κυβίαν ἀπεκύλεσεν ὁ ἀπόστολος) and is out of place here, as Stählin too has seen. His suggestion is ἀπολεῖ, comparing Sap. iv 19 ἡ μνήμη αὐτῶν ἀπολείται: what had occurred to me is rather ἀπο(β)αλεῖ or ἀπο(β)άλ(η). For διὰ τὴν ἀπάτης καὶ κακίας παχύτητα the MS has διὰ τὴν ἀπάτης κακίας παχύτητα, from which Wohlenberg has rightly restored διὰ τὴν ἀπ(ὸ) τῆς κακίας παχύτητα.

xxiii ll. 4, 5 τὴν δὲ μεσότητα τὴν ἀπρακτον ἔχοντος καὶ τὸ χλιαρόν, ὅπερ δηλοῖ τὴν πρὸς πάντα ῥηδίαν μετὰ κλῃσιν.

An admirably simple and satisfactory emendation, *μετά κλῃσιν*, comes from Wohlenberg.

xxiv b. At the foot of the page Harnack prints the following, which in the MS follows Schol. xxiv, and which he regards as an impassioned address to Origen by an admiring reader: Ὡς σου πάντως ἀκούειν ἐστὶν ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγοντος [cod λέγων] ὡς [cod ἦ] μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἡνθισμένου [cod ἡθησμένου]. οὕτω σου πάντως ἐστὶν ἀκούειν τοῦ πνεύματος ὡς [cod ἦ] μόνου τοῦ πνευματικόν [cod πνευματικοῦ] ἔχοντος [cod ἔχοντος] ὥτιον προστεθειμένον αὐτῷ [?] θεόθεν κατὰ τὸ λεχθέν· προσέθηκέ μοι ὥτιον τοῦ ἀκούειν [Is. 1 5] τὸ γὰρ τῆς αἰσθήσεως τῆς ἀκουστικῆς ὄργανον καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ἔχουσι, μόνων [cod μόνων] τῶν κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα σοφῶν ἐχόντων τὸ τῆς συνέσεως ὥτιον, περὶ οὗ ὁ σωτὴρ πληθυντικῶς εἶπεν· ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκούετω [Matt. xi 15].

Robinson, Wohlenberg, and Stählin have each seen that we have here simply another scholion of Origen. On iii 22, ὁ ἔχων οὖς ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, he writes according to their restored text ὡς οὐ παντὸς ἀκούειν ἐστὶν ἐπιστημονικῶν λόγων [ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγοντος Stählin] ἢ μόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην εἰθισμένου· οὕτως οὐ παντὸς ἐστὶν ἀκούειν τοῦ πνεύματος ἢ μόνου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ κτλ. For ἐπιστημονικὰ λέγων of the MS I venture to suggest ἐπιστημονικὰ λεχόντων.

xxv ll. 6-11 διὸ ὅταν λέγῃ θίραν ἡνεῶχθαι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, τὴν κατὰ σαφήνειαν διαίρεσιν τῶν νοητῶν ἐκλαμβάνωμεν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀναβαίνων τις ἐκεῖ τῶν ἁγίων λέγῃ τὴς πιστώσεις, πιστώσεις δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ γεγράφθαι.

ὡς ἑτερόν τινα ἀνάλαβε τὸν Ἰωάννην ὥσπερ τὸν Ἡλίαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ προσε-
τάγη ἑκουσίῳ ὁρμῇ ἀναβῆναι.

The MS has in l. 8 ἀναβαίνειν for ἀναβαίνων: in l. 9 λέγει for λέγη, and πιστώσει δέ for πιστώσεις δέ; in l. 10 ἑτερός τι ἀνέλαβε for ἑτερόν τινα ἀνάλαβε. Stählin and Wohlenberg have of course seen that the full stop at γεγράφηται must disappear and ἀνέλαβε of the MS return into the text: 'Scripture does not say that John was taken up, like Elijah, by some force or being (ἑτερός τις Stählin, ἑτερόν τι Wohlenberg) external to himself; he was bidden to go up of his own motion'—from which it follows (as Stählin points out) that the 'heaven' must be understood allegorically. But the difficulties of the passage do not end there. I do not feel that λέγη τὰς πιστώσεις πιστώσεις δέ can be right, though Harnack has found a parallel to the very rare word πιστώσις in Orig. *de exhortatione martyrii* 26 αἱ δι' ὁρκῶν πιστώσεις, and the verb πιστοῦται occurs in Schol. xxix 16. Whether the editorial note πιστώσει δέ is meant to imply that the MS gives πιστώσει instead of the double πιστώσεις or only of the second πιστώσεις of the text, I cannot say. But in any case for ὅταν ἀναβαίνων τις ἐκεῖ τῶν ἀγίων λέγη τὰς (MS ἀναβαίνειν and λέγει) I am much tempted to read ὅταν ἀναβαίνειν τις ἐκεῖ τῶν ἀγίων λέγηται: "heaven" in Scripture commonly means "the nature of things immaterial", so when it says "a door was opened in heaven" we take it to mean "the clear insight into supramundane things", more especially if any of the Saints is said actually to "ascend thither". For confusion between ι and ς compare above vi 16, ix 3, and Dr Robinson's note on ix 10. The phrase takes up of course the λέγων Ἀνάβα ὧδε of Apoc. iv 1. For πιστώσεις or πιστώσει the sense might be best satisfied by πιστωθέντες, referring back to ἐκλαμβάνωμεν (ἐκλαμβάνομεν): but I do not propose so violent a change, and though the transition to the second person singular is a little awkward, I think the MS reading πιστώσει, as second person singular of the future middle, may really quite well stand.

xxv ll. 13-15 σημαίνει δὲ τὸ οὕτω λεχθὲν τὴν τῆς ἐννοήσεως μεγαλοφωνίαν μετὰ σαφηνείας γενομένης πρὸς αὐτόν.

This makes good enough sense no doubt; but it departs a little widely from the MS tradition τῷ οὕτω λεχθέντι τὴν ἐννοήσιν μεγαλοφωνίαν. And as the run of the sentence seems perhaps to suggest that the seer is still the subject, perhaps we should do better to read σημαίνει δὲ τῷ οὕτω λεχθέντι ἢ ἐν(ε)νόησιν(ε)ν μεγαλοφωνίαν.

xxvi l. 1 οὐ τοῦτο τὸ ὄν κτίζεται ἀλλὰ τὸ κτιζόμενόν ἐστι.

I do not know how the editors would translate this sentence, and it does not seem worth while to depart from the MS except to make a translatable text. The MS gives not τοῦτο τὸ ὄν but τοῦτο ὄν; and

if, by a very small change, we read οὗ που τὸ ὄν κτίζεται ἀλλὰ τὸ κτιζόμενον ἔστι, we at least get something we can construe. Origen is commenting on the phrase ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν, and begins by pointing out the difficulty of the order of the two verbs. 'We should not I suppose naturally say that that which is created, but conversely that that which is created is.'

xxvi ll. 2-4 αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν φησὶν καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.

Wohlenberg points out that this should be printed αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν, φησὶν, καὶ ἐγεννήθησαν κτλ. 'He spake, says Scripture, and they were made.'

xxv ll. 4-5 κτίζεται γὰρ τις ἐπὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς, πρὸ τούτου ὢν θεοῦ ποίημα.

The whole point of the reference to Eph. ii 10 is that both words ποιέω and κτίζω occur there in conjunction; αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν ποίημα κτισθέντες κτλ. Consequently ποίημα at least ought also to be spaced. xxv ll. 5, 6 καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ πατὴρ ἐκτίσατό σε καὶ ἐποίησέν σε καὶ ἔπλασέν σε.

Reference to L. S. shewed that ἐκτίσατο could not have anything to do with κτίζω, so it was clear that we must read ἐκτίσασατο. Robinson saw that the sentence must be interrogative, thus cutting the ground from under Harnack's deduction that 'God is not Himself the Creator and Former'. But we owe to Wohlenberg the clearing up of the whole difficulty by identifying the sentence as a quotation from Deut. xxxii 6 : as however the word κτίζειν is wanted somewhere—otherwise the citation would not bear on the ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν—and as Origen does actually cite the verse in his *de oratione* in the form ἐκτίσασατό σε καὶ ἐποίησέ σε καὶ ἔκτισέ σε, he suggests, with great probability, that we ought to read the verse here with ἔκτισε instead of ἔπλασε. ἔπλασεν in fact is not read by any of the main authorities of the LXX text *ad loc.* : AF give ἔκτισεν, B omits the third verb altogether.

xxvii ll. 1-3 λέξει τις περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου, ὡς εἶη ὁ πᾶς λόγος τῆς προνοίας, καθ' ὃν ἡ κρίσις θεοῦ ἐπάγεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡδέα τε καὶ ἀηδῆ.

The MS omits ἡ, and for the editors' ἡδέα τε καὶ ἀηδῆ has ἡδεατε-καιηδῆ. I do not know how it is proposed to construe the printed text. I keep close to the MS and read καθ' ὃν κρίσις θεοῦ ἐπάγεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡδε αἶτε καὶ ἡδη, 'according to which judgement from God upon men is being brought of this sort (i.e. of the sort described in the fifth chapter) because it is being brought now'; because the processes of Divine judgement are at work already, they are at work in this present world, in war, famine, and pestilence. xxvii l. 7 συσφίγγεται τὸ βιβλίον.

A beautiful emendation of Harnack's for οὖν σφίγγεται of the MS ; but he could have kept closer to the tradition by writing συνσφίγγεται.
xxvii l. 12 οὐδεὶς γεννητὸς . . . ἄξιος εὕρηται.

MS γενητός, and it is a rash procedure to change the word. If we are to establish on a secure basis an induction as to the earliest use of γενητὸς γεννητὸς ἀγέννητος ἀγέννητος, we must not begin by deserting MS authority.

xxvii l. 13 τὸν τῆς προνοίας λόγον διακρίσεως καὶ διοικήσεως φανερωῖται.

Wohlenberg much improves the sentence by writing διὰ κρίσεως as two words.

xxvii ll. 16-19 οὗτος ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα λέων, ἡ ῥίζα Δαβὶδ, τὸ ἀρνίον τὸ ἐσφαγμένον τυγχάνει περὶ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου. καὶ Μωϋσῆς ἔγραψεν καὶ ἐν Ἡσαΐα γέγραπται κτλ.

All the critics, Robinson, Stählin, Wohlenberg, have seen that the new sentence must begin not at καὶ Μωϋσῆς, but four words earlier at περὶ τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου. The reference to Isaiah is I suppose to Is. xxix 11 καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν τὰ ῥήματα πάντα ταῦτα ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου τούτου κτλ. I do not know whether the Mosaic reference is to Deut. xxxii (a chapter which we have twice found cited in these scholia) 34 οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα συνήκται παρ' ἐμοί, καὶ ἐσφράγισται ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς μου;

xxvii l. 19 ἐπεὶ πρώτης ἐπιδημίας κτλ.

The editors have rightly corrected ἐπί of the MS to ἐπεί; they should have gone on, as Wohlenberg has noted, to correct πρώτης into πρὸ τῆς.

C. H. TURNER.

ZACHARIAS, SLAIN BETWEEN THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR.

THE date of St Luke's Gospel, and consequently the date of Acts, both depend largely on the answer we give to the question: 'Who was the Zacharias mentioned in Mt. xxiii 35 and Lk. xi 50?' The difficulty of identifying this personage was felt before Origen's day. He tells us¹:—

'Those who are reproved here by Christ cannot have destroyed² Zacharias the son of Barachias, [one of the twelve prophets, whose writings we have in our hands; but he means Zacharias the father of John,] (But it is likely, as Josephus says, that Zacharias the father of John is meant), as to whom we cannot prove by the [canonical] Scriptures either that he was the son of Barachias, or that the scribes [and Pharisees] killed him (in the holy Place) [between the Temple and the Altar].

But the following tradition has come down to us, that there was a certain spot around the Temple, where it was lawful for virgins to enter and worship God, but those who had already lost their virginity they did not allow in it. Now Mary, having come to worship after she had given birth to our Saviour, stood in the place of virgins. And when those who knew that she had had child prevented her, Zacharias said to those who were preventing her, that she was worthy of the place of virgins, since she was still a virgin. Therefore the men of that generation killed him between the Temple and the Altar as being plainly a transgressor, and one who permitted a woman to be in the place of the virgins. So they are reproached by the Saviour not as the sons of those who killed the prophets, and Zacharias among the prophets, but as themselves his murderers. [If then the word of Christ is true which He spoke to the Pharisees and scribes who were then present, "whom you killed between the Temple and the Altar", it is not possible for the Zacharias to be meant who is one of the twelve.] But it is not wonderful if it happened that as Zacharias the father of John had the same name as one of the twelve, so was it with his father's father likewise.'

This passage is interesting on many grounds. Here we have only to note that the identity of Zacharias was a question older than the story,

¹ In *Matt.* xxiii 35 (De la Rue, iii 845; Lommatsch, iv 228). The Greek of most of the passage is fortunately preserved in a catena on Luke. The Latin translator is not to be trusted.

² So the Greek, ἀνθρωπίνως. The Latin has *dicere*, perhaps having read εἰρηκέναι. I enclose in square brackets what is preserved in Latin only, and in round brackets what is only in the Greek.

which was invented to answer it. The story was a 'tradition', and must go back to the second century, perhaps to some apocryphal Gospel.

At the present day no one is likely to support Origen's candidate. There are two rivals only who still shew any claim: the Zacharias of 2 Chron. xxiii, and Zacharias the son of Baruch, whose murder in the Temple is related by Josephus. If the latter is the right man,¹ then the passages of Mt. and Lk. are later, as they stand, than the year of this murder, 69; and it follows that St Luke did not write at the early date which Harnack now champions.

I give the two passages, marking the coincidences of language after Rushbrooke:—

Matt. xxiii

34. Διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω πρὸς ὑμᾶς προφῆτας καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ γραμματεῖς· ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε καὶ σταυρώσετε, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ὑμῶν καὶ διώξετε ἀπὸ πόλεως εἰς πόλιν·

35. ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ζαχαρίου υἱοῦ Βαραχίου, ὃν ἐφονεύσατε μεταξύ τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

36. ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἥξει ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην.

Luke xi

49. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν· Ἀποστέλω εἰς αὐτοὺς προφῆτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν,

50. ἵνα ἐκζητηθῇ τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν τὸ ἐκκεχυμένον ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης,

51. ἀπὸ αἵματος Ἄβελ ἕως αἵματος Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἀπολομένου μεταξύ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τοῦ οἴκου·

ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐκζητηθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης.

§ 1. *Zacharias the son of Baruch.*

According to Josephus *Bell. Jud.* iv 5. 4, this Zacharias was a rich man of high character, whom the Zealots wished to kill, because he was a friend of the good and an enemy of the wicked.² Josephus relates the whole incident after the death of Nero and in connexion with the slaying of twelve thousand persons of distinction by the same party of Zealots. Thus the year is certainly 69.

The Zealots chose a jury of seventy respectable men of the people, and accused Zacharias the son of Baruch of designing to betray the city to Vespasian. The accused was imprisoned, but was able to defend

¹ Many German writers assume it as certain. The latest I can refer to is von Dobschütz *Eschatology of the Gospels*, 1910, p. 90, note.

² In Josephus the MSS give for the name of Zacharias's father, Βάρεϊς (so Niese), Βαρσκαίου and Βαρούχου, but not Βαραχίου,—so Zahn has pointed out (*Einleitung* ii 309).

himself, and to prove the absurdity of the charge. He boldly inveighed against the crimes of the Zealots, and, in spite of the fury of these last, the seventy jurors acquitted him, declaring that they would rather suffer death themselves than that his death should be ascribed to them. But two of the boldest Zealots set upon Zacharias and slew him in the midst of the Temple.

Nobody to-day is likely to hold that the passages of Mt. and Lk. contain words of our Lord which refer prophetically to this Zacharias. Hug, Keim, and Weiss are quoted by Knabenbauer for the view that the Evangelists explain the words of Christ as referring to him. Others more naturally take the words with which St Luke introduces the paragraph (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν) as proving that the whole section was given in the common source of Mt. and Lk. as a citation from a book written in the year 69 or later,¹ and was added to our Lord's 'woes' on the scribes and Pharisees and lawyers as a commentary.

There is, however, no necessity for assuming the existence of such a book. The supposed title 'The Wisdom of God' is too like that of the Wisdom of Solomon. There is no trace extant of such a work. All that needs to be postulated is a prophecy, committed to writing by those who heard it or heard of it. The date is pretty clear. At the moment the prophecy was uttered, Zacharias the son of Baruch was the latest victim of Jewish fanaticism, and the destruction of Jerusalem was imminent. The date will evidently be just after the death of Zacharias and before the final investment of the city by Vespasian.²

The passage was certainly found by Mt. and Lk. in their common source Q, for it occurs in both in the same connexion. Now it is extremely difficult to explain its presence in Q, unless it was a Christian prophecy. It cannot, indeed, have formed part of Q in its original form, not only because that document was certainly of an early date, and was beyond all question current long before 69, but for the simple reason that Q was a collection of discourses of Christ, and evidently contained no extraneous matter of this kind. The passage, if a quotation, is an insertion in a late edition of Q. But the Christian who interpolated it after A.D. 69 was hardly likely to adopt a Jewish pro-

¹ Of course, many (e.g. Harnack *Sayings of Jesus*, 1908, p. 103) think that our Lord Himself is quoting from an apocryphal book of Wisdom, and place its composition at an earlier date. I see no good argument in favour of this view.

² It might be urged that it is a *vaticinium ex eventu*, composed after 70. In this case the murder of Zacharias would be taken as the last crime before the retribution actually began. Even though many other crimes followed, this murder within the precincts of the Temple might naturally be singled out as a culminating outrage. But there seems no object in supposing that the prophecy (no difficult one to make in 69!) was a fraud.

phesy; and it seems perfectly natural to take the words as the utterance of some Christian prophet at Jerusalem in 69—some prophet like Agabus in Acts—who introduces his denunciation of the unbelieving Jews not with the old formula 'Thus saith the Lord', but with the words: 'The Wisdom of God saith.' This would, in fact, be another way of saying: 'The Spirit of Christ saith', for St Paul had taught that Christ is 'the Wisdom of God' (1 Cor. i 24), and had declared that He 'is made *unto us* Wisdom from God', and had called his own higher instruction given to the perfect 'the speaking God's Wisdom in a mystery' (1 Cor. i 30, ii 7).^{*} This Christian prophecy would be written down by Christians, or at least repeated and remembered. It would be quite natural to add it as a commentary to our Lord's words in which He declared that the Jews of His own day were as guilty of the blood of the prophets as were their fathers. The interpolator of Q would regard the words as truly words of Christ, spoken not in His lifetime by His own lips, but by the mouth of an inspired disciple, and as amplifying and explaining the denunciations to which he was appending them.

Thus we arrive at a simple and attractive theory. It rests upon three arguments; first, the words of St Luke 'Therefore the Wisdom of God said' suggest that in his source the passage that follows was not a saying of Christ, but a quotation from some prophecy; secondly, we obtain a clear *terminus ad quem* to correspond to the *terminus a quo*—from the blood of Abel, the first ever spilt, to the last of all, the blood of Zacharias the son of Baruch, which was spilt yesterday. All the wickedness of the world is heaped upon the head of the Jews of the generation which had rejected Christ,—this is clearly the meaning of the Christian prophet. Thirdly, Mt., though omitting 'the Wisdom of God said', has retained the prophet's words 'whom you slew', which seem to distinguish Zacharias from the earlier prophets whom not 'you' but 'your fathers' slew.

§ 2. *Difficulties against this identification.*

At first sight it looks so obvious that to correspond with Abel's blood, the first blood shed, we must needs have the latest blood shed by the Jews, that one feels that no objections, however forcible, can destroy the enormous *a priori* strength of the identification of Zacharias slain between the Temple and the Altar with the son of Baruch. This has at least been my feeling. Yet there are many real difficulties.

1. It is hard not to suppose that this Zacharias must have been a Christian, if the prophecy is the utterance of a Christian. For a Christian would scarcely resent so fiercely the murder—even though in the Temple—of a rich and prominent person in Jerusalem who had

utterly refused to join the ranks of the followers of Christ. But if he was really a Christian martyr, he would be more famous. We should expect to hear of him from Christian sources. At all events Mt. and Lk. would know all about him, and in using the interpolation in Q would have no difficulty in understanding who was referred to, and consequently in perceiving the date of the prophecy. But both evangelists as a fact have understood the words as being words of Christ. This is just as certain of Lk. as it is of Mt.; for Luke goes on in v. 52 with the woe against the lawyers which this passage interrupts.

2. Even if Zacharias was not a Christian, it is a grave difficulty that we have to suppose that both evangelists misunderstood the interpolation in Q to be a prophecy by Christ, though it was not meant to be thus taken.

3. Mt. has 'son of Barachias'; this is not the same as 'son of Baruch'. However, as there are two Zachariahs in the O. T. who were sons of Barachiah, it is easy to suppose a corruption by a scribe.

4. We are obliged to assume an interpolation of an exegetic nature in Q. This is not impossible. But I know of no other probable example of such a phenomenon.

5. We have to suppose that St Luke and the author of the Greek Matthew both used an edition of Q which was interpolated as late as 69. Now it is not probable that both, or either, should have written more than ten or twelve years later. Yet it seems on other grounds unlikely that they used versions of Q which were identical. On the contrary, it would be easier to suppose that they had access, if not to different redactions, at least to copies which differed to some extent through the variations caused by casual emendators or copyists.¹

These objections are serious, but they are by no means conclusive. They lead up to the graver objection that St Luke cannot have written so late, since he certainly wrote Acts at the date at which he closes the history he tells in that book. I used myself to think this the true date for Acts; but gradually I found myself forgetting my old view, and ready to accept a somewhat later date. On reading Harnack's clever presentment of the reasons for the early date in his recent *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte* (pp. 63 foll.) I find myself driven to accept his arguments, and much inclined to add something to them; this I cannot attempt here. But my conviction has impelled me to look searchingly into the question of Zacharias the son of Baruch.

¹ I must not be understood to hold definitely any views as to the Synoptic problem which I am obliged to assume for the sake of argument. For I avoid actually giving the view to which I am at present most inclined, as it would need arguments and proofs. I am content to follow the most usual opinions, as I do not greatly differ from them.

It might, in the first place, be urged that the passage in Lk. is an interpolation. In favour of this there are two points. First, xi 52 (the verse which immediately follows the passage) is a new woe against the lawyers, continuing the woes against them in *vv.* 46–48. The verses in question, 49–51, do not apply to the lawyers alone, and they interrupt the sequence: they seem to be a comment on *v.* 48. To this, however, it may be replied that the Woe in 47–48 applies to the scribes and Pharisees as well as to the lawyers, as is shewn by the sense, and also by the parallel in Mt. xxiii 29–31 (Mt. has no special denunciation of the lawyers); also, that St Luke has inserted the passage in the place which seemed to him most suitable, regardless of the break which it makes. There is no connexion of sense between *v.* 48 and *v.* 52, so that the omission of the intervening verses does not in the least make for clearness.

Secondly, we know from St Epiphanius that Marcion omitted precisely these verses. I admit that Marcion's text is of first-rate importance, and that even an omission by him may conceivably imply that he did not find the passage in the text he was mangling. But in the present case he was certain to object to the verses. They referred to the Old Testament; they seemed to imply that God had sent a series of prophets to the Jews. They consequently spoiled the series of woes upon the Jews, which must have suited him admirably.

On the other side we have the unanimous witness of all MSS and Versions, and the absolutely Lucan colouring of the style and language. It would be a violent hypothesis to suppose that the author himself inserted the passage in a second edition. I think few now believe in the supposed afterthoughts of St Luke and his second editions.

Let us come to some last difficulties which I cannot explain away:—

a. 'Behold I send unto you wise men and prophets.' Was Zacharias the son of Baruch a wise man or a prophet? Could the speech in which he defended himself and attacked the Zealots be considered a sufficient reason for numbering him among the messengers sent by God to the Jewish people? Perhaps,—but it is a bold assumption.

β. Those who killed him were Zealots, fanatics who had nothing in common with the lawyers whom our Lord is denouncing in the context. St Luke seems to distinguish lawyers (*νομικοί*, *νομοδιδάσκαλοι*) from the scribes—perhaps as a subdivision of scribes. Whoever they were, they belonged to the respectable classes of whom the Zealots slew twelve thousand about the time they accused Zacharias. The 'lawyers' as a class were the last people to be especially answerable for the death of Zacharias.

γ. Unless Zacharias was a priest on duty, one does not see how he could come to be 'between the temple and the altar', i. e. in the court

of the priests. Josephus says simply 'in the midst of the temple', and represents the Zealots as driving out the seventy jurymen with the flat of their swords. He seems to imagine the whole scene as taking place in the court of the men.

§ 3. *The context and exegesis.*

The interpretation of the passage itself is after all the important matter.¹ It is introduced in the same way by Mt. and Lk.

Matt. xxiii.

29. Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τοὺς τάφους τῶν προφητῶν καὶ κοσμεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν δικαίων,

30. καὶ λέγετε, Εἰ ἤμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἤμεθα αὐτῶν κοινωνοὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τῶν προφητῶν·

31. ὥστε μαρτυρεῖτε ἑαυτοῖς ὅτι νιοὶ ἐστε τῶν φονευσάντων τοὺς προφῆτας.

32. καὶ ὑμεῖς πληρώσατε τὸ μέτρον τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν.

33. ὅφεις γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, πῶς φύγητε ἀπὸ τῆς κρίσεως τῆς γεέννης;

Luke xi.

47. Οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν, οἱ δὲ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς.

48. ἄρα μάρτυρές ἐστε καὶ συνεδοκεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἰκοδομεῖτε.

The difference between Mt. and Lk. is considerable. St Matthew gives a plain sequence: 'You Pharisees are hypocrites. You adorn the tombs of the prophets whom your fathers slew, and you declare that if you had lived in their days you would not have slain them. At least you admit that you are the sons of their murderers: fill up the measure of your fathers! for you will indeed do worse than they,—you are vipers, and you will not escape punishment; for I will send you

¹ The passage forms part of a longer section of 'woes' on the scribes and Pharisees. Lk. adds lawyers in a special paragraph. There has been much dislocation of Q, as the following tables will shew. (Mt. xxiii 14 is an ancient interpolation.)

Mt. xxiii = Lk. xi		Lk. xi = Mt. xiii	
13	52	37-8	
15-22		39-41	25-6
23	42	42	23
24		43	6
25-6	39	44	27
27-8	44	45-6	(4)

Lk., in 37-8, 45, and again in 53, gives the occasions of the discourse, presumably following Q. But Lk. has condensed, omitting the matter of Mt. 15-22.

new prophets, and you will persecute them like your fathers.' In this passage the adorning of the tombs is treated as an honour done to the prophets; the adorners are hypocrites, for in their hearts they are as bad as their fathers, and the future will shew them to be so.

The 'Western' text of Lk. is somewhat similar. It is straightforward enough: *ἀρα μάρτυρές ἐστε μὴ συνευδοκεῖν κτλ.* (*D a b e q Lucif*), 'You witness (i.e. pretend) that you do not rejoice in the deeds of your fathers, since they killed them, whereas you build (in their honour)'. This is, of course, one of the usual flat explanations which abound in the 'Western' text. The ordinary reading is undoubtedly the right one, whereas the 'Western' reading has been harmonized with St Matthew. But the true reading is far the more difficult. It is ironical: the building of the sepulchres is not thought of as an honour done to the prophets, but as a continuation and completion of their murder: 'Woe unto you, for you build the tombs of the prophets, whereas your fathers murdered them! And so you are witnesses that you are wholly in sympathy with your fathers: they killed the prophets, and you dig their graves.' The paradox has obviously a deeper meaning: 'Your fathers killed the prophets, and openly rejected their teaching. You, on the contrary, pretend to be very different, and to have your forefathers' actions in horror; you build grand memorials to those whom they murdered. But in reality by your interpretations and traditions you have buried the moral teaching of the prophets in the ornamental sepulchres of formalism, under the pretence of the most scrupulous obedience. Thus you have completed the work your fathers began when they killed the prophets: you have done away with their influence,—they are now not only dead, but metaphorically dead and buried.'

Thus St Matthew and St Luke complete each other. Each has a part of the whole sense. Mt. has chosen what was plain sailing. Lk. gives the paradox, in a very cryptic form; for he has condensed, as is his wont. From a further desire of economizing space he has omitted Mt. 33 altogether, in which verse our Lord is repeating the Baptist's ironical greeting of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Lk. iii 7 = Mt. iii 7). Lk. always avoids anything at all resembling a doublet, whether in action or word.

It is impossible to say just how Mt. 29-33 = Lk. 47-48 ran in Q; but we have seen the general sense. Evidently Mt. and Lk. have looked upon the verses as an introduction to the crucial verses which follow, in which the two evangelists are closer to one another and therefore to Q. The sequence of thought is clear in both: 'it will be seen that you are as bad as your fathers; for prophets will be sent to you, and you will kill and persecute some of them (or kill and crucify and scourge in your synagogues and persecute from city to city).' Evidently

'kill and persecute', the words which are common to both, were the words of Q. Probably Mt. has added 'crucify and scourge in your synagogues' and 'from city to city'; though it is also possible that Lk. has condensed as usual. Mt. gives to these messengers of God names which his Palestinian readers would understand: 'prophets and wise men and scribes', very likely preserving (or slightly amplifying?) the original words of Q. Lk. identifies these messengers with the Christian 'apostles and prophets', of whom his master St Paul says that Christ instituted them in His Church (1 Cor. xii 28; Eph. iv 11) and built it upon them (Eph. ii 20); thus the meaning of the prophecy is made clear to Gentile readers: the Jews had persecuted the Apostles and prophets, and so these had turned to the Gentiles. It would seem, then, that Q did not give the Christian titles as Lk., nor (probably) the detailed description of the sufferings of Christian preachers as Mt. There is, in this case, a certain reticence and restraint in Q, characteristic (one would think) of an early date rather than of a Christian prophet of the year 69.

Both evangelists continue: 'IN ORDER THAT there may come upon you (may be required of you) all the blood . . .' What blood? Surely the sense is clear, and we know what to expect: 'all the blood shed by your fathers', is what is needed, and in fact we find this, and more: 'all the blood shed from the beginning of the world and that shed by your fathers.' There could be no sense in adding: 'and all the blood shed by yourselves', for the point is that the blood which this living generation will shed will make it possible (mark 'in order that') for all former persecution of God's messengers to be visited upon it. For this generation is reserved the final trial; it will accomplish the final rejection of the salvation offered by God, and the punishment of all the past sins of the world and of Israel in rejecting God's messengers will come at last. But this retribution, so long threatened and so long delayed, is not to be visited on the heads of an innocent generation nor even of an inwardly corrupt but outwardly pious generation. No; they are to be shewn up by their own works; the last messengers will come to them; they will persecute and slay them, and then will quite justly come the end,—upon this generation, within the days of those who are now in the prime of life.¹ 'Amen, I say unto you', so we find in St Mark, 'this generation shall not pass away until all these things be fulfilled' (Mk. xiii 30 = Mt. xxiv 34 = Lk. xxi 32).

1. If this exegesis is correct—and I do not see how any other is

¹ A generation in the Old Testament is forty years. There were forty years from this prediction until the siege of Jerusalem; and this was the great period of final trial, the last chance, corresponding to the forty years' trial of the children of Israel in the wilderness: cp. Hebrews iii 17 foll.

possible—then there is no doubt as to the *terminus ad quem* 'until the blood of Zacharias': it must refer to blood shed by the fathers of this generation, that is to say, by the Israelites of the past, and not by this generation itself. St Matthew's 'whom you killed' will not mean literally that Zacharias was assassinated by the crowd who were then listening to Christ but signifies 'you, your nation, you and your fathers, your fathers of whom you are the heirs'.

2. It is thus impossible that Zacharias the son of Baruch, slain by Zealots in 69, should be meant.

3. There can have been no interpolation. The two passages, Mt. 34-36 and Lk. 49-51, explain the verses which precede them; nay, they are demanded by those preceding verses to complete the sense, which is continuous and clear. How is this fact to be reconciled with our former hypothesis that the verses are quoted from a prophet of the year 69? Could an interpolator have inserted anything so extraordinarily apposite? Could an annotator have thrown such a clear light on the preceding verses? Further, can the preceding verses be even understood or justified, if these sentences are omitted? To my mind the matter is entirely clear. The passage, Mt. 29-36 = Lk. 47-51, is all of a piece; it cannot be broken up. Had it not been for the difficulty about 'Zacharias the son of Barachias', it would never have entered into the head of any critic to doubt that all was one continuous discourse.

Thus we have reached a clear conclusion: *the Zacharias is not the son of Baruch, and there can have been no interpolation, but we have the original sense of Q preserved in Mt. and Lk.* We have to find a well-known Zacharias who was slain by an earlier generation of Jews.

§ 4. Zacharias the son of Jehoiada.

If these conclusions are correct, then Zacharias the son of Jehoiada was the obvious person to mention. He died towards the end of the kingdom of Judah. There is no later murder of a prophet mentioned in the historical books of the O. T.¹ In Lk. there is no difficulty, for the correct text has only 'Zacharias'. In Mt. we find 'the Son of Barachias', words which are omitted by \aleph^* 6^{ev} 13^{ev} Eusebius—a very poor sum of authorities. The best explanation seems to be that 'Zacharias the son of Barachias' was so familiar a combination (as being the name of the Minor Prophet, Zech. i 1, 7; another Zacharias son of Barachias is mentioned by Isaiah viii 2 LXX, perhaps the same as the Zacharias of 2 Chron. xxvi 5) that one of the very first scribes of Mt. introduced the name by a slip of memory—presumably he meant to

¹ Plummer notes that the murder of Uriah by Jehoiakim is chronologically later (Jer. xxvi 23).

write 'Ιωδαε. Hence the invented stories about the father of St John Baptist.

St Jerome in a well-known passage¹ tells us that the Gospel according to the Hebrews had 'son of Joiada'. This might conceivably represent the original text of Mt. ; or else it is a very early and correct gloss.

Correct, for the parallel between Abel and this Zacharias is clear :—

a. Of Abel, we hear that God said to Cain : 'The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground' (Gen. iv 11).

β. Of Zacharias we read : 'And when he died, he said : 'The Lord look upon it and require it', (שׁוֹרֵי 2 Chron. xxiv 22).

Yet further, St Luke has *ἵνα ἐκζητηθῇ τὸ αἷμα πάντων . . . ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης . . . ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐκζητηθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης*. It is hardly necessary to remark that *ἐκζητεῖν ἀπὸ* in the sense of 'require of' is not a Greek expression ; it occurs nowhere else in the New Testament ; it is used only by the LXX, and always as a translation of the verb שׁוֹרֵי.² St Luke is doubtless fond of borrowing expressions from the LXX in order to give a biblical flavour to his narrative ; but it is difficult to suppose that he did so here. The expression was surely found by him in Q.

On the contrary, St Matthew's *ὅπως ἔλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πᾶν αἷμα κτλ.* seems to be quite clearly assimilated by him to the awful imprecation of the Jews upon themselves, which he alone of the evangelists relates : *καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εἶπεν· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν* (xxvii 25). It is perhaps possible to strengthen this inference by noting St Matthew's introduction of *καὶ σταυρώσετε* in v. 34.

We may assume, then, that Q had *ἵνα ἐκζητηθῇ τὸ αἷμα πάντων τῶν προφητῶν*. A reference to Gen. ix 5 is latent, but would hardly be consciously in the mind of the writer. On the other hand the crying out of *the blood* of Abel and the dying words of Zacharias³ 'The Lord

¹ On Matt. xxiii 35 (vol. vii, p. 190). An old Scholion (Matthaei, *Ev. Matt.*, Riga 1788, p. 376) quoted by Zahn (*Gesch. des N. T. Kanons* ii 695) also states that Zacharias son of Jodae is meant.

² Here, in 2 Chron. xxiv 22, this verb has the absolute sense of punish, avenge ; the English versions have 'require' ; St Jerome gives *requirit*, though the LXX has *κρινάτω*. In Deut. xviii 19 for the same absolute sense the LXX gives *ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ*. But in Ps. x 4 the rendering is *οὐκ ἐκζητήσῃ*, *ibid.* v. 13 *οὐ ζητήσῃ*. The full expression 'require blood' is commoner, and is rendered by *αἷμα ἐκζητεῖν* (Gen. ix 5 ; xlii 22 ; Ezek. xxxiii 6 ; in Ps. xlii 13 *ἐκζητῶν τὰ αἵματα αὐτῶν*) ; the Hebrew is שׁוֹרֵי in every case.

³ Commentators point out how much the Jews made of the murder of Zacharias the son of Jehoiada. I borrow what follows from Knabenbauer, q.v. (*Comm. in Matt.* ii p. 297). In tract Sanhedrin, fol. 96, it is said that 80,000 priests were killed on account of the blood of Z. ; when Nabuzaradan came up to Jerusalem, he saw the blood still bubbling up, until 94,000 had been killed, and Nabuzaradan

look upon it and *require it*', seem to be combined in the use of the familiar phrase *ὡς ἐκζητηθῇ τὸ αἷμα*. It is true that the LXX in 2 Chron. xxiv 22 has: *ἴδοι κύριος καὶ κρινάτω*; but Q does not use the LXX, and would render *ἐκζητῶ* by καὶ ἐκζητήτω or καὶ ἐκζητήσάτω.

§ 5. The 'Wisdom of God'.

Mt. has: '*Wherefore behold I send unto you . . . you will kill . . .*'; whereas Lk. has: '*Wherefore also the Wisdom of God said: I will send unto them . . . they will kill . . .*' In each we find the same *wherefore*, explaining the connexion with the context.

Mt.'s 'I send' is plain enough. But is it likely that these are the very words of our Lord? The scribes and Pharisees would jeer: '*You will send prophets! Who are you? If we kill them, there will be no sacrifice, for they will not be prophets of God.*'

According to St Luke He made the prophecy in a more solemn manner, as a divine word: 'The Wisdom of God hath determined and declares by Me: I will send prophets to them . . . , they will treat them as their fathers treated the former prophets.' That is to say, 'The Wisdom of God which orders all things (a modern writer would say "Providence") has decided' (*ἔλεν*, has decreed and will not repent): 'In order that they may shew their likeness to their fathers, I will send prophets to them also, and they will treat them as their fathers treated My prophets of old.' There is surely nothing very astonishing in such a way of putting the matter. St Luke assumes that his readers will understand that the speaker is Himself the Wisdom of God. But St Matthew, who is not writing for converts of St Paul, points the reference to the Christian teachers by substituting 'I will send to you'; St Luke made this reference clear by saying 'Apostles and prophets'. There seems no reason to doubt that *ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἔλεν* stood in Q.

In another place in Q, Christ says: 'Wisdom was justified of her children' (Mt. xi 19 = Lk. vii 35). But in this passage the form is taken from the Old Testament, especially from such passages as Proverbs i 20: 'Wisdom crieth aloud in the street; she uttereth her speech in the broad places' &c., or viii 1: 'Doth not Wisdom cry, and Understanding put forth her voice? . . . at the coming in at the doors, she crieth aloud: Unto you, O men, I call' &c., or ix 3: 'She crieth exclaimed, 'O Zacharias, Zacharias, you have destroyed your best men; do you wish me to destroy all!' A similar story in Midrash Koheleth (ed. Wünsche, 1880, p. 52). The taking of the city by Nabuzaradan was looked upon as vengeance for Z. So in Midrash of Lamentations, &c., and Abraham Ibn Ezra on Lament., and Gittin, 57. Tertullian (*Scorpiae* 8) has 'Zacharias inter altare et aedem trucidatus perennes cruoris sui maculas silicibus assignans', and St Jerome *in loco* speaks of 'the simpler brethren' as believing this story. I have not seen Berendts *Studien über Zachariasapokryphen und Zachariaslegenden* (1895), nor is it necessary for my present purpose.

on the highest places of the city.' It is perhaps the first chapter to which our Lord's words refer :—

'Wisdom uttereth her words :

How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity?
And scorners delight in scorning, and fools hate knowledge?
Turn you at my reproof . . .
Because *I have called, and ye refused;*
I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded;
But ye have set at nought all my counsel,
And would none of my reproof.

I will also laugh in the day of your calamity;
I will mock when your fear cometh;
When your fear cometh up as a storm,
And your calamity cometh on as a whirlwind;
When distress and anguish come upon you.
Then they shall call upon me, but I will not answer;
They shall seek me diligently but shall not find me:
For that they hated knowledge
And did not choose the fear of the Lord;
They would none of my counsel;
They despised all my reproof' (Prov. i 21-30).

We seem to have in Q only a very brief and condensed summary of our Lord's words. Perhaps He may have cited this very passage of Proverbs, where Wisdom makes her complaint that all her reproof has been set at nought, and threatens a terrible retribution. Now at last this retribution is coming relentlessly; Wisdom has spoken: 'I will send my last messengers, and them also you will reject, so that the punishment threatened for so many ages may fall at last, and fall upon those who have deserved it.'

At all events I hope this lengthy discussion will have shewn that we have no quotation in Q from a book of Wisdom written after the siege of Jerusalem, nor from a Christian prophet of 69; that there is no interpolation in the two passages, and that the Zacharias who is mentioned is the son of Jehoiada, who called upon God to look upon his blood, and require it.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

¹ Again, let us notice that St Matthew's 'I will send' makes the messengers simply the Apostles and prophets; and yet Mt. adds 'shall crucify'. Had any Christians been crucified by the Jews? Does he not perhaps include the Speaker among the messengers? Lk., on the other hand, explicitly mentions apostles and prophets; but those sent by the Wisdom of God might well include the incarnate Wisdom. I do not urge that either Mt. or Lk. intended this. But all the same it is well to note that in the longer discourse of which we have but an abridgement, our Lord may well have included His own rejection as well as that of His Apostles and prophets, as being the final crime which should bring the last days upon the people of Israel.

HOW DID THE JEWS BAPTIZE ?

I AM glad that what I wrote on the subject of Jewish Baptisms has led Mr Abrahams to supplement the evidence usually given for believing that the ancient practice was that of submersion. The various points that he raises are of great interest and suggest further comments.

I am grateful for having my attention called to Wilhelm Brandt's *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, which had not been published when I originally prepared my paper. I see that he argues, as I do, that the process was from aspersion to washing, then to washing the whole body, and so on to submersion; though he gives reasons for supposing that the final stage had been reached sooner than I had been inclined to believe. He seems to hold, however, that except in the case of the *niddah* this was gradually given up after the fall of Jerusalem, while the custom of submersion of women proselytes described in T. B. Yebamoth 47 b, only represents a local usage of the end of the first century which spread in later times (pp. 52, 59).

That even so this evolution was little more than theoretical is, he suggests, proved by the deficiency of water in Palestine. But, as Mr Abrahams points out, authorities differ on this point. Palestine is well supplied with springs, and it is an important point that in modern Jerusalem no difficulty is found in obtaining the water required in the Rabbinic ritual for the frequent submersions of women, though the five thousand Christian converts mentioned in Acts can hardly have followed the Jewish custom (if such it was) of submerging the whole body.

Whether the springs outside Jerusalem referred to would offer facilities for submersion I am not quite so sure. In this connexion the following passage from Mr E. B. Fairfield's *Letters on Baptism* is of interest. The author had been a Baptist minister for more than twenty-five years when he was asked by a Baptist publishing house to prepare a book supporting the views of his denomination, with the result that (to use his own words) he found 'tower after tower of his Baptist fort tumbling down'. Describing his journey in Palestine he writes :—

'As it was the month of March, and as the "latter rain" had just ceased, it would be a favourable time for finding suitable conveniences for immersion, if such there were. Yet, aside from the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee, I found only one or two places where immersion would have been practicable. It was not oftener than once in four days, on an average, that we could have baptized the eunuch, in that

method, had we fallen in with him and had he so required' . . . ' And the Jordan was not one of these places. As we stood upon the banks of the furious, foaming, dashing river, and the words "what will ye do in the swellings thereof?" naturally occurred to me, I replied inwardly, "I do not know, but certainly not undertake to baptize anybody by immersion unless I wished literally to bury him by baptism into death." I would as soon have thought of performing immersion in the Niagara, half a mile above the cataract, as at the fords of Jordan in the month of March.'

These words, written by one who had had experience of the difficulty of administering baptism by submersion, are, I think, of special weight.

Mr Abrahams has conclusively proved that the woman proselyte was (at times at least) submerged, and when I wrote that there was no direction 'clearly enjoining submersion' I did not wish to deny that it could have been practised. Indeed, if she had to crouch down in the water up to the neck, and if the whole body had to be wetted, the obvious method would be to dip her head under. But this implies, surely, that the male proselyte was *not* submerged, but stood in water which would have come about to the thighs while the water flowed over him from a fountain or was poured all over him either by himself or others. It still seems to me at least arguable that in the case of the women the command was given for the sake of decency and not for the supposed necessity of submersion.

The proselyte, we read, bathes and ascends, but it is surely forcing the words to say 'i.e. submerges himself in the bath and then comes out of it'. In any bath other than an artificially raised one the level of the water must be below the level of the floor. Were the water only an inch deep a man stepping into it would 'go down and come up' (cp. Brandt, p. 46). This is a common expression which is constantly used of Christian baptism; that it does not imply submersion is evident, e.g. from Gregory of Nyssa *The Great Catechism* chap. 35:—

'But the descent into the water and the trine immersion of the person in it involves another mystery—I mean this arriving at life by having, instead of earth, water poured on him—by having the water thrice poured on us and ascending up again from the water we enact that saving burial and resurrection which took place on the third day.

Ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ κάθοδος, καὶ τὸ εἰς τρεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἕτερον ἐμπεριέχει μυστήριον—ἀντὶ γῆς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπιχεάμενος—τὸ ὕδωρ τρεῖς ἐπιχεάμενοι καὶ πάλιν ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος.

Again, does the fact that 'in a large number of the Rabbinic references to *ṭebilah* there is mention made of the head with such insistency' really point conclusively to total immersion. It might be argued equally well that it points to affusion by emphasizing the fact that it

is the head that matters. Thus in the *Didache*, which is thought by many to be largely Jewish in origin, it is specially emphasized that baptism by affusion on the head alone is valid if there is not enough water at hand (as I interpret the passage) to pour over the whole body.

Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ.

Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

Indeed, in later times the Eunomaeans laid such stress on the baptism of the head that they forbade the water being allowed to touch any other part of the body at all (Theodoret *Haeret. Fabul.* ix 3, Epiphanius *Haer.* 76, quoted in Bingham's *Antiquities* bk. xi chap. 11 § 4), and the idea of the all-importance of the head survived to, or was revived in, the middle ages when St Thomas Aquinas wrote (*Summa* iii, Qu. lxvi, de Bapt. Art. 7) :—

‘Si totum corpus non possit perfundi propter aquae paucitatem, vel propter aliquam causam, oportet caput perfundere, in quo manifestatur principium animalis vitae.’

So, too, with affusion it would be more necessary to insist on the removal of hair bands than with submersion, in the case of which the water would more easily soak in underneath them. At any rate the command to remove them, to prevent ḥaṣiṣah or separation, can hardly be said to exclude affusion. Obviously the passages quoted by Mr Abrahams shew that great stress was laid in the Mishna on the whole body being wetted; but do they shew more?

I wonder if the idea that foreign objects, such as the various kinds of head-gear, or the bone between the female slave's teeth, defiled the water can have been the reason for ordering their removal. This at any rate seems to have been the reason for ordering women who received Christian baptism to loose their hair. Thus in the Canons of Hippolytus, Can. 115 (tr. Haneberg in Duchesne's *Christian Worship*, Eng. ed. p. 532) we read :—

‘Mulieres deponant ornamenta et aurea et cetera, solvant crinium nodos, ne cum illis descendat in aquam regenerationis quidquam peregrinum de spiritibus peregrinis.’

For similar reasons Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* bk. iii p. 106; Migne *P. G.* viii col. 657) forbade the wearing of false hair by women, lest when the priest laid his hand on their heads the blessing should be intercepted.

‘Water from a vessel was not only not to be used for ṭebilah, but even “made unclean” if it fell over the head and greater part of the body of a person, who had already undergone ṭebilah in a spring or

other lawful liquid.' This may expressly forbid affusion as Mr Abrahams holds. But I am bound to say that it still seems to me that what was forbidden was drawn water as opposed to running water or even water from a 'pond, ditch, cistern or cavern'. The idea of defilement seems to me to imply this, and I can see no reason why the running water should not have descended from a spout, or in the case of the bath of forty seahs have been poured over the head of the male proselyte from some such vessel as the concha, used in Christian baptism and frequently represented in early Christian art, into which the Synod of Elvira forbade the neophytes to put money at the time of their initiation.

Similarly, the interesting passage quoted at the end of Mr Abrahams's paper about the 'wave which detaches itself (from the sea)', and which contains forty seahs, if it can be taken to prove anything, proves affusion. Till the wave breaks, it cannot be said to be separated from the mass of the sea and therefore cannot be measured; when it breaks, it comes down on the top of a man and wets him all over, but does not strictly speaking submerge him. With it may be compared the passage in Tertullian *de Bapt.* xii, where he discussed the theories of those who held that the apostles received baptism in the storm on the Sea of Galilee:—

'Alii plane satis coacte iniiciunt, tunc apostolos baptismi vicem implesse, cum in navicula fluctibus adpersi operti sunt, ipsum quoque Petrum, per mare ingredientem, satis mersum. Ut opinor autem aliud est aspergi vel intercipi violentia maris, aliud tingui disciplina religionis.'

Could he have written thus if submersion had been considered necessary in Africa in the second century?

Mr Abrahams does not mention what seems to me to be the strongest argument against my contention that the word *tabal* does not necessarily imply submersion, namely the fact that in Talmudic teaching a definite contrast was drawn between washing the hands by pouring water over them and by plunging them into a basin. Cp. Brandt, p. 37 ff.

But when we wash our hands in a basin do we generally put them right under, any more than Joseph's brethren did his coat in the blood in which they 'dipped' it?

CLEMENT F. ROGERS.

NOTE ON ΠΡΗΝΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ IN ACTS I 18.

PROFESSOR NESTLE contributes a note on *The Fate of the Traitor* to the April number of the *Expository Times* (p. 331). By a curious coincidence, as Dr Nestle tells us in a *postscript*, the note was written the night before he received a copy of the *J. T. S.* containing my note on Acts i 18. The Professor very courteously wrote to me privately on the subject.

In this note Dr Nestle adduces a passage which I had overlooked. It occurs in the *Acta Pilati* B (ed. Tischendorf, p. 268 n. in the first edition, p. 290 in the second). A MS which Tischendorf calls C ('i. e. Paris. Reg. nunc Nation. num. 770. exaratus anno 1315. manu Georgii sacerdotis', *Proleg.* p. lxxi) contains the story of Judas. I transcribe the pertinent words as given by Tischendorf 'εὐθὺς ἐποίησε τὴν ἀγχόνην διὰ σχοινίου καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπύχξατο (hucusque textum exscripsit Thilo) τῇ ψυχῇ. (Sequitur οἱ δὲ τῷ σώματι. ἄλλοτε ἐλάκισε [sic], ἐπρίσθη καὶ ἐβρέμεσεν [?]: quae margini adscripta fuisse indeque in textum irrepsisse apparet.)'

As Dr Nestle points out, ἐπρίσθη is obviously for ἐπρήσθη. But what can be said of ἐβρέμεσεν? The word is clearly very corrupt. I venture to suggest that -μεσ- represents μέσος. The ἐβρ- may have arisen from ἐρρ-. I conjecture therefore that the original words were ἐπρήσθη καὶ ἐρράγη μέσος. In any case this passage from the *Acta Pilati* should be added to the passages I brought together in my previous note.

F. H. ELY.

A NOTE ON PHIL. I 21, 22.

Philippians i 21, 22.

Revisers' Text : ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστός, καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος. εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί, τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου, καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω.

A. V. : For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if I live in the flesh, this is the fruit of my labour : yet what I shall choose I wot not.

R. V. : For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. But if to live in the flesh—if this is the fruit of my work, then what I shall choose I wot not.

Everybody must have felt how hopelessly unsatisfactory these translations are ; the R. V. even more so than the A. V. Yet the

commentators—so far as I have studied them—give us very little help, and the text is undisputed. But does not the whole difficulty of the passage arise from a wrong method of punctuation? Take away the full stop from after κέρδος, and put it—or at least a colon—after Χριστός, and the verses become luminously clear. And there is good reason for this change. 'To me to live is Christ and to die is gain' inevitably suggests to our minds the familiar antithesis between life and death. But there can be no antithesis between the *life in Christ* of the first clause and the *death of the body* of the second clause, least of all to St Paul. He is quite incapable of suggesting an antithesis between the two. To him the death of the body is also life in Christ—he says so in the very next verse: 'having the desire to depart and to be with Christ.' And again in 1 Thes. v 10: 'Jesus Christ who died for us, that whether we wake or sleep we should live together with Him.' So also Romans xiv 8, 9. Moreover this translation, contrasting death with life, would seem to require τὸ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν rather than καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. 'Καί is never really adversative', says Winer. What then we have to bring out by our punctuation is that while the τὸ ἀποθανεῖν of v. 21 is undoubtedly the death of the body, the τὸ ζῆν of this verse is not the life of the body only but that ζωὴ αἰώνιος which is continued beyond the grave, and there can be no sort of antithesis between the two. The true antithesis is between τὸ ἀποθανεῖν of v. 21 and τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκί of v. 22, and here it is clearly marked by the appropriate δέ.

What then we must emphasize is that the first clause stands by itself and dominates the whole passage. We might do it by printing thus:—

ἐμοὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῆν Χριστός·
καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος, εἰ δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἐν σαρκὶ τοῦτό μοι καρπὸς ἔργου,
καὶ τί αἰρήσομαι οὐ γνωρίζω.

Καί will then in both cases have its familiar sense of 'and so' (καὶ *consecutivum*), as in 2 Cor. xi 9 (καὶ ἐν παντί) and many other places. And the difficulties simply melt away. 'Christ is my whole life (whether on earth or in Paradise). And so to die is gain, but if the life (which I am to live) be in the flesh this will be to me fruit of work (i.e. the more work I can do in this life, the more fruit I shall have); and so which of the two I shall choose I do not know (or, do not tell).'

It may be thought to be an objection to this view that St Paul has just in verse 20 used ζωή as meaning earthly life. But in v. 21 he changes his expression from ζωή to τὸ ζῆν (*continual* life expressed by the present tense) as if to hint at the change of meaning. Of course both ζωή and ζῆν are constantly used in the two senses of life physical and life spiritual—like the English word 'life'—but St Paul never finds any difficulty in passing directly from one sense of a word to another, and

it is quite a false canon of criticism to lay down that the same word must be used in the same sense throughout the whole of any passage. See for instance the uses of *καθεύδω* in 1 Thes. v 6-10.

For the thought compare the words of St Teresa : 'This resignation to His will is so efficacious that I desire neither life nor death, except for some moments when I long to see God ; and then the presence of the Three Persons becomes so distinct as to relieve the pain of absence, and I wish to live—if such be His good pleasure—to serve Him still longer. And if I might help, by my prayers, to make but one soul love Him more and praise Him, and that only for a short time, I think that of more importance than to dwell in glory' (*Life of S. Teresa of Jesus*, translation by Lewis, p. 479).

E. F. BROWN.

OLD TESTAMENT NOTES.

I. 'THE JEWS' LANGUAGE': 2 KINGS XVIII 26 = ISA. XXXVI 11.

DR G. A. SMITH, in dealing with the Biblical narrative of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (2 Kings xviii 13, 17-xix 37 = Isa. xxxvi, xxxvii), happens to refer to 'the possibly late features which the language of the two accounts exhibits' (*Jerusalem* ii p. 165), and adds the footnote 'For example, the name *Jewish* (instead of Hebrew) for the language of the people of Jerusalem (2 Kings xviii 26, 28), not elsewhere used in the O. T. except in the post-exilic Neh. xiii 24, and objected to on the ground that it could not have come into use so soon after the fall of Samaria and the sole survival of Judah at the end of the eighth or beginning of the seventh century'. As such an inference from the use of the term יהודית in this narrative struck me as somewhat surprising, I have been at some pains to investigate the opinions of the more recent commentators on Kings and Isaiah upon this point, and I find that the view that the use of this expression is a mark of late date appears to be generally held.

Thus Dr Benzinger remarks, 'The fact that the narrator calls Hebrew "Jewish" proves that he is writing at any rate long after the fall of Israel'. Dr Kittel, after stating with good reason that the fact that a high Assyrian official knew Hebrew need cause us no surprise, goes on to say that 'it is more remarkable that, instead of "Hebrew", the term employed is "Jewish", an expression which naturally could first have arisen (only) some time after the fall of "Israel"; cf. Neh. xiii 24'. Dr Duhm, in his commentary on Isaiah, expresses himself still more

definitely: 'The fact that the narrator calls Hebrew "Jewish" is an indication that he lived long after the fall of Israel, and probably at a time when Hebrew to some extent pure was spoken only by the Jews who had returned from exile, but no longer by their nearest neighbours, e.g. the Ashdodites (Neh. xiii 24).' Similar observations are made by Dr Marti (on Isaiah), and by Dr Stade (*Kings* p. 273 in *S.B.O.T.*); while the use of the term as probably a mark of post-exilic date is noticed by Dr Cheyne (*Introd. to Isa.* p. 228), and Dr Whitehouse (*Comm. on Isa.* i p. 350). Dr Skinner, in his commentaries on Isaiah and Kings, makes the non-committal statement that 'Hebrew is so called only in one other (post-exilic) passage, Neh. xiii 24', and leaves his readers to draw their own inference. Doubtless further expressions of the same opinion might have been collected, had it been worth while to do so.

Such a unanimous verdict is perhaps sufficient to carry conviction to most minds; yet the fact should not be overlooked that, before it can be accepted, two preliminary questions have to be answered: (1) whether the Israelites in pre-exilic times were accustomed to call their language 'Hebrew', and (2) whether the Assyrian Rabshakeh would have understood them if they had so called it.

(1) After reading the expressions of opinion as given above, the uninitiated might reasonably infer (or, indeed, could hardly do otherwise than infer) that, while the term 'Jewish' as applied to the language of Judah could only be paralleled by the single post-exilic passage, Neh. xiii 24, the term 'Hebrew' so applied was a regular if not a frequent appellation in pre-exilic times. As a matter of fact 'Hebrew' is never used to describe the language of Judah or Israel anywhere throughout the whole Old Testament.¹ The only descriptive expression is 'the language (lip) of Canaan' in Isa. xix 18 (largely regarded as post-exilic), a phrase which, in view of the fact that the language of the surrounding nations, so far as known to us (Canaanite or Amorite glosses in T. A. inscriptions, Moabitic, Phoenician), was essentially similar to the language of Israel, must be recognized as fairly accurate and comprehensive. That Judaeans or N. Israelites in pre-exilic times were accustomed to speak of their language as 'Canaanitic' need not, however, be seriously considered. As to the use of the term עִבְרִי,

¹ So far as I am aware, the earliest use of the term 'Hebrew' to describe the language of Israel occurs in the Prologue to *Ecclus.* (cir. B.C. 130) where the writer remarks οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς 'Εβραϊστί λεγόμενα καὶ θραν μεταχθῆ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν. The verb 'Εβραΐζειν 'to speak Hebrew' is found in Josephus, *B.J.* VI ii 1. 'Εβραϊστί occurs in N. T. in St John v 2, xix 13, 17, 20; Rev. ix 11, xvi 16; 'Εβραῖς φωνή in 4 Macc. xii 7, xvi 15. The later Jewish term was לְשׁוֹן קֹדֶשׁ, 'the holy tongue'.

'Hebrew', applied to the people of Israel, the fact has repeatedly been remarked that this appellation is only employed to distinguish Israel from foreigners, or as put into the mouth of foreigners. Evidence is distinctly against the view that the Israelites or Judaeans ever so called themselves *among themselves*, and therefore is opposed with equal force to the supposition that they were accustomed to speak of their language as 'Hebrew'. And moreover, since the Israelites were aware that their language was also the native language of non-Hebrew peoples, e.g. the Canaanites and Amorites, the term 'Hebrew' would have been as inappropriate from an ethnic as from a national point of view, being from the former point of view too narrow, and from the latter too wide.

(2) The view that עִבְרִי, 'Hebrew', means 'one from the other side', i. e. from beyond the Euphrates (עִבְרִי הַנָּהָר), or, it may be, from beyond Jordan, from the point of view of the country west of Jordan, may be said at the present time to hold the field, in spite of Dr Sayce's rival explanation from *ibira* which occurs on a Babylonian lexical tablet as the equivalent of *damqarum*, 'a commercial traveller' (*Expos. Times*, 1907, p. 233). If, then, 'Hebrew' was employed by the surrounding races with any consciousness of its meaning, its use is only comprehensible from the point of view of the races west of the Euphrates or west of Jordan, and the term would have no meaning to the Assyrians living east of the Euphrates. As a matter of fact there is no evidence that Assyrians or Babylonians ever applied the term 'Hebrew' to the nations of the west or to their language. The term which is used by Sargon to describe the language is *lišân (mât) MAR. TU (KI)* (i. e. *Amurri*), 'tongue of the West land'. He speaks of building 'a vestibule (? *bit appâti*) like a palace of the land Hatti,¹ which in the tongue of the West land is called *bit hilâni*' (or *hilanni*: בֵּית הַלֹּנִי cf. Jer. xxii 14).² 'Tongue of the West land' is, however, an expression somewhat wide in scope; and since the regular term used by Assyrian kings for the land of Judah is (*mât*) *Ia-u-du (Ia-u-di)*, and the gentile form (applied e.g. by Sennacherib to Hezekiah) (*mât*) *Ia-u-da-â* (i. e. יְהוּדָא, 'Judean' as in the old Annalistic passage 2 Kings xvi 6) it is surely no unfair inference that they would have described the language of the land as *lišân (mât) Ia-u-di*, 'tongue of Judah'. We may give Eliakim and his brother officials the credit of knowing that the Rabshakeh was not accustomed to describe them as 'Hebrew' but as

¹ 'The Hittite land' is here used in its widest application among the Assyrians to denote the region bordering on the Mediterranean, including Phoenicia and the land of Israel: cf. Delitzsch *Paradies* pp. 271 ff.

² *Annals* 423; XIV 73; *Pr.* 161; *Pp.* ii 29, iv 106, v 33. Cf. Winckler *Sargon* pp. 72, 92, 130, 140, 154, 162; *K.B.* p. 76.

'Judaean'; and therefore it is not unreasonable to infer that, in addressing him, they would speak of their language as 'the Judaean language'. This conclusion is the more acceptable since no evidence can be advanced as to what they might otherwise have called it. Of course the fact that יְהוּדִי happens only to occur once besides in a post-exilic passage is no argument against such a pre-exilic usage.

II. THE INTERPRETATION OF ISA. XX 6.

The historical accuracy of Isa. xx is perhaps as well authenticated as that of any of the Biblical narratives connected with the life of Isaiah. The annals of Sargon enable us to form a fairly clear idea of the movements of this king in the direction of Palestine, and the circumstances by which they were guided. Incidentally we are able to make a reasonable conjecture as to how far, during the years immediately subsequent to the fall of Samaria in 721 B. C., the complexion of foreign affairs may have altered the dominant policy of the kingdom of Judah, favouring at one time Isaiah's policy of loyalty to Assyria, at another the schemes of the political party which desired to cast off the vexatious yoke of this suzerain, and in conjunction with the neighbouring small states of the west to form an alliance with Egypt upon equal terms.

In 720 B. C. a rebellion against Assyria in the west called for a campaign. Yaubi'di of Hamath (also called Ilubi'di), whom Sargon describes as 'a rash wicked man who had no right to the throne', appears to have seized the occasion of the preoccupation of the new king of Assyria with affairs in the east to assume the reins of government in Hamath and raise the standard of revolt. He carried with him several of the neighbouring states: Arpad, Šimirma, and even Damascus and Samaria are mentioned as joining in the rebellion. Further south, and no doubt as part of the same movement, Ḥanunu, king of Gaza, having entered into alliance with Egypt, thought himself strong enough to rebel against the authority of Assyria.

Sargon besieged Yaubi'di in the city of ẖarkar, captured and burnt the stronghold, flayed the rebellious king alive, and executed all the ring-leaders among the rebels. He then turned his arms towards Philistia, and advanced against the united forces of Ḥanunu and the Egyptians.

Sargon's account of the campaign which ensued is as follows:— 'Ḥanunu, king of Gaza, together with Sib'u *turtan* [commander-in-chief] of the land of Egypt, advanced to make war and battle against me at Raphiaḥ. I inflicted a crushing defeat upon him; Sib'u feared the clash of my weapons and fled, and his place was not found. Ḥanunu the king of Gaza I took prisoner.'¹ Another account² states that

¹ *Pr.* 25, 26: cf. Winckler *Sargon* p. 100.

² *Annals* 30, 31: cf. Winckler *Sargon* p. 6.

Hanunu was carried captive to Assyria, the city of Raphiah burnt, and 9,033 prisoners taken. Thus the first of the attempts made by a Palestinian state at rebellion against Assyria in reliance upon the support of Egypt ended in disaster. Such an event must have furnished an effective set-back to the policy of the Egyptian party in Jerusalem, and strengthened, for the time being, the political influence of the prophet Isaiah.

The following six years (719-714 B.C.) were devoted by Sargon to campaigns in various directions, chiefly against the powerful kingdom of Urartu in the north, i.e. the Ararat of Gen. viii 4, the modern Armenia. In 714 B.C. the Assyrian king completed the subjugation of Urartu, and the following two years were fully occupied in small wars nearer home. Meanwhile affairs in the west were again on the brink of disturbance. Sargon's long absence had doubtless led to the growth in power of the politicians who favoured an alliance with Egypt as against Assyria, in Philistia as well as in Judah. At length, in 711 B.C. the flame of rebellion broke out, with Ashdod as its centre. Azuri king of Ashdod had been deposed by Sargon's orders for failure to pay tribute, and Ahimiti his twin brother appointed king in his stead. Under the leadership of a man who is described as *Yatna*, with the various reading *Yamani*, 'who had no right to the throne', Ahimiti was deposed and slain, and Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Judah withheld their tribute and sent presents instead to Pharaoh king of Egypt.

Sargon immediately dispatched his *turtan* to Philistia, no assistance for the rebellious states was forthcoming from Egypt, and the Assyrian commander captured Ashdod, Gath, and Ashdudimmu, and stamped out the rebellion. *Yamani* found safety in flight to Egypt, leaving behind him his wife, sons, and daughters.¹ Probably Judah, Edom, and Moab escaped reprisals through timely submission and dispatch of the tribute which they had withheld. Sargon describes himself in one passage as 'subjecter of the land of Judah of which the situation is remote'.² Possibly he is referring to this occasion, and never actually instituted warlike operations against Hezekiah.

It is this campaign against Ashdod which is mentioned in Isa. xx. In spite of Isaiah's warnings against the folly of breaking with Assyria and putting trust in Egypt, the policy of his opponents had triumphed, and the result had nearly brought disaster upon Jerusalem. For three years Isaiah put off his outer garment of sackcloth and walked barefoot about Jerusalem in captive garb, as a living illustration of the captivity which was destined to fall upon the Egyptians and upon all such as

¹ *Annals* 215-228: Winckler *Sargon* pp. 36-38; *Pr.* 90 ff; *ib.* pp. 114-116; XIV 11 f; *ib.* 82.

² *Nimrūd-inscr.* 8: Winckler *Sargon* 168.

placed reliance upon their help against Assyria. The chapter concludes with the oracle, 'And Yahwe said, Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot, for three years a sign and a portent against Egypt and against Cush; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt and the exiles of Cush, young and old, naked and barefoot, and with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. And they shall be dismayed and ashamed because of Cush their expectation and because of Egypt their glory. And the inhabitant of this יַם shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation whither we fled for help, to be delivered from the king of Assyria; and we, how shall we escape?'

The purpose of this note is to make a suggestion as to the reference of יַם הַיָּם in the last verse of Isa. xx. This expression, rendered in R.V. 'the inhabitant of this coastland', is explained, I believe, by all recent scholars as referring to the smaller states of the Palestinian coastland, especially Judah, Philistia, Moab, and Edom. The explanation which I here put forward I believed at first to be entirely new, until, on referring to Dr Cheyne's *Commentary* (1886), I found that it had long ago been made by Chwolson (*Jüd. Zeitschr.* 1872, p. 306); though why it has fallen out of notice it is difficult to conjecture, since Assyrian evidence seems to prove conclusively that it is correct.

As is well known, the regular reference of יַם, יַמִּים in the Old Testament is to the islands and coastlands which lay, from the Israelite point of view, across the western sea. Apart from our passage, exception to this usage is found only in Isa. xxiii 2, 6, where the term is applied to Tyre; but even this is scarcely an exception, since it is probable that it is the *island* of Tyre which the writer has in mind. Thus the application of the term to the coastland of Palestine, inclusive of Judah where Isaiah himself is situated, is at least very unusual if not unparalleled, and requires substantiation.

Turning to Sargon's account of the campaign, it will be recollected that the fomenter of the rebellion, who seems to have placed himself upon the throne of Ashdod, is called *Yatna* (var. lect. *Yamani*). Modern commentators (Drs Dillmann, Duhm, Skinner, Marti, Wade) appear to regard this as a proper name; but since *Yatnana* clearly denotes Cyprus, there can be little doubt that *Yatna* (*Ya-at-na-na-â?*) is the corresponding gentilic form, and denotes a *Cypriote*. As for the variant *Yamani*, it simply describes the same man by another gentilic, 'Ionian', which from the Assyrian as from the Israelite point of view may very well be applied to an inhabitant of Cyprus.¹ *Yamani* =

¹ The interpretation of *Yatna*, *Yamani* here given is recognized by Winckler *Sargon* p. xxx note 2, and by Rogers *Hist. of Bab. and Assyria* p. 169 note. Cf. also Cheyne *E.B.* article 'Javan'. Winckler later on altered his opinion, and

Yavani, i.e. the Heb. יָוָנִי *Yēvāni* (Joel iv 6)¹ gentile of יָוָן *Yāvān* which corresponds to the Greek Ἰάπων, a term which primarily refers to the Greek settlements in Asia Minor, but from the Semitic point of view has a wider denotation, and can certainly cover such a colony settled in Cyprus. In Gen. x 4 Kittim (i.e. the Kitians, inhabitants of Kiti in Cyprus) is included among the 'sons' of Yāvān.

Further evidence that Sargon came into conflict with the Cypriotes is afforded by a statement in a list of his achievements that he 'subdued seven kings of Yatnana which is situated seven days' journey into the midst of the western sea'. Indeed, he repeatedly refers to Yatnana as forming the western limit of his conquests.² It is also interesting to notice that he tells us that he 'caught the Ionians (*Ya-am-na-ā*), who are in the midst of the western sea, like fish'.³

If, then, it was a Cypriote who was leader of the revolt against Sargon at Ashdod, and if the conquests of Sargon were actually extended to Cyprus, what can be more plausible than the supposition that Cyprus may have taken an important part (perhaps the leading part) in organizing the revolt, and that יִשְׁבִּי הַיָּם in Isa. xx 6 is to be rendered (as Chwolson rendered it) 'the inhabitant(s) of yonder island', i.e. Cyprus? Another possible rendering of the Hebrew is 'this inhabitant of the island', i.e. the individual Cypriote who fomented the revolt. If this latter rendering be correct, it would seem that יִשְׁבִּי is employed with some contempt, as it is in הַפֶּכֶן הַזֶּה 'this steward' in xxii 15, with reference to Shebna who in all probability was leader of the Egyptian party in Jerusalem, and whose fall was very likely due to the catastrophe which resulted from his policy upon the occasion with which we are dealing.

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supposed that *Yamani* in our passage denotes a man from Yemen in South Arabia (cf. *Musn, Meluhha, Ma'in* p. 26 note 1). This view, which is closely bound up with the theory of a North Arabian Musri, can scarcely be maintained in light of the evidence above cited.

¹ *Yamani* is in all probability the exact transcription of the man's actual Canaanite designation יָמָנִי, of which the proper Assyrian equivalent would be *Ya-am-na-ā*. For the interchange of *m* and *v(w)* in Hebrew and Assyrian, cf. מַרְחֻשָּׁן *Mar-hešwān* = *Warah samna*; מֶלֶךְ מֶרֶדַּךְ *Evil-Merodach* = *Amel-Marduk*.

² XIV 17; cf. 22; *Pr.* 16, 145, *Pp.* i 7, ii 4, iii 5, v 15, iv 43, 63.

³ XIV 15, *Pp.* iv 34 f.

THE JUDGE SHAMGAR.

WHAT our Biblical dictionaries and commentaries are able to say about this man I do not wish to discuss or repeat (see Sayce in *D. B.* iv 475; Cheyne in *E. B.* 4424 ff; Moore in *I. C. C.* on Judges 104 ff; the same in *S. B. O. T.* p. 59). Moore points out that some authorities of the Septuagint place Judges iii 31 after xvi 31, and thinks it perhaps not too bold to conjecture that this is the original position of the brief account of his exploit; further that in v 6 *Shamgar ben-Anath, with his foreign and heathenish name, was not a deliverer but an oppressor of Israel* (*Comm.* p. 143). What the same scholar wrote in the *Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 19, 159 f is not at my disposal.

Now compare with these two points (Shamgar of Judges v as oppressor of Israel and the original place of the judge after Samson) the chronological work published by Lagarde as far back as 1892 in the second part of his *Septuaginta Studien* p. 21 ff.

'deinde iudicavit eos *Aoth* (= Ehud) ambidexter annis octoginta (Judges iii 30) . . .

'deinde *servierunt regi Semegar* (= Shamgar) *annis 20.* hic occidit ex alienigenis in aratro boum *octingentos viros* et defendit filios Israel.'

Here we have a combination of iii 31 with iv 3, 'twenty years', and v 6 Shamgar as oppressor of Israel (*servierunt regi S.*).

After the other judges the chronicler comes to Sampson:—

'Deinde *Sampson filius Manoe* . . . qui plus occidit in morte sua quam quod in vita sua. *deinde Samera iudicavit eos anno uno.* hic percussit ex Allophylis sescentos viros praeter iumenta et salvum fecit et ipse Israel. *deinde pacem habuerunt annis xxx.*'

This chronicle originated in the Vandalian Church of Africa in A. D. 463; see Lagarde, p. 44.

But its statements are much older.

The chronicler Q. Julius Hilario (or Hilarianus) writes in the year A. D. 397 in his *Chronologia sive de mundi duratione* (better title: *de cursu temporum* in *Chronica minora*, ed. Frick, Teubner, 1892, p. 164):—

'Samson qui victis allophylis iudicavit annis xx. Mortuo eo iudicavit *Semegar* anno I. Post hunc fuit populus in pace . . . per annos xxx.'

As H. Gelzer has shewn (*Sextus Julius Africanus* ii 1 p. 125): 'the one year of Semegar and the thirty years of peace are taken over from *Africanus*.'

The chronography of Africanus is lost, but just about the one year of Shamgar after Samson we are quite certain; see Gelzer, i p. 90, who

gives from Leo Grammaticus, Theodosios Melitenos, and Georgius Cedrenus the following list, going back on Africanus :—

	Leo. Gr.	Theodos. Mel.	Georg. Cedr.
Σαμψών	20	20	20
Σαμανῇ	1	1	1
ἀναρχία	40	—	40
εἰρήνη	30	30	30

Still more explicit is the statement of Syncellus (331, 13), that the Apostle Paul gives to the time of the Judges 450 years, which fill out the period from the year of the world 3902 to the first year of Eli : ἐνὸς ἔτους ὑπολειπομένων ὅπερ Ἀφρικανὸς τὸν Σεμεῖγάρ λέγει κρατῆσαι τὸν Ἰσραήλ, τῆς γραφῆς οὐκ εἰπούσης χρόνον. Thus it is quite certain that already Africanus († after A.D. 140) placed Shamgar after Samson and gave one year to him.

The one year is in agreement with Jewish tradition ; see Josephus, *Ant.* v § 197 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον (Ἰούδης = Ehud) Σαάγαρος (varr. Σανάγαρος Σάγαρος, Σαγαροσμέες, Σαμέγαρος, Sanagar) ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχεῖν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. After Samson Josephus immediately goes over to Eli (§§ 317, 318). Whether Julius Africanus was the first who placed Shamgar after Samson, and whether he was followed by Lucian—for it is Lucian's recension of the Septuagint which has Shamgar after xvi 31—I do not know. When Moore writes : 'Differences in the translation show that it (the verse on Shamgar) was not brought over to this place (xvi 31) from iii 31 in the G text, but was found *here* by these translators or revisers in their copies of M', I cannot see the cogency of the latter part of the conclusion. A reviser (say Lucian) may have read it in Hebrew at iii 31 and may have brought it over in his own Greek to xvi 31. As far as I know there is no copy which omits iii 31 ; even Lucian read the verse there, without ἐν τῷ ἀποτρόποδι, which is an intrusion in the codex Alexandrinus.

Our result is, therefore, that both modern assumptions about Shamgar were anticipated in the early Church ; the one that his right position is after Sampson as early as in the second century by Africanus ; the other that Shamgar was an oppressor of Israel, in the fifth century, though in strange combination with his recognition as Judge.

EB. NESTLE.

THE ACCENTUATION OF *WAYYOMAR* IN JOB.

WHAT is the reason for the frequent occurrence of **וַיֹּאמֶר** (accented on the penultimate) in Job?

(1) The word is, of course, the pausal form of **וַיֹּאמֶר** (always accented on the penultimate), and seems to differ from it only as e.g. *inquit* from *his verbis locutus est*. Sometimes both forms occur close together, e.g. Gen. xviii 29, xxvii 36, xxxiii 5, xliii 29, xlviii 9, Exod. ii 14. A question or exclamation is introduced by **וַיֹּאמֶר**, the answer or rejoinder by **וַיֹּאמֶר**. In Isa. vi 11 **וַיֹּאמֶר** has perhaps the effect of a *quick* reply. The pausal form invariably introduces *oratio recta* immediately; in 19 passages it is the first word in the verse.

(2) This pausal form occurs 86 times in the O.T. excluding the **וַיֹּאמֶר** where it is found 37 times, making a total of 123 occurrences in the O.T. The distribution is varied. Apart from the **וַיֹּאמֶר** it comes oftenest in Gen.—21 times. Kings is next with 15, Num. 11, Sam. 20, Judges 7, Exod. 6, Chron. 4, Deut., Jonah, Zech., Dan. 2 each, Joshua, Isa., Amos, Ruth 1 each. In the **וַיֹּאמֶר** it occurs once in Ps., never in Prov., and no less than 36 times in Job.

(3) The accent, in all books except the **וַיֹּאמֶר**—and sometimes there also—is on the ultima. It is marked by 'Aṭnāḥ 43 times prose and 4 poetic; by Zākēp Gāḏōl 14 times prose; by Zākēp Kāṭōn 12 times prose and 2 poetic; by Sēgōltā 8 times prose and 2 poetic; by Rēḥiā' 7 times prose; by Šālšelet Gāḏōl 2 times prose; by Pāzēr 1 poetic; by 'Ōlè wəyōrēḏ 1 poetic. In these 96 occurrences the accent is on the ultima.

(4) But in the following 27 verses in Job the accent is on the penultimate, i.e. *in precisely the same position as in the non-pausal form*: iii 2, iv 1, vi 1, viii 1, ix 1, xi 1, xii 1, xv 1, xvi 1, xviii 1, xix 1, xx 1, xxi 1, xxii 1, xxiii 1, xxv 1, xxvi 1, xxvii 1, xxix 1, xxxiv 1, xxxv 1, xxxvi 1, xxxviii 1, xl 1, 3, 6, xlii 1. The form here always occurs just before Sōp Pasūḵ, and the penultimate has Sillūḵ. The preceding accent is always Rēḥiā', which according to Wickes (**מַעְמֵי אֱמֶת** p. 33 note 25, and p. 75) should be Rēḥiā' Muḡrash.

(5) Can the received text be correct in these 27 passages? I am much indebted to the Rev. G. Margoliouth, of the British Museum, for some interesting facts as to the evidence of certain fifteenth- and sixteenth-century MSS and early printed editions where the accent is usually on the ultima. To this may be added the remarkable fact

noticed by Wickes (מַעֲמֵי אֱמֶת p. 8) that in the Babylonian (supra-linear) punctuation the same accents are used in the מַעֲמֵי as in the other books ; consequently the accent there also is on the ultima.

(6) It would thus appear—I quote from Mr Margoliouth's letter—‘that an examination of the point *de novo* is very desirable. A careful survey of the MSS and printed editions might lead to some interesting results’. Perhaps some reader of *J.T.S.* may care to go into the matter. It will be interesting to consult the Notes in Dr Ginsburg's forthcoming edition for the B. F. B. S.

Meanwhile I would ask whether, if the received text is correct, the unusual accent may not be due to metre and music. Final Pattah before a rolling Rêš and a full stop is so naturally stressed as to give the word :מַעֲמֵי a second full accent, the effect gained being a ‘slow spondee’. On the musical character of Rêš^{biä} cf. Wickes, chap. viii.

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REVIEWS

JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The Jewish Sources of the Sermon on the Mount. By GERALD FRIEDLANDER. (Routledge, London, 1911.)

TAKING the 'Sermon on the Mount' as the Charter of the Church, Mr Gerald Friedlander (Minister of the Western Synagogue, London) examines it in the light of the contemporary religious teaching current among the Jews, with the purpose of setting forth the relation of Christianity to Judaism and of suggesting 'how the New Testament might be expounded so as to enable a Jew or Christian to read it with interest and perhaps with profit'. In his preface he lays stress upon the determined attempt of Albert Schweitzer to discredit the possibility of constructing a biography of Jesus; and, taking it in conjunction with the thesis of Drews and J. M. Robertson, that Jesus never lived at all, he finds 'in these days a turning-point in the history of Christianity'. As a defender of orthodox Judaism, he seems inclined to exploit, if not to accept, the findings of these critics of the Gospel-history, and to explain away many of its incidents as fictions because of their resemblance to such parallel incidents or myths as contributors to the collections of Comparative Religion have been able to produce from Jewish or pagan sources. Consequently he treats with scant regard Mr Claude Montefiore's edition of the Synoptic Gospels and other writings which, regarded from other points of view, seem to do something to pave the way for the great reconciliation of Christendom and Jewry. Jesus is 'for him 'the most involved personality of all mythology and legendary history'; and it is, therefore, futile for Mr Montefiore to ask the Jews to find in Jesus a prophet like one of the prophets. But the methods of Robertson and Drews appear to be singularly detached from the canons of historical criticism in general; the first generation of Christians, who *ex hypothesi* involved Jesus in the mists of a new mythology, certainly knew or found a personality whom they thus involved, whatever gaps be found in the chain of extant evidence to-day; and to-day there are unbiassed scholars like Clemen who have surveyed the present accumulation of more or less attractive parallels to such narratives as the Mockery of Jesus, without complete concurrence in the deduction that (for example) Jesus was *not* mocked. It is difficult to rule out personal prejudice whether one is Jew or Christian, but it is perhaps legitimate to wonder if Mr Montefiore's

books do not go deeper and matter more than the latest theories—or, since theory is by interpretation *reflexion*, the latest theses of those who deny that Jesus ever lived.

But Mr Friedlander's book is a real thing ; it is a genuinely Jewish contribution to New Testament exegesis. Most Christians regard with indifference the less drastic anatomizing of Old Testament Scriptures so long as the New Testament books are printed in one colour : this Jewish apologist knows just what Isaiah said, and knows that even the Sermon on the Mount has at best a dubious connexion with what Christians call the Sayings of the Lord. All things are double, one against another ; and the opposition promises to break down artificial and ephemeral limitations of outlook on both sides. Like Dr Schechter, Mr Friedlander takes a side and pleads for it more openly than Dr Schechter. Mr Montefiore would have Jews read documents which are Christian by adoption, and seems to take for *motif* out of Moses and Robert Burns, Sirs, ye are brethren—for a' that and a' that. In fact, Mr Friedlander, using apocalyptic literature which Dr Schechter shelves, is helping both parties to the real great controversy, Is Jesus alive?—as distinct from the question, Did Jesus live?—to draw nearer to the position which Mr Montefiore occupies already.

One might cavil at some details in Mr Friedlander's presentation of the evidence that the Sermon is based upon Jewish sources : there are necessarily many details, and the recurrent idea that the Jew has nothing to learn from this Christian document dogs the reader of his exposition. He is continually repudiating and correcting Mr Montefiore. The Christians took over the Apocalyptic literature, and therefore Apocalyptic imagery must be taken at face-value and nailed to the counter as worthless. 'Modern Christian scholars (he says) acknowledge that Jesus was mistaken in believing that the end of the world was imminent and that God's kingdom was about to be inaugurated'; and again, 'Much of the teaching of Jesus was conditioned by his firm belief that the existing human society was about to come to an end.' But is it not legitimate to put in the fundamental axioms that God created this world of men and ordains the powers that be, together with the fact that the prototypes of the expected Judgement—the Flood and the Destruction of the Cities of the Plain—were directed against violations of God's Gospel that mankind should increase and multiply upon earth, saving and getting life in God's likeness by obedience to God's commandments? Is it not just to say further that the peculiar sphere of God's activity—provided distinction be drawn, as perhaps it must be drawn, for the sake of man to save him from familiarity—is the heart or soul or spirit of man, and that the supernatural is distinctively manifested in a man's conversion or return to God?

The originality of the teaching of Jesus is a dogma which can hardly be maintained except in quarters where the Old Testament, the Apocrypha (in the widest sense), and Philo are ignored. Mr Friedlander is concerned to destroy it on almost every page of his book; and it will be well for Christian apologists if they put aside this weapon of their armoury for good and all. It is a lath painted to look like iron, and the paint is likely to be washed off by fresh discoveries like Dr Charles's dating of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, as essentially a Jewish pre-Christian document though it contains a spiritual conception of the Messianic Age. And though such dates be precarious, the book Ecclesiasticus and the writings of Philo are facts which are fatal to the sophism in its integrity.

In his way—for the Christian reader often an unpleasant way—Mr Friedlander repeats the protest of Jeremy Taylor against the policy of the ostrich who hides his head in the sand. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. After all, we want to get as much as we can of Truth in general and in detail.

The Jewish Religion in the time of Jesus. By Lic. Dr G. HOLLMANN, translated by E. W. LUMMIS, M.A. (Philip Green, London, 1909.)

DR HOLLMANN'S account of later Judaism is intended to be an introductory guide for the lay reader, and aims at exhibiting the decisive and fundamental lines of the subject as they have been determined by the investigations of Schürer and Bousset. The Preface is dated 1904, and the German edition is part of the first series (*The Religion of the New Testament*) of the Tübingen Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher. After insisting upon the importance of the subject to 'every one who wishes to understand Jesus or Paul or early Christianity in general', Dr Hollmann surveys it in four chapters: I. The Unity of the [Jewish] Church and Distinctions within it; II. Doctrine and Piety in the Church; III. Popular Piety; IV. The Jewish Apocalyptic. His general verdict is that 'the Jewish thought of God was intrinsically mean, for he was conceived in the image of a strict taskmaster', whereas 'Jesus gave the great and needful liberation from all religious frittering and futility'; but the somewhat rhetorical Conclusion, in which these phrases are found, hardly does justice to *some* of the passages quoted in the body of the book from Jewish writers such as ben Sira, the Apocalyptists, and Philo. And in spite of summary and conventional judgements which have little enough connexion with those primary authorities, this treatment of Judaism is, on the whole, less unsympathetic than one is accustomed to expect from most Christian theologians. Even so, Dr Hollmann's general verdict and his casual pronouncements

do not seem to support his contention that a real appreciation of Judaism is an essential preliminary to the right understanding of Christianity; and the contention is probably just.

The translation reads like a good translation from the German, but the sentence 'Greeks and Romans, *learned and lewd*, all knew the Jews from their own point of view', would surely suggest to a modern Englishman that the writer assumed the identity of learning and virtue.

J. H. A. HART.

The End of the Law, by M. G. GLAZEBROOK, D.D. (Rivingtons, 1911.)

THIS volume contains the Warburton Lectures delivered by Dr Glazebrook in Lincoln's Inn Chapel during the years 1907-1911. Following out the lines laid down by the trust, the author has aimed at presenting 'the course of revelation to the Hebrews as a dialectical process, in which the questions are formulated by the experience of successive generations, and the answers are given by the prophets'. He would shew how each of these dialogues 'ends with a final question, asked by the last generation of ancient Judaism, and answered, directly or indirectly, by Jesus Christ. The contention is that He, in whom so many diverse problems of human life find their solution, must be more than a prophet; and that He, upon whose person so many lines of human aspiration converge and find satisfaction, owes that central position in history to divine appointment'.

After an introductory lecture the subject is discussed under the following heads:—Providence (Lectures 2 and 3), Personality (4 and 5), Sin, its nature (6), its cause (7), its consequences (8), Atonement (9), Sacrifice (10 and 11), and Priesthood (12). Despite the fact that so many and such wide topics are discussed within the limits of less than 200 pages, the writer has succeeded in presenting his material in a lucid and attractive form, without either wearying the reader by a bald enumeration of facts, or leaving him unsatisfied by a mere outline of the subject. The book is obviously intended, and admirably adapted, to appeal to a wider circle than that of theological students proper.

As he traces out step by step the progress of revelation, the author is clear, stimulating, and suggestive. The part of his task which he accomplishes perhaps least satisfactorily is when he endeavours to formulate the final answers of the Christian religion to the problems raised by Judaism. Here his presentation of the teaching of Christianity appears sometimes inadequate, at other times open to dispute. For example, Dr Glazebrook believes that the traditional doctrine of sin has been undermined as a result of modern criticism of the early

chapters of Genesis. 'The Church of England is no better off than the rest, for her ninth article involves all the main elements of the antiquated ecclesiastical dogma.' (When did the Church ever formulate any dogma on this subject?) The Biblical doctrine of sin should therefore be re-examined. His conclusion is that no certain inferences as to the cause of sin can be drawn from our Lord's teaching as recorded in the Synoptists, and that to learn 'the mind of Christ' in this respect we must turn to St Paul.

But is there any possible justification for discovering in Romans vii, combined with 1 Cor. xv, St Paul's 'final teaching' on the subject, 'in which he gives up syncretistic theory, throws away all the traditional opinions, and starts on a new path'? It is here, nevertheless, that the author finds 'the only satisfactory solution of the problem of sin', and he laments the fact that the Church has failed to adopt it.

Similarly, for Christ's teaching as to the consequences of sin, he bids us turn away from 'the Judaic eschatology' of the Synoptic Gospels to 'the larger hope' of St John, and the later Pauline epistles. But many will find it hard to follow him when he declares that in the epistles of the captivity St Paul is completely emancipated from 'the hopeless horrors of the Jewish hell', to a belief, whether clearly conceived or not, that 'all men must in the end either be converted and forgiven, or else annihilated'. Nor is it obvious that this doctrine is 'fully recognized' in the Johannine writings.

Communion with God: The Preparation before Christ and the Realization in Him, by DARWELL STONE, D.D. and D. C. SIMPSON, M.A. (T. & T. Clark, 1911.)

THE authors define the purpose of their work as an attempt 'to give a history of the search for God, and of God's self-revelation, from the time when man's conception of something beyond himself became living, and of such a kind that he was in conscious relation to it, until it found its climax in the Christian religion'. Part I of the book traces the preparation for Christianity in ideas outside revealed Hebrew religion; Part II deals with the same subject within the sphere of revelation; while Part III consists of New Testament illustrations of Christian communion with God. This last section, the authors explain, is reprinted from the article on 'Communion with Deity' in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*: but the book as a whole is exposed to the criticism that it resembles far too closely an encyclopaedia article to enjoy an independent existence. It is obvious, e.g., that such a subject as 'Ideas in Indian, Savage, Greek, and Roman Religions, and in the Hellenic Mysteries', cannot be adequately discussed in ten pages, and the writers would probably have been better

advised had they somewhat restricted the scope of their task. At the same time, the book is pleasantly written, and doubtless there are many to whom some such short presentation of the results of modern research will be welcome.

'Jereboam's moral government of the universe' is a curious slip on p. 71, and a word ('period'?) appears to have dropped out on p. 101, line 11.

B. T. D. SMITH.

APOCRYPHA.

Évangiles Apocryphes. I. *Protévangile de Jacques, Pseudo-Matthieu, Évangile de Thomas*: Textes annotés et traduits par CHARLES MICHEL, Correspondant de l'Institut, Professeur à l'Université de Liège.

Histoire de Joseph le Charpentier. Rédactions copte et arabe, traduites et annotées par P. PEETERS, Bollandiste. (Textes et Documents, Hemmer et Lejay. Picard et fils, Paris, 1911, pp. xl + 255.)

THIS is the second French edition of the *Protevangelium* and a part of pseudo-Matthew which has come to my hands in the last few months. It is conceived on a far more modest scale than that of M. AMANN, which I had the pleasure of describing in a recent number of this JOURNAL. M. Michel, so far as I can see, does not claim to have done more than reproduce the texts constituted by Tischendorf of the documents which he edits.¹ He gives a short and clear introduction to each, and accompanies them with a French version and brief footnotes. The *format* is convenient, and the idea good: but it does not seem to me that the editor has brought much of his own to the work. Neither text nor translation is above criticism. In the case of the Gospel of Thomas the Latin text, which contains matter not in the Greek, should have found a place in this volume. The translation is not impeccable. In *Protev.* XVIII, where Joseph sees a group of labourers seated round their dish (σκάφη) and suddenly arrested in their meal, a wrong turn is given to the incident by the following text and version: 'Je vis une huche et des ouvriers couchés (ἀνακειμένους) les mains dans la huche; et ceux qui étaient en train de pétrir ne pétrissaient plus (οἱ μασσώμενοι οὐκ ἐμασῶντο sic) et ceux qui étaient en train de soulever la pâte ne la soulevaient pas (καὶ οἱ αἴροντες οὐκ ἀνέφερον), et ceux qui étaient en train de la porter à leur bouche ne l'y portaient pas (καὶ οἱ προσφέροντες τῷ

¹ Some improvements, however, are introduced, e. g. in *Thomas* x 1 γειτονία for γυνίq.

στόματι αὐτῶν οὐ προσέφερον).’ Is it not clear that the writer is describing a group of labourers at dinner, not of bakers at work?

Another place, in which punctuation and rendering seem to me faulty, is the prologue to Ps-Matthew (p. 60): ‘*Gratias agens Deo qui mihi dedit sapientiam in historiis adventus sui, ostendens plenitudinem duodecim tribubus Israel*: “rendant grâce à Dieu de m’avoir donné connaissance des histoires de son avènement, en me montrant la plénitude (des temps) pour les douze tribus d’Israël.”’ Here I have always supposed that the comma should follow *historiis*, and that we should render ‘who hath given me skill in histories, shewing the fullness (i.e. the full narrative, or perhaps the accomplishment) of His coming’, &c. It may be remarked that the occurrence of the words *in historiis* and *duodecim tribubus Israel* in close juxtaposition, followed at once by *In diebus illis erat in Ierusalem nomine Ioachim*, &c., has a suspicious resemblance to the opening words of the *Protev*. Ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δωδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἦν Ἰωακείμ πλούσιος σφόδρα.

There is much to be done before a satisfactory edition of the Gospel of Thomas can be produced. Our earliest authority (a Latin palimpsest at Vienna) has to be deciphered; nor is it to be supposed that all the extant Greek evidence for the text is known. The relations of the subject-matter with Indian mythology have also to be investigated. The choice of the name Thomas for the author of the gospel at once suggests a connexion with India; the reading (Thomas) *Ismaelita* for *Israelita* in MSS of the Latin seems to me to demand careful consideration, in view of the connexion with the East which it, again, suggests. And the resemblances to Krishna legends noted by Meyer in Hennecke’s *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* must by no means be neglected. A future editor will, besides, need to gather all the narratives of Infancy-miracles which appear in anonymous mediaeval collections, as well vernacular as Latin. There are many stories which do not appear in our present texts of apocryphal gospels. M. Michel’s present edition of *Thomas* has, as was said, the merit of convenience, and is useful as a first introduction to this very interesting text; but it does not advance our knowledge of the subject.

P. Peeters’s presentation of the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* is, again, convenient. He gives us on opposite pages fresh translations of the Coptic (Bohairic, with notes of the variants of the Sahidic) and Arabic recensions. In the Introduction he unfortunately confuses the Dean of Wells with his brother, Mr Forbes Robinson, whose admirable *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* have naturally proved of the greatest assistance to him. I rather regret that he has not investigated what I take to be probably a late mediaeval Latin version of the *History*, by Alfonsus Bonihominis in the Vienna MS lat. 4739; it might prove to have been

an important factor in the introduction of the cult of St Joseph into the West. I am not in a position to criticize Father Peeters's work in detail; but I am grateful to him for giving us the means of comparing the Coptic and Arabic forms of the *History* with ease.

Just too late for Father Peeters's edition has come an illuminating solution from Mr W. E. Crum¹ of a puzzle in the last chapter of the Arabic version. It is there said that four persons will be slain by Antichrist—Enoch, Elias, *Silas* (Schila), and Tabitha. Why Silas? Surely not because we read in the Acts that 'it pleased Silas to remain there still'? Mr Crum tells us to read *Sibylla* for Silas, and he must be right. We have then two pairs, of men and women. The survival of the Sibyl to the end of the world, not recorded elsewhere to my knowledge (though we know from Petronius that in Trimalchio's time she was still alive, though shrunk to the size of a grasshopper), is quite what we might expect. The mention of Tabitha is doubtless derived from the Coptic Apocalypse of Elias edited by Steindorff in which her contest with Antichrist is described.

Les Actes Apocryphes de l'Apôtre André. Les Actes d'André et de Mathias, de Pierre et d'André, et les textes apparentés. Par J. FLAMION, S.T.L., Professeur au Séminaire de Bastogne. (Fasc. 33 of the Louvain University 'Recueil de Travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie'. Bureaux du Recueil, Louvain. Picard et Fils, &c., Paris, pp. xvi + 330.)

IN this very full, patient, and lucid study of the Acts of Andrew, M. Flamion (already known by his long series of articles on the Acts of Peter, published in the Louvain *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*) has I think succeeded in clearing a way through a very tangled mass of texts, which will be recognized by students as being in all essentials the right way.

He begins by dividing his Greek and Latin material into two groups, Eastern and Western; of the Western group the principal constituents are the Epistle of the presbyters and deacons of Achaia, narrating the Passion of the Apostle, the Latin Passion which begins with the words *Conuersante et docente*, and Gregory of Tours' book *De miraculis Andreae*. The Eastern group comprises several Passions and also a complete account of St Andrew's missionary journeys, ending with his Passion. This we have in three forms, a life by Epiphanius the monk (which needs to be re-edited), a panegyric known as the *Laudatio*, and another attributed to Simeon the Metaphrast. The Greek Passions include the *Martyrium Andreae alterum* in two texts, and another known as the *Narratio*. The *Martyrium prius* is more nearly related

¹ *Zeitschr. f. NTliche Wissensch.*, 1911, p. 352.

to the Western group. There is, besides, the fragment of the primitive Acts in the Vatican MS gr. 808. The above texts, with the exception of those by Epiphanius and the Metaphrast, have all been thoroughly well edited by M. Max Bonnet. It was also M. Bonnet who demonstrated that the *Epistle* is an originally Latin document, subsequently translated into Greek.

The great number of the Greek Passions and Legends is accounted for by the fact that the founding of the Church of Byzantium was attributed to St Andrew, who ordained Stachys to be the first bishop there.

The principal object of M. Flamion's study is to determine the relation of these many documents to the original Acts of Andrew which were current in the third century, are mentioned by Eusebius and others, were included by the Manichaeans in their *Corpus* of spurious Apostolic Acts (rivaling and perhaps even displacing the Canonical Acts), and were eventually condemned by the Church Catholic. A secondary point is the settling of the relation of the famous legend of Andrew and Matthew among the men-eaters (the subject of Cynewulf's poem) and of certain less well-known stories, to these same original Acts. A third topic is the character and date of the original Acts.

The conclusions at which M. Flamion arrives may be summarized here. The *Epistle* he considers to have originated among the exiles in Sardinia in the company of Fulgentius in the fifth century. It consists of two parts: the first (capp. 1-8), containing the dispute of Andrew with the proconsul Egeas, was composed, on the model of other Acts of Martyrs, to occupy its present place; in capp. 9-15 an older source is employed. The Latin passion *Conversante*, which makes use of the *Epistle*, was compiled in Gaul in the sixth century. Gregory of Tours, writing probably in 591 or 592, uses three sources—the Acts of Andrew and Matthew, the original Acts of Andrew, and the Latin Passion.

Of the Byzantine documents the greater part are assigned to the ninth century. The *Laudatio*, and probably also the *Narratio*, draws upon Epiphanius the monk, who himself wrote early in that century. The Metaphrast, whose production is the least interesting of all, uses both Epiphanius and *Laudatio*.

We have some few relics of the unexpurgated text of the original Acts. Parts of the Passion (in addition to the general course of the narrative) seem to be untouched, in particular the Apostle's address to the Cross, which is best preserved by the *Martyrium primum*; the meaning of it is brought out in a careful investigation on pp. 132 sqq. Then there is the important series of discourses preserved apparently intact in the Vatican MS gr. 808, discovered and published by M. Bonnet; and, lastly the fragments preserved by Evodius of Uzala, in the *Epistola Tit*

(see De Bruyne in *Rev. Bénéd.*, 1908), and probably in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (No. 851, which M. Flamion would claim for the Acts of Andrew). The character of the Acts, doctrinal and literary, is discussed on pp. 145-176, and the date and place of their composition on pp. 264-268. They shew traces of the use of the Acts of John and Peter, and of an acquaintance with the thought of Plotinus: and our author assigns them, in date to the second half of the third century, and in place to Greece proper. 'Il n'est pas étonnant qu'un milieu intellectuel, comme était la Grèce à la suite de la fondation de l'Université d'Athènes, ait produit un amateur de rhétorique et de philosophie, capable de composer une œuvre de ce genre' (p. 267).

This romance would thus, according to M. Flamion, be the fourth in the list of the great Apostolic novels. *John, Paul, Peter* would be its predecessors. As to its relation with *Thomas* I find no opinion expressed. It seems not doubtful to me that, in view of M. Flamion's discussion, I must withdraw my thesis of the Leucian authorship of these Acts; but I am glad to find that he confirms the view that the *Miracula* of Gregory of Tours (apart from the opening and closing sections) have preserved better than any other document the narrative of the original Acts. Let me mention in passing that in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral there is an interesting fragment of these *Miracula* in uncials, I suppose of the seventh century.

In the last sections of his book M. Flamion treats of the Acts of Andrew and Matthias (Matthew), of those of Peter and Andrew, and some kindred texts. He shews that these have nothing to do with the primitive Acts. They belong to the same family as the *Conflicts of the Apostles* preserved in Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and they were composed in a monastic milieu in Upper Egypt, somewhere about the year 400. Our attention is called to an interesting fragment of the Coptic Acts of Andrew recently published from MSS at Paris and Leyden respectively, by von Lemm and Insinger. Little is said, somewhat to my regret, of the very startling Acts of Andrew and Paul, in which a scarabaeus—*δίκαιρον*, metamorphosed in our texts into a bird *δίκαιος* (*avis Iusta* in Zoëga)—acts as a messenger for Andrew.

M. Flamion's book is the most valuable contribution to the study of the apocryphal Acts which I have seen since Schmidt's *Alte Petrusakten*. May we ask two things of him: firstly that he will republish in book-form his articles on the Acts of Peter (he may have done this, but I have not seen it), and secondly that he will undertake studies of the Acts of John and of Paul on the scale of the book before us?¹

M. R. JAMES.

¹ There are a good many 'literal' misprints: e.g. on p. 55, 391, 392 should be 591, 592: on p. 186, l. 8, Evodius should be Egeates: 'Oxyrinchus' and 'Apostels' are also to be corrected.

Ascension d'Isaïe : traduction de la Version éthiopienne avec les principales variantes des versions grecque, latines, et slave. Introduction et notes par EUGÈNE TISSERANT. (Paris, 1909. 4 fr.)

UNDER the direction of Professor Martin (of L'Institut Catholique de Paris) the Book of Enoch, the Story of Ahikar, and the Ascension of Isaiah have been published as *Documents pour l'Étude de la Bible*. The title and the contents of the series recall the saying that things are managed better in France, for in England the British and Foreign Bible Society's Bible does not contain so much as the statutory 'Apocrypha'. Moreover, the editor of the Ascension of Isaiah, M. Tisserant, makes his grateful acknowledgements to his teachers not only in France but also in Jerusalem, and he records the fact that he has been enabled to spend three years on the special studies of which this book is the first fruits by the generosity of *l'Œuvre d'encouragement des études supérieures dans le clergé*. And all the while—not forgetting Professors Martin and Dillmann—M. Tisserant confesses his indebtedness in gross and in detail to our own Dr Charles.

Regarded as a thing in itself—and not as a symptom of the superior advantages of Catholic France—the book disclaims any pretension of being an original work. It is the editor's first achievement, and he has used the 'excellent editions of Dillmann and Charles' fully and with full acknowledgement. Where Charles and Dillmann agree he regards their result as a definite acquisition, and in debateable matters (for the most part) he follows Charles. A competent and useful performance, this edition of a document, the importance of which for the study of Christian origins is acknowledged, will provoke an eager interest in future proceeds of M. Tisserant's researches.

J. H. A. HART.

THE CREEDS.

Creed and the Creeds. By J. H. SKRINE. (Longmans, 1911.)

IN the Bampton Lectures for 1911 the reader will find much eloquent teaching, much deep thought, going down to the foundations of theology, many felicitous phrases, for which indeed we look to a mind so poetic, so richly stored, so loyal both to Christian verity and to Catholic religion. Thus it is with sincere regret that I find some of Mr Skrine's arguments, upon which he lays most stress, unconvincing, and as they now stand misleading. Mr Skrine's lifelong experience as a teacher has qualified him to commend the Apostles' Creed to modern thinkers with whose difficulties he has such profound sympathy. But he has missed his opportunity because in his own words: 'The enquiry

proposed into the religious value of formularies of belief and the credal principle which underlies them, became on its way something larger—the search for a ground of the soul's spiritual endeavour which should be neither Church tradition nor private conscience, but should be both and more than both.' In other words his aim is to furnish an instrument of research by which to test different ideas of creed, and then to apply the instrument in the discussion of the creed-making of the Church universal and the Church particular.

Mr Skrine adopts the metaphor 'Life' to express salvation, assuming that Life is a mutual self-adaptation of organism and environment, which in the higher region of moral and spiritual life culminates in self-sacrifice. Creed is an utterance of the inward faith, a confession with the mouth and also an instrument for deepening faith by a 'form of sound words', utterance and definition being complementary. But believing is more than knowing, and includes a self-giving to God in sacrifice of our thoughts, affections, and wills.

Mr Skrine's definition of faith is parallel to that of Bishop Westcott as including the activities of feeling and willing. But Bishop Westcott takes into account only the manifest energy of faith in our conscious life when he writes: 'Faith is thought illuminated by emotion and concentrated by will.'¹ On the other hand Mr Skrine speculates about the influence of faith on our subconscious minds, and calls it life, whereas even in that unexplored region of impulses and desires it would be more accurate to call it thought. As a matter of fact Mr Skrine, although he calls faith life, practically regards it as thought, because as we shall see presently he regards the continued existence of the departed as proved by our thought of them. Faith is life unto God. Does our belief in Immortality meet with the Divine answer which is the proof that it is true?

We must measure life in the soul by the three signs of extension in time, extension in space, and intensity. Does our belief then in the immortality of a departed friend persist in time? Do the affections for the Dead survive? 'If this love is not cancelled, if along the viewless unimaginable line, drawn and twined out of the stuff of that mystic ether of which all the web of the All is woven, there come and go vibrations that strike from heart to heart between Here and There, then the love-tie is not sundered and the loved one yet is. On the line of time my affections have life yet whole in them.'² It is possible. No thoughtful person, who has studied the evidence of telepathy between parted friends on earth, could doubt the possibility of transference of thought from the unseen world. But I fail to see how Mr Skrine can

¹ *The Historic Faith*, Macmillan, p. 7.

² P 64.

prove anything by it, or what he means by the next paragraph: 'Do the loves towards our departed friends move in the home of a heart as outlanders from a stranger race, or are they given a welcome and sistered there by the most gracious affections that are of the household of love? If so, then my affections have life in the measure of space.' Assuming that the will to live on in mortal man is a fact of significance, he goes on to discuss how we may measure life in the soul in the dimension of intensity. He argues that the soul has an organ of knowledge which is neither sense-experience nor intuition. This is herself, knowing the world by living to it, knowing God by living to Him.

According to Mr Skrine the mystic is wrong about his 'faculty of suprasensuous immediate perception', which for the sake of a name he calls Intuition, because he denies the power of reason and the senses to inform him of the unseen reality, and postulates two worlds when there is only one, which we know consciously as regards the seen and sub-consciously as regards the unseen.¹ I fail to see that he differs from the mystic except in the matter of names; for it is just as easy for the mystic to speak of the two regions as of two worlds, and Mr Skrine is constrained presently to use the term 'intuition' in his own sense. On this he relies when he goes on to speak of belief in intercourse between two wills, one in the temporal, the other in the suprasensuous sphere. He quotes St Paul as conscious of wrestling against unseen evil wills, of Joan of France as conferring with her ghostly 'Council' among the trees. In the same sentence he also quotes soldiers in old Greece and new Japan who have 'thanked the spirits of the past for championship in the battle of to-day', quoting lines from Tennyson's *Harold* in which the king speaks of a vision of King Edward before a victory, and ends: 'the world has tales enough of revisitant forms dimly glimpsed in postures of aid over child or friend in danger.' He compares the inward experiences of warning or encouragement in action which many men have felt from the days of Socrates, and advocates that we should ride out on private adventure expecting help from the Unseen. 'We shall come back avowing that there went Another on our quest: a presence in the dark barred a false path against us; a tender hand drew us aside to a generosity, a forgiveness, a loving-kindness; our nerve was steeled for a peril by a touch of steel . . . or in a lonely wrestle of the reason we were not alone, there was again a dialectic of two souls, and ours sought a truth with his.'

If I rightly understand him Mr Skrine founds upon this experience

¹ On p. 100 he writes: 'We shall offer the surmise that this Intuition is a name for the soul's capacity of experiencing fact by that part of its organism which extends, according to the metaphor, beyond the circle of the temporal order into the eternal order.'

of intercourse with wills in the unseen world his argument for testing the truth of statements in the Creed about Resurrection, but it is extraordinary that he should mix up St Paul's teaching on evil angels with Japanese and English beliefs in the influence of departed friends, and still more extraordinary that he should leave no room for the influence of the Holy Spirit of God Himself in warning and encouraging by mysterious influence, which all the saints confess, and which is far more to a soul than any influence of a human friend. Of such spiritual experience there is ample evidence all through the centuries, and it is a far more profitable line of argument for Mr Skrine's purpose than these unverifiable speculations about intercourse with the departed.

In the second part of his book Mr Skrine sets out to reconcile the theory of dogmatic with that of undogmatic Christianity. He attacks as not felicitous the metaphor that dogmas are defences of the faith. He prefers the metaphor of dialectic and raises the question, Would the Church have found the truth without the heretic? 'Was it not in the dialectic, misgrown into a polemic between her and him, that the truer formulation was gendered?' The answer is 'Yes'. The dialectic between the school of Lucian the Martyr at Antioch and Western theologians would have attained the vision of a Christ who was very God, which is safeguarded by the term *homoousion*, 'of one essence'. What made feeling so high was the irreverence of the Arians in speculation and their pride in logic, whereas St Athanasius brought everything back to the test of prayer. If the Arian doctrine of the Person of Christ is correct, it is idolatry to worship Him. Therefore the uninterrupted practice, the instinctive reverence, of Christian devotion was in itself a proof that the Arian theory was a novelty.¹ Mr Skrine forgets the fact that St Athanasius did not invent or suggest the term *homoousion*, though he was always loyal to it. His description of the controversy is not in accordance with the evidence marshalled in recent books such as that of Mr Gwatkin.² He states eloquently the fact that the Catholic Faith put forward by the Clerics at Nicaea was accepted by the Populus in the council of the wide world. But he leaves out of sight the influence of St Hilary of Poitiers upon the Cappadocian Fathers, which helped to win acceptance of the *homoousion* in the last stage of the controversy. And the semi-Arian bishops like Cyril of Jerusalem who came over to the Nicene side and revised their Baptismal Creeds by the insertion of Nicene terms, had much to do with the final triumph of the Nicene formula in both Nicene Creeds at Constantinople. The leaders, as Mr Skrine would phrase it, lived their creed, and it brought them life, and the countless multitude did the same: 'This should

¹ *Four Discourses against the Arians* iii 16.

² *Studies of Arianism*, Deighton, Bell & Co., 1900.

enable us to discern in the people's assent to the Council's pronouncement no mere secular movement manoeuvred by the forces of nature or of statecraft, but a demonstration of the Spirit and of power.'¹

It is strange that Mr Skrine did not take the Apostles' Creed at this point into his subject and shew how without any Conciliar pronouncement in its favour it has grown into its present form and been accepted as the baptismal creed of the whole Western Church. His only reference is unfortunate. The clause, 'He descended into hell', was not explained with mediaeval realism when it first came into use in Western Creeds in Pannonia and Aquileia. At the end of the fourth century Rufinus commenting on the clause in the Aquileian Creed said that it was implied in 'He was buried', and illustrated the meaning by quotation of Ps. xxii 15; xxx 9; lxi 2; xvi 11; 1 Pet. iii 18-20, &c. His reference to the preaching to the spirits in prison is not like mediaeval teaching on the Harrowing of Hell though it implies a reference to the primitive teaching which lay behind that tradition. Some writers of repute in our Church, e.g. Pearson and Hammond, have followed St Augustine, and explained that St Peter's words had nothing to do with the descent into Hades, and that Christ by His Holy Spirit inspired the preaching of Noah. But it is not really necessary to bring in this thought of St Peter at all, or discuss what our Lord did in the unseen world. In Mr Skrine's words: 'We teach our children to understand the clause as a parable of the reality of the death of Jesus, of His passage by a real dissolution of soul and body into the spiritual existence.'² By 'parable' I take it he means our reconstruction of the belief in Hades, no longer situated in subterranean depths, but still in the Unseen Universe, so that we still teach the fact which the first framer of the clause desired to express. In that case is it not too much to say: 'We have reformulated the clause by allegory', for we have not explained away the fact. In Dr Swete's words: 'It was the privilege of the Church of Aquileia to hand down to a remote age, free from legendary accretions, an Apostolic belief which affirms that the Incarnate Son consecrated by His presence the condition of departed souls.'³

Nor is Mr Skrine more successful in the argument based on the reform of extra-credal beliefs in a verbally inspired Bible and a six-days' creation. On another page he uses the better word 'theories'. The new theories do not destroy the old beliefs, for the Church has never been committed to any theory. Vincent of Lerins supplies the watchword which Mr Skrine is seeking when he bids: 'So teach what thou hast been taught that when thou sayest things in a new way thou

¹ P. 149.

² *The Apostles' Creed* p. 63.

³ P. 155.

mayest not say new things.'¹ This is the complement of Vincent's famous definition of Catholic Faith to which Mr Skrine renders ample justice. Vincent did not expect theologians to mark time. His rule covers modern interpretations of the resurrection of the dead which assuredly differ widely from those of Rufinus or Bishop Pearson; but it does not cover the extraordinary statement 'that the Procession from the Son, momentous to the Churches as the article has been in history, is in the salvation of a soul of lesser moment, if of any moment at all'. Assuming that we explain the words to mean no more than Eastern theologians accept about a Procession through the Son, and that we frankly acknowledge misunderstanding about the insertion of the words in our Nicene Creed, the history of the belief in the hearts of the Populus of the West is really a romantic story, after Mr Skrine's own heart, an inheritance from the profound teaching of the great Augustine, after all his wanderings, on the mystery of Divine Life. Mr Skrine ignores all that such theologians as Dr Milligan and Dr Moberly have written with vigour and earnestness on this thought as enriching our belief in the Ascension and the Atonement. Does not the *Veni Creator*, that great hymn of the Western Church, help our salvation, that is the life of our souls, when it lifts up our thoughts to a Spirit who is through the Incarnate One, now Ascended, in deepest sympathy with our needs and sorrows?

With the *Quicumque* Mr Skrine deals very fairly: 'Those who framed and accepted the formulary were not at fault in their logic, but in the assumption on which their logical process rested. They thought—I will rather say, they thought themselves to think—that to believe a creed is to hold the faith. Then all was consistent: the damning clauses did not clash with the credal.'² Truly a creed which instructs is not faith, but this creed carries its own explanation in words which are too seldom quoted: 'The Catholic Faith is this—that we worship', not that we define unduly in this long series of intellectual propositions. Our aim is to instruct men how to worship One God, revealed as the God of Love, whose revealed will is that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, and that their faith should be their motive power in doing good, working by love.

The last lecture, 'Creed as Sacrifice, an Appeal' to dogmatist and idealist to learn from one another, is full of beautiful thoughts that one is loth to criticize. Very characteristic is the following: 'Rock is not always a house's best foundation; it is the worst—in earthquake. Let us remember how for early symbolists the image to inspire was a thing of least fixity; it was a ship riding a storm, the *Navicella* of the Church,

¹ *Commonitorium* xxvii.

² P. 162.

of all things the most unstable, yet by waves the least to be overthrown; for, like life, it masters nature by yielding, by obedience it makes the winds and waves obey it, persists in being by true response to facts that be.'¹

This is exactly true if understood of acceptance of new methods of explaining the old facts, but it must not be pressed to suggest that the ship of the Church is at the mercy of the storm. We have hope, 'as an anchor of the soul' (Heb. vi 19), that all reconstruction of beliefs will indeed reinterpret the Gospel in the Creed to a new age, without sacrificing its heart, the revelation of a life hid with Christ in God. There will be plenty of scope for that self-sacrifice for which Mr Skrine pleads so eloquently, sacrifice of shibboleths, of outworn and partial explanations, of prejudice which blinds the eye to new aspects of truth.

The spirit of this suggestive book is so admirable that one is loth to criticize, save in the desire through dialectic to discover new truth as Mr Skrine himself teaches. The phrase of Caesarius of Arles is always to be remembered: 'Vera laus ornat, falsa castigat.'

Enchiridion Symbolorum auctore HENRICO DENZINGER. Editio undecima quam paravit CLEMENS BANNWART, S.J. (B. Herder, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1911.)

THIS standard book of reference has not been greatly altered since it was thoroughly overhauled by its new editor in 1908. From a strictly limited point of view it is an excellent summary of the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church on all subjects, beginning with the Apostles' Creed and ending with recent decrees of Pius X against Modernism, and the report of the Biblical Commission on the historical character of the Book of Genesis.

The *Index systematicus* enables the reader to discover at once what the Roman Catholic Church teaches on Revelation, the Church, the Godhead, Redemption, Justification, Consummation. The *Index alphabeticus* enables him to look up the name of a heretic and find out why his teaching was condemned. There is also a convenient *Clavis Concordantium* to shew the variations in the numbering of the paragraphs in this new edition as compared with the old. The type is clear and the accuracy of the quotations has been tested again and again in revision. So far I can congratulate the editor on his success. But I feel that his own contribution to the history of the Creeds, in the opening section of the book which he has rewritten, shews an unfortunate limitation of view. He depends too much on the books of other Jesuit scholars, especially Blume and Brewer. Thus he quotes Niceta of Remesiana as an authority in the history of the Apostles' Creed, under the name Nicetas without reference to recent publications on

¹ P. 210.

the subject, quoting Kattenbusch's suggestion, which has now been withdrawn, that Niceta was a Gallican writer. He knows nothing of Dr Traube's theories as to the form of the name of Priminus of Reichenau and his nationality. He accepts the theory which I put forward some years ago as to the origin of the *Quicumque vult*, which has been carried much further by Dr Künstle, and prints the Creed among *Symbola Anti-Priscillianiana*. But he rejects it in a note, referring to the 'solid' arguments by which Dr H. Brewer has claimed the creed for the pen of St Ambrose of Milan. Unfortunately Dr Brewer's theory has been decisively rejected by critics of such eminence as Dom G. Morin, and cannot be said to hold the field. These shortcomings do not, however, detract seriously from the value of the book as a collection of documents edited with scrupulous care.

A. E. BURN.

IN *The Creeds: their history, nature, and use* (by the Rev. Harold Smith, Lecturer at the London College of Divinity: Robert Scott, 1911) the author has, I think, attempted a task for which he is not qualified. I gladly recognize much that is good and useful in the book, though most of this is presented rather meagrely, like lecture-notes transcribed. But Mr Smith does not seem to me to have acquired an adequate knowledge of the history of the Creeds and the development of Christian Doctrine, or of the meaning of the terms and the doctrines which he undertakes to expound, nor is he a safe guide to the exegesis of important passages in the New Testament itself, some of which he entirely misrepresents. More pains and space bestowed upon these subjects would have amply compensated those for whom, I presume, the book is designed for the omission of many pages which are devoted to a somewhat unintelligent polemic against certain Catholic beliefs and practices, which do not require discussion in such a book. I must not reproduce here my long list of details that call for correction. There is something more vital to the subject as a whole; for Mr Smith undertakes not only to expound, but also to prove, the doctrines implied in the Creeds, and the only test of truth which he employs is that which is furnished by 'texts' of Scripture. He allows that 'criticism, whether textual, literary, or historical', is necessary; but in his use of Scriptural proofs there is scarcely any recognition of the results of the critical study of the Gospels of recent times, whether as to discrimination between various reputed sayings of our Lord as evidence of His own consciousness (I must deprecate, in passing, the common but singularly unfortunate phrase 'self-assertion' of our Lord), or as to development of early Christian belief about Him. The Bible remains a collection of fragments of proof to be pieced together. It is deplorable that the

subject of the evidence on which Christian doctrines rest should still be treated on these lines.

It is not so much 'proof', as the history of the Creeds themselves and exposition of the doctrine they declare, that Dr A. E. Burn has given us in his three little volumes in the series of 'Oxford Church Text Books' published by Messrs Rivingtons (*The Apostles' Creed* 2nd ed. 1907, *The Nicene Creed* 1909, and *The Athanasian Creed* 1912). The results of Dr Burn's minute and prolonged research into the problems of the history of the Creeds are offered here in a form that is at once easily intelligible and attractive. And although he, too, cites without reserve sayings attributed to our Lord, in the Fourth Gospel, for example, which may well be the product of the evangelist's theological reflexion and insight, rather than our Lord's own words; yet the general spirit of his treatment of the origin and developement of the doctrines of the Creeds is that of one who is in touch with modern points of view and does not seek for 'proofs' where they are not to be found,¹ and his exposition of the subject is enriched by quotations from those who have preceded him as expositors from the earliest times. And so the three books have a living interest and appeal, and any student would gain from them the kind of knowledge needed of Christian Doctrine and the Creeds.

AN entirely different method of treatment is adopted by Mr R. O. P. Taylor in *The Athanasian Creed in the twentieth century* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911), which is an attempt to shew the agreement between the thought of this Creed and modern theories of the universe, of personality, and of the relation between mind and matter. Mr Taylor does not concern himself with the history of the Creed, or with the use of it—except to deprecate recent proposals to discontinue public recitation of it; but he presents an able *apologia* of its statements from the point of view of one who feels that he could not assent to its teaching unless he found justification for it in the conclusions and the tendencies of modern scientific investigation. There is much that is timely and suggestive in his line of argument, and his book will no doubt be useful to many who feel the same constraint that he feels. I cannot, however, believe that the evidence for the Resurrection of our Lord or the details of the narrative of St Matthew are in any way confirmed by his fantastic speculation as to the manner of the Resurrection—a speculation based on the belief that 'matter is a mode of motion', that 'the solidity of the body would disappear' if the 'particular kinds of motion [usual to it] were stopped or altered', while the consequent release of energy would produce the 'terrific display of light' and the 'shocks of earthquake' which St Matthew relates. But this is the only instance I have noticed in which Mr Taylor allows his imagination such unrestrained licence.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

¹ His treatment of Gal. iv 4 and Jn. i 13 (*Apostles' Creed* p. 73) is an exception.

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

The Realm of Ends or Pluralism and Theism: The Gifford Lectures delivered in the University of St Andrews, 1907-1910, by JAMES WARD, Sc.D., &c. (Cambridge University Press, 1911.)

DR WARD's former series of Gifford Lectures, on Naturalism and Agnosticism, established itself from the time of its publication as a classical work on the subjects with which it deals; it became at once the standard authority for theologians interested in world-views suggested by uncritically exploited physical theory and until recently propounded with confidence by some of the few men of science who, when 'off their beat', have indulged in cosmical philosophizing. This book, it will be remembered, was an endeavour to demonstrate spiritualistic, while refuting materialistic and agnostic, monism, and so to remove certain demurrers against theism. And it raised in the minds of its readers the hope that some day its author would find opportunity to supplement this critical essay by a constructive argument from spiritualism to theism.

The honourable distinction of a second invitation to lecture in connexion with the Gifford trust gave Dr Ward this opportunity; and we have recently received from him the desired sequel to his defence of spiritualism. Even those who have been aware of the great tasks to which Dr Ward has long been pledged, and who, like the present writer, look forward with a special longing to his future treatise on the theory of knowledge, will feel grateful to the University of St Andrews for having diverted him for a few years from work already in hand. For *The Realm of Ends* reveals the thought of its author upon many deep theological problems: thought, the most of which has perhaps never before been imparted even to his pupils, who at least will welcome its publication with an interest which no other living writer could evoke in them.

Before the appearance of *Naturalism and Agnosticism* the naturalistic theory had already become largely discredited even in scientific circles. We have certainly heard very little of it of late, save to its disparagement. The veiled materialism so common ten or twenty years ago has largely been cast off, and its repudiation has opened the way to theism for many minds previously inhibited from embracing it. From spiritualism to theism began to seem a small step, and theism was beginning to breathe freely after its long struggle. But as soon as the old foe was in retreat a new one appeared out of the very household of spiritualism.

Pluralism emerged to dispute the singularist implications of traditional theism, and so the alternative of atheism, or at least of the doctrine of a strictly finite God, was submitted to such as were regarding the step from spiritualism to theism as natural or inevitable. Atheistic pluralism did not appear recently for the first time, of course; but in finding for itself an empirical basis and method it assumed a new strength and became formidable. Pluralism of the Hegelian type, again, has recently reasserted itself, with all its theological signification, in Dr McTaggart's *Some Dogmas of Religion*; and thus there has arisen the necessity to theism of a new apologetic.

It is this rejuvenescent pluralism which Dr Ward confronts in his recent book. In pointing out its shortcomings he fully recognizes its strong points. Though an opponent of it, in so far as it excludes theism, he gives us perhaps the most persuasive and plausible statement of its claims that we have yet received. He shews us how much theism has to learn from it, and how it can thereby strengthen its own position. Thus, in his early chapters he convicts the old 'absolutist' theism of an inevitable tendency towards acosmism, and repudiates the identification of the theist's God with the philosopher's 'Absolute'. He incidentally has much to say of the Personality of God and of the notion of creation, which it will behove the theological student to read and mark. These passages alone are a contribution to English philosophy of religion of the greatest value; for whereas this department of theology has not of late been largely enriched by first-rate work from the theistic side, though it has not infrequently been used as a playground of dilettantism, the serious student has now access to the matured and deep thought of a master in most branches of philosophy upon many difficult theological problems.

As contrasted with absolutist systems, pluralism, as Dr Ward emphasizes, possesses the advantage of generally setting out avowedly from experience—from concrete actuality. This is indeed the only point of departure in philosophy, whether it be avowed or veiled. Pluralism pursues the 'historical' method, not that of the abstract sciences. The return to the 'historical', in the broad sense of that word, the importance of which has of late been emphasized by writers such as Rickert and Windelband, is characteristic of present-day idealism; and it may be hoped that a foundation is thus being laid for a fuller recognition by philosophy, in due time, of the historical in the narrower and usual sense, which from the time of Kant has tended to be ignored. It is in this direction we are to look for a corrective to the 'symbolism' of much current theology, and for a more adequate consideration of the claim of Christianity to supplement rational theology by concepts derived from the implication of alleged historical events

which, if actual, are fraught with metaphysical significance. This, however, is by the way.

It is another advantage of pluralism that it accounts, more readily than can theism of the traditional kind, for the non-teleological in Nature. The contingency of the world, from the pan-psychical point of view of pluralism, seems to be the inevitable outcome of a society or multiplicity of graded spiritual beings. At the same time we can understand the gradual elimination of contingency through the search for a common good on the part of beings possessed of diverse interests and pursuits. The theory also well explains evolution—in the sense of epigenesis. But in pluralistic systems the kingdom replaces the king, and amongst other difficulties which beset pluralism are those of accounting for the initial state of the world, and for the conspiring together of its monads to realize an intelligible organic whole which suggests the presence from the first of an underlying unity. 'For these facts the theistic hypothesis furnishes an adequate explanation, and so far no other or better is known or even wanted' (p. 268).

The second part of *The Realm of Ends*, dealing with theism, will be of even greater interest to theologians than the first, which is almost entirely concerned with pluralism. Lecture XI treats more fully of the idea of creation, of which something had been said near the beginning of the volume. Lecture XII, on the cosmology of theism, is full of interesting matter. One can only wish it had been longer and had dealt more fully with the pan-psychical or monadistic theory of 'things' or natural objects, which in their phenomenal aspect are but conventionally isolated fragments of the external world, and can be made of greater or smaller number either by our mental or by our manual manipulation, whereas ontologically they are societies of monads, each monad and each society being an 'individual' with existence-for-self. Perhaps partly on account of the difficulties which such a doctrine of 'things' presents, some spiritualists, following Berkeley, recognize only the existence-for-self of other human beings and not that of 'things', which they regard as mere sense-symbolism maintained by the Deity. But these idealists arbitrarily violate the continuity which obtains at least from man to amoeba. The realistic view of pan-psychism is free from this arbitrariness, and is in many ways so attractive that one cannot but desire its presentation to meet to the full all the difficulties common sense may find apparent in it. It is pleasant, for instance, to think with Prof. Royce of natural objects, such as streams and stones, as other finite beings 'who are, so to speak, not in our own social set, and who communicate to us, not their minds, but their presence'; that it is because of diversity of time-span between them and us that we cannot hold communion with Nature as with our fellows; or that 'we have no

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right to call the other tongues with which Nature speaks, barbarous, because, in our evolutionary isolation from the rest of Nature, we have forgotten what they mean'.¹

When confronted with the interpretation of evolution, pluralism and theism, says Dr Ward, seem hopelessly to diverge. 'For theism, as ordinarily understood,² evolution is literally the mere unfolding or expansion of what is implicitly present from the first: in creating the world, God is held to know and ordain all that from our temporal standpoint is yet to be. . . . Creation in reality is once for all and for ever complete: it is not only a *totum simul* but it is a *totum sempiternae*: a *nunc stans* in which all the past and all the future alike eternally exist. . . . To the pluralist, on the other hand, as we have seen, the so-called evolution of the world is really epigenesis, creative synthesis; it implies continual new beginnings, the result of the mutual conflict and co-operation of agents, all of whom, though in varying degrees, act spontaneously or freely. For the pluralist, in short, these agents are themselves creative . . .' (pp. 270-271).

The 'freedom' of the creature involved in the pluralist's conception of evolution is, in its highest form of human free-will, defended by Dr Ward against various objections from determinism. Lecture XIII exposes some of the psychological fallacies involved in deterministic arguments, and finds in a *reductio ad absurdum* of sensationalism and associationism—into whose toils even intellectualists sometimes fall when arguing against free-will—'an indirect proof of the reality of that self-determination which we directly experience' (p. 291).

The reality of human self-determination, it is next argued, is inconsistent with complete divine foreknowledge of the voluntary action of finite beings. Here we come upon one of the respects in which God must be regarded as 'finite'³ if we abandon the singularism and absolutism of much theistic theology in exchange for the relative pluralism which empirical knowledge forces upon us. But such limitation, inasmuch as, from the theist's point of view, it is self-limitation, is at once a revelation of God and a mark of His perfection. This view has, of course, often been adopted by individual theists, such as those

¹ Royce *Studies of Good and Evil* pp. 230, 232.

² i.e. in the absolutist sense.

³ As Dr Ward remarks, the phrase 'finite God' should not be accepted by theistic from non-theistic writers. For the theist 'finite' does not imply that God is one monad amongst the rest, for he holds that God is transcendently supreme, not dependent or imperfect. 'Finite', in this connexion, simply implies a protest against the identification of God—through 'oriental servility and *a priori* speculation' with an Infinite and Absolute 'that leaves room for no other and can brook none', and, beyond everything, means nothing.

whom Dr Ward quotes, and is now increasingly commending itself to theologians.

It is in the self-limitation of God and the reality of human self-determination that Dr Ward finds the only key to the problem of moral evil—the crux of theism. He has little patience with any form of doctrine of ‘original sin’ or of a Fall. Physical evil, he would explain, similarly to Martineau and others, as a consequence of the mere finiteness and determinateness which belongs to created being and which has often been misnamed ‘metaphysical “evil”’. Short of allowing that some physical evil may be of the nature of the by-product, i.e. the ‘consequently’ but not ‘antecedently’ willed outcome of a definite world-order, Dr Ward’s theodicy seems essentially to agree with Martineau’s and that which the present writer has advocated; these presentations are now superseded by the masterly treatment the subject has received in *The Realm of Ends*.

In connexion with theodicy, pessimism and optimism are discussed, and one lecture deals with theories of a future life. In Lecture XIX we are brought to the all-important question of the relation between faith and knowledge, and the author’s position with regard to this problem is an interesting one. Rationalism, we knew beforehand, would not be the attitude of Dr Ward; but whether he would seek for such epistemological justification of religious faith as faith can enjoy by assimilating faith as closely as possible to ‘knowledge in the broader sense’, to that ‘probable knowledge’, whose necessity is always contingent, of which ‘science’ consists; or whether he would dissociate faith as much as possible from theoretic admixtures, like the value-philosophers, the advocates of ‘will to believe’, and the pragmatists, remained to be revealed. Perhaps at bottom there is not a fundamental difference between the statement that probability is the guide of life and the statement that experience consists in becoming expert through experiment. At any rate all science rests upon theoretically indemonstrable belief, and belief and faith, however they may be grounded or motivated, are much the same. Yet there is a difference between relying on the principle of uniformity, for instance, and on scientific inductions and forecasts, because they have been found to hold, and arguing from the reality of desires to the truth of dogmas, even though the rationality of the world be accepted. The latter kind of reliance would seem to be more precarious, however rational the desires. And though the prudence, based on probability of the scientific kind, advocated by Butler and other apologists, is not perhaps religion, as Dr Ward says (p. 418), it does not seem, once the implied element of desire to be on the safer side is eliminated, and its strictly intellectual aspect alone considered, to be very far from religion; it does at least

seem to be a reasonable foundation from which faith may make its venture, a partially theoretic basis for belief which can easily and naturally transform itself into religious faith by the putting on of emotional colouring, and a basis to which the man of scientific bent will tenaciously cling, as affording to his religious belief something of the solidity which he regards his science as possessing. It is at this point, for the first time, that Dr Ward's book inspires me with qualms as to any cherished philosophical conviction of my own ; for I must confess to a deep-rooted opinion that, on its intellectual side, religious faith has much in common with the element of belief underlying all scientific 'knowledge' or probability, and that, in the hidden presupposition which can confer 'necessity' upon scientific knowledge, we have the common root of science and theology.

If, from this point of view, we are 'still in the region of knowledge widely understood', I, for one, should glory in the fact, and be prepared with a lighter heart 'to ascend to something more systematic', and thereby become 'entitled to talk of practical reason and rational faith', in case I found it less easy to breathe in the higher and—I venture to think—thinner atmosphere.

But under Dr Ward's guidance, and perhaps under his alone, as contrasted with that of the thorough-going pragmatist or of the stickler for a *purely* practical foundation for faith, I feel that I can perform the ascent without serious misgivings. Once granted that the idea of God is regulative for reason as theoretical, as well as a postulate of the reason as practical, and that 'the theoretical demand for the ground of the world, . . . as well as the practical demand for the good of the world, is met by the idea of God' (p. 423), arguments based on the practical obtain some purchase which they would seem otherwise to lack ; for from value-judgements, unless existential truth be first surreptitiously imported into them in the disguise of ambiguous terms, existential propositions cannot be derived ; while they would seem to be essential for reasonable faith which, though logic cannot engender it, logic needs must criticize.

If this notice shall call the attention of theologians to what is surely the most solid contribution to the philosophy of theism that has appeared for many years, and has hinted at the richness of the contents of the volume, it will have served its purpose. An adequate account of its argument is incompatible with brevity of treatment, and criticism must be looked for from the pens of students whose convictions upon practically all the issues discussed in it differ from those of the present writer, which, though independently arrived at, are confessedly weak echoes of those of Dr Ward.

Problems in the Relations of God and Man, by CLEMENT C. J. WEBB.
(James Nisbet & Co., London, 1911.)

THIS volume consists of eight lectures, delivered by the author in Oxford, dealing with the three antitheses of Reason and Revelation, of Nature and Grace, of Man and God.

The writer's style and the mode of treatment of his problems make the book as pleasant to read and as easy to understand as a philosophical work ought to be ; and it possesses in a marked degree the higher graces of modesty of tone and deep religious feeling. We cannot but be glad that Mr Webb overcame the reluctance which he tells us he felt to publish his thought.

The relation of revelation to reason is first discussed. These are shewn not to be separate or independent sources of religious truth ; for revelation must be addressed to reason, and reason is the only possible judge of the credentials of revelation. The author goes on to maintain that what reason reaches cannot be unrevealed ; that knowledge of God against His will is impossible : and he apparently means by this latter statement not merely that God allows reason to discover Him, but that the discovery of Him by reason is chiefly due to the activity of God. In asserting that our activity is 'due to the operation of God in ourselves' (p. 39), Mr Webb does not make it quite clear whether he merely means that our reason is God's gift, or that our reasoning is but God's working in us. A little further on, however, we gather that the former alternative is intended, since we are told (p. 48) that reason is the apprehension of revelation and revelation the content of reason. To draw a hard and fast line between revelation and reason, or between revealed truth and truth acquired by reason, is indeed impossible, and the distinction usually drawn between them perhaps merely indicates that the divine activity with which our reason co-operates has now been more and now less pronounced ; but to assert that there is *no* reason in religion without revelation appears to obliterate the vague distinction altogether and to imply that all human knowledge whatsoever is revelation. In a sense this is true, in that God made the world upon which our reason exercises itself.

In the second lecture we are given an interesting investigation of various historical forms in which the antithesis between revealed and natural religion has been developed ; and these again are shewn to be faulty.

Revelation to human reason does not exhaust the activity of God towards man ; He imparts grace as well as truth. Accordingly, in the second part of his book Mr Webb deals with 'grace' and its antithesis 'nature'. He successfully combats Kant's one-sided view of religion

which would make ethics to be its primary element, as also that philosopher's elimination of grace as inconsistent with ethical demands. But in so far as grace is identified by Mr Webb with a 'spiritual environment of the soul, *consisting in social and personal influences to which it responds by conscious acts, and making for good*,'¹ he would seem to be forsaking the usual theological position through a desire to be as conciliatory as possible to Kantian thought.

While treating of grace and nature Mr Webb offers some discussion of 'original sin' and raises the question whether this can be conceived as a counterpart to 'grace' as just described: as identical, that is, with the evil influences of social environment. Original sin has been diversely interpreted, but never in this sense; though the obvious fact that 'social heredity' is a potent factor in the propagation of actual sinfulness has been emphasized sometimes by theologians. The question does not therefore seem worth raising. Mr Webb himself rejects such an identification and takes 'original sin' to denote the solicitation of the lower nature 'proleptically conceived of as sin'. Original sin being thus divested of the characteristic of 'sin' proper, which Kant, here in agreement with the trend of ecclesiastical thought, retained as *essential*, the expression seems to serve no other purpose than to indicate the psychological fact that some natural impulses, the gratification of which in certain circumstances is to be condemned by the developed moral consciousness, happen to be pleasurable; and in doing so to envelope the fact in insinuated falsehood. And as this fact is of no special import for either theology, or philosophy, or ethics, one is at a loss to understand why a notion which admittedly owes its traditional significance to 'proleptical conception' needs to be cherished or to be introduced into a philosophical discussion of the relation of grace to nature.

It is in the last portion of this book, dealing with God and Man, that the weightiest questions are raised.

The conception of God as 'finite' in the sense given to that term by anti-theistic pluralists, such as Dr McTaggart, is, Mr Webb convincingly contends, impossible for religion. We may agree, further, that Aristotle's God, though in a strict sense personal, is no more able to satisfy religious needs than the God of the pantheist. That the Trinitarian conception of God best satisfies the requirements of both philosophy and religion we would also grant, though not in virtue of the interpretation (sketched on p. 233) which it received at the hands of St Augustine and certain Schoolmen, containing perhaps as much fancy and rhetoric as philosophy. But when Mr Webb seems to verge towards acosmism, when in his

¹ P. 121. The italics are mine.

criticism of opponents such as Dr Rashdall, to whom he especially refers, he contends that God's consciousness may be said to include ours, he would seem to be either using words in an unnatural sense or adopting a dangerous position. Granting that language necessarily figurative may mean something: granting there is a sense in which we may truly say that 'God is in us and we in Him', it must at least be maintained that a finite being's experience or conscious process, as it is for him, cannot conceivably be identical with that conscious process as it is for God, any more than it can be identical with the same conscious process as it is for another finite being. We may even speak of God, with Mr Webb (p. 253), as 'the one all-comprehending Reality'; but whether we shall mean at all the same thing depends on the precise significance we attach to the vague word 'comprehending'. To say that God is the 'ultimate reality' is not the same as to say that He is 'the whole of reality'. The former expression could, if I am not mistaken, be adopted by theists such as Dr Rashdall, who insist on distinguishing between God and the Absolute; the latter could not, because it is the unequivocal assertion of acosmism, involving the denial of human self-determination and rendering theodicy superfluous or impossible. Similarly it is useless, in connexion with theodicy, to press the statement that Christianity regards man as 'made one with God', or 'humanity 'with its pain and suffering and morality . . . as falling within the divine life', while in the same breath we add that Christ 'knew no sin', as His own individual voluntary act. This negative truth has no element of meaning in common with the statement that He was 'made sin for us'. We need not wish to make the quest of religion a light task by adopting 'the easy course of finding God in things just as they stand' (p. 257), while we protest against the inclusion of our individual experience in that of God in the sense that the two are ever identical, or against the confounding of the figurative and ethical sense of a phrase with an ontological meaning. What is called (p. 258) 'inwardness' of human life or experience 'to the divine life' is obviously ethical; not ontological identity: Mr Webb, indeed, says it 'remains a mere unrealized ideal'. Similarly, when the poet speaks of our wills being ours to make them God's, all that he can mean is that we may come to will as, or what, God wills—the same objects; not that our volition, as the conscious process taking place in a human 'centre of experience' can become identical with volition of which the subject is God. Similarity of content between two experiences, though we speak of it as 'oneness', is vastly different from identity of the experiences—a conception as impossible and self-contradictory as can be. The same confusion lurks in the sentences (p. 278-279): "'Personality" is sometimes regarded as something which divides one person from another, but

the more we suppose a consciousness immersed in itself, incapable of relating itself to others through a common object of consciousness, the less we should call that consciousness personal Again, within the limits of humanity, we should call those "great personalities", not who were most shut up within a world of their own—these would rather be madmen or idiots—but those whom we should call men of universal genius, as Plato or Shakespeare or Goethe, in whom we find the least eccentricity, the least restricted capacity of sharing the thoughts and feelings of others.' Here to 'share the thoughts and feelings of others' means to think the same objects and to be similarly affected in feeling; it does not mean 'to be the same subject of the same conscious process in time'. Personality does imply—whatever else it may mean—existence of a subject of experience metaphysically distinct from other subjects and owning an experience which is unique. In this sense at least persons are individuals; and such individuality is compatible with inter-communion, communication, and 'sharing'—in one sense—of thought and feeling.

If I have not misapprehended the drift of Mr Webb's thought, he would seem to have minimized the essential and experiential truth conveyed by the term 'individuality' as predicated of 'personality', and to have involved himself, by over-emphasis of the 'comprehensiveness' of God, in the same acosmic tendency into which absolutist theism has shewn a chronic tendency to relapse. I only wish that, in calling attention to points on which I differ from him, I may not seem to have fallen below the standard of courtesy to opponents which he has set in the book I have ventured to review.

F. R. TENNANT.

CODEX *b* OF THE GOSPELS AND CODEX *θ* (DEUT. AND JOSH.).

The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis (b), being the first complete edition of the Evangelium Purpureum in the Cathedral Library at Verona, with an Introduction descriptive of the MS, by E. S. BUCHANAN, M.A., B.Sc. (*Old-Latin Biblical Texts*: No. vi.) With two Facsimiles. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1911.)

THE edition of *ff.* (*Codex Corbeiensis*), already prepared by Mr Buchanan for the same series, and published in 1907, has been followed at no

great interval by an edition of *b*. The previous reports of the readings of *ff*, had been so seriously conflicting that Mr Buchanan was able to perform a valuable service to New Testament textual criticism, and the study of the Latin versions in particular, by giving us the exact text of the MS. Those who have used the edition of *b* by Bianchini (1749), and the still larger number who have employed the reprint of that edition in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, tom. xii, have been accustomed to place reliance on it, from the point of view alike of accuracy and of completeness, and not altogether without justification. But Mr Buchanan's care and good fortune combined have completely antiquated the work of Bianchini. For not only has he been able to decipher two new leaves and some additional verses, entirely unrepresented in Bianchini, but in several important passages he has found that what has been supposed to be the original writing is actually written over an erased form of text, which has decided claims to be more primitive in character, and this fact must affect our estimate of *b* as a whole. The new passages, first published in this JOURNAL for July 1908, are St Mark xiii 7-10, 22-27, xiv 24-42. In St Luke, especially in chapters ix, xi, xxii, and xxiii, a skilful corrector has substituted Vulgate readings for the original readings of *b*, and the recovered readings are sometimes of very great interest; for example, lxxii (x 1, 17), *ab inimico* (xi 4). Our warmest gratitude is due to Mr Buchanan for this exact edition of *b*. It was particularly important that a MS like *b*, occupying as it does a central position among Old-Latin authorities for the Gospels, and representing, in Prof. Burkitt's opinion, the type of text employed by St Jerome as the basis of his revision, should have been chosen by Mr Buchanan, whose accuracy is now well known.

It is a pity that one cannot give quite the same commendation to the whole of the Introduction. It is possible that Mr Buchanan may be able to justify his use of the word 'Evangeliarium', of a copy of the four Gospels, but the present reviewer's impression is that it is regularly used in the same sense as 'Evangelistarium', of a Gospel lectionary. Page viii, line 18, contains the misprint 'continued' for 'contained'. Much of the introduction is excellent and valuable, but a more minute knowledge of Latin orthography would have brought about greater reserve on pages xii and xiii. Mr Buchanan does not appear to know that the following spellings are much better than the others he has coupled with them: *puplicanus*, *scribturis*, *iaiuno*, *depraecabantur*, *extingetur*, *sallietur* (undoubtedly right), *spungia*, *coniuncxit*, *uncxisti* (these two frequent on stones of all periods), *arta* (undoubtedly right), *harenam* (undoubtedly right), *habraham* (probably right, certainly widespread, and selected by Westcott and Hort for their Greek Testament), *holus*

(undoubtedly right, confirmed by stones and good MSS everywhere),¹ *praegnate* (undoubtedly right). One at least of the 'conclusions' on p. xxii is untenable. Mr Buchanan seems to be unaware that even the church of Rome itself in St Gregory's time used both the Old-Latin and the Vulgate, and Verona was not bound to follow Rome in matters of Biblical text even then.

A. SOUTER.

The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua, by HENRY S. SANDERS. (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1910.)

As Mr Sanders reminds us, the story of the four Biblical Greek MSS in the Freer collection is a tale which has often been told. He is to be congratulated on the publication in 1910 of a full collation of the first of them, which contains the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua, with a discussion of its history, palaeography, and textual value. This has been followed almost at once by the publication of a complete facsimile edition of the MS. And yet he tells us that he could only commence the work of deciphering the text in December 1907.

There is some doubt about the exact date of the manuscript. The editor is inclined to place it early in the fifth century. The experts of the New Palaeographical Society, who have published a plate from the MS, assign it to the sixth. At any rate it can hardly be later than that. An uncial MS of the Books of Deuteronomy and Joshua of the fifth or sixth century would in any case be a welcome addition to our authorities for their text. And the character of the text which it presents, especially in Deuteronomy, enhances greatly its value. Students of the Septuagint have long known the importance of the text attested by the two cursive MSS, designated 54 and 75 by Holmes and Parsons (Paris, Reg. Gr. 5, and Oxford Univ. Coll. 52, g n in the Cambridge numeration). The Palimpsest fragments known as K, published by Tischendorf in his *Monumenta Sacra inedita*, Nova Collectio 1855, present the same type of text. Prof. Max L. Margolis has just published an interesting paper on this MS in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Oct. 1911, in which he re-edits the fragments of Joshua which it contains with the help of the cursives 54, 75, and discusses the text. We now have uncial support for this type of text of an earlier date, by one or two centuries, for the whole of the book of Deuteronomy. The only serious lacunae in the MS are Deut. v 16-vi 18 and Joshua iii 3-iv 10.

Mr Sanders gives a careful tabulation of the affinities of © with other

¹ In speaking of *-is* for *-es*, it makes all the difference to state whether he is referring to the accus. or nom. case; but this Mr Buchanan does not do. The form in the acc. is classical.

authorities, and discusses in detail several of its readings. He maintains that there is a small Hexaplaric element, probably incorporated from the margin into the text of some ancestor of the MS. As regards the rest of its text, he claims for the MS a high place among the best witnesses to the true Septuagint text; and he is justified in making this claim. The most important part of his discussion is that in which he establishes the close connexion between Θ and the two cursives, of which mention has been made, in Deuteronomy. In Joshua its text shews closer affinity to that of A, and its importance is less obvious. It is probable that the two books were copied from different rolls. At any rate the ancestries of the text of the MS must have had different histories.

The collation of the MS with the text of Swete's edition, with which the book closes, is an admirable piece of work. Throughout the Book of Deuteronomy we have compared it with the facsimile edition. Its accuracy equals, if it does not exceed, that of any other work which we have had occasion to use, and opportunity of testing, in the preparation of the first three parts of the Larger Cambridge Septuagint.

I have kept till last a point on which, if anything at all is said, it must be out of proportion to the real importance of the subject. It is the only point on which I can supplement, and perhaps correct, in some slight degree, Mr Sanders's statement. And perhaps it is worth while to point out how little is known about Old Testament Lectionaries.

Mr Sanders has included in his description of the MS an interesting discussion of the lection marks which are found in Deuteronomy. Two lessons are marked off with the usual signs $\alpha\rho\chi$. $\tau\epsilon\lambda$. in the margin by one of the later hands. The lessons thus marked are Deut. i 8-17 and x 14-21. In the latter case there is a marginal note $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\eta\nu\ \mu\eta\eta\mu\eta\nu\ \tau\omega\nu\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omega\nu\ \pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \lambda\upsilon\chi\nu\eta\kappa\omicron\nu$. With the help of a Paris MS (Reg. Gr. 243) Mr Sanders assigns these lessons to July 16 'in honour of the Holy Fathers of the Fourth Council'. As the notice which he mentions with regard to the first lection refers it to the service in honour of $\tau\omicron\ \iota\ \eta\ \alpha\gamma\iota\omega\nu\ \pi\rho\omega\nu$, which he explains as the 'Holy Fathers of the Fourth Council', there would seem to be some confusion. Surely it was the Fathers of the First Council (Nicaea) whose numbers equalled those of Abraham's servants. And his statement in respect of the second lection that it 'is one of the few O.T. lections which continued to be read in later times' suggests that O.T. lections are a subject about which very little is known. The facts would seem to be that the memorial of the Fourth Council was held on July 16, the same O.T. lessons being used, at its Vigil, as for the Memorial of the First Council of Nicaea. The lessons for this generally occur in lectionaries between those for (the

Vigils of) Ascension and Pentecost. The O. T. Lections for this Memorial are

- (1) Gen. xiv 14-20 (εν ταις ημεραις εκειναις ακουσας αβρααμ—
υποχειριους σου)
- (2) Deut. i 8-17 (ειπε Μ . . . ιδου παραδεδωκα—κρισις του θεου
εστιν)
- (3) Deut. x 14-21 (ειπε . . . ιδου κυριου του θεου—α ειδον α
οφθαλμοι σου)

The Greek Old Testament Lectionaries, so far as can be gathered from a cursory examination of most of those which are preserved at Oxford, London, Paris, Rome, Florence, and Venice, all follow one system of lections, which provides for the more or less continuous reading of Genesis, Isaiah, and Proverbs during Lent, and for three lections on the vigils of Festivals, a larger number being provided for the Greater Festivals. When the system was codified and how long it remained in use is a question which Liturgiologists must answer.

Codex Θ also contains twenty-four marks in Deuteronomy which Mr Sanders no doubt rightly connects with lection reading. Some of them correspond with the beginning or end of sections in one or other of the systems, of which several are found in O. T. MSS, from B onwards. Many of them do not correspond. The correspondences become closer towards the end of the book. On the whole there are more points of contact with the system found in Ven. Gr. 3 than with any other. Regarded as a system they are very incomplete, and it would be safer to treat them as marks made for the purpose of identifying lections, but not necessarily all connected with one and the same system. But the subject of κεφαλαια, τιτλοι, and lections needs further enquiry.

A. E. BROOKE.

THE PLEROPHORIAE OF JOHN OF MAJUMA.

Jean Rufus, évêque de Maïouma : Plérôphories, c'est-à-dire, témoignages et révélations (contre le Concile de Chalcédoine). Version syriaque et traduction française, éditées par F. NAU. (*Patrologia Orientalis*, tome viii, fasc. 1.) (Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1911.)

THE last few years have seen the publication of many texts relating to the Monophysites of the school of Peter the Iberian and Severus of Antioch. Of these the editors of the *Patrologia Orientalis* had already given us the lives and the hymns and a portion of the homilies of Severus, and they have now added the Plerophoriae of John of Majuma, the successor of Peter, a collection of anecdotes and traditions of Peter himself, Timothy Aelurus, and many others, composed in Greek between 513 and 518, and now existing in Syriac only. The text is contained in Brit. Mus. Add. 14650, and M. Nau has found the greater part of it in Add. 14631 also; but there is reason to think that this latter is a copy of Add. 14650. Three chapters are also in Berlin Sachau 329, and part of the work is reproduced by the so-called Dionysius and by Michael. M. Nau had already published a translation in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* iii (1898) 232-259, 337-392; but the Syriac text appears here for the first time, and in the meanwhile the materials for obtaining an accurate text have been enriched by M. Chabot's publication of the Syriac Michael. The present translation is not a revised edition of the former one, but is a new one made by M. Brière. Some illustrative passages from other authors are added in an appendix.

Unfortunately the text of Add. 14650 has been corrected by a later hand, the original readings being in many places almost illegible; and to edit it from transcripts and photographs only is a very difficult task, which it is a great credit to M. Nau to have achieved as well as he has done; but I have a transcript of the first seventeen chapters, and after comparing this again with the MS I am able to give the following corrections of his readings: P. 13 n. 7 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 17 l. 4 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 18 l. 2 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; n. 3 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 19 l. 1 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 20 l. 5 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* (so at 28 l. 2); 21 n. 3 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 24 n. 2 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* is in the MS; 25 l. 2 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* for *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; l. 4 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* for *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; n. 1 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 26 n. 2 marg. *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 27 l. 3 after *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* insert *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*, but this is perhaps deleted; n. 8 pr. m. *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*, sec. *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 28 n. 8 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 30 l. 7 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* is in marg., apparently in later hand; n. 5 sec. m. *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 31 l. 12 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; l. 14 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ* for *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; 33 l. 4 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*; n. 1 *ܐܝܬܐܢܐ*, but apparently

corrected from **ف** ; 35 l. 11 pr. m. **حجج**. I do not understand why at 14 l. 2 M. Nau substitutes the meaningless **ف** for the MS reading **ف**, which M. Brière assumes in his translation, nor why at 26 l. 13 he substitutes the ungrammatical **سلك** for **سلك**. The conjecture **نحو** (guards) for **نحو** (notaries) in note 6 to the translation on p. 83 is also unnecessary. The word for a military tribune is not **tribounos** but **χιλάρχος**, whereas 'tribunus et notarius' is a common title. On the other hand at 33 l. 4 neither **حساب** nor **حساب** makes sense, and we must substitute **حساب**, as the translation assumes. Misprints in an Oriental text can hardly be avoided, and I note the following: 12 l. 4 **لا** ; 21 l. 12 **ل** for **ل** in the heading; 32 l. 4 **هه** ; 35 l. 7 and 140 l. 9 **ضم**. On pp. 30, 125, and 128 there is some confusion in the numbers referring to the notes. The printing, otherwise excellent, is marred by a deficiency of diacritic marks. No difference is made between the article and pronoun **هو** and the copula **هو**, which MSS always distinguish, and in many cases there is no distinction between present and preterite, and 1st and 2nd persons, though the points are in the MS.

On the admirable translation few remarks are needed. At 140 ll. 2, 3 there seems to be some confusion, since **هل** can only mean 'How must I be sanctified?' and **هل** certainly cannot mean 'de lui adresser'; but older readings seem here to have been obliterated. Again at 141 l. 13 'pour cela' does not render **هو**, which means 'from any source'. At 109 l. 6 'de Jérusalem' has been accidentally omitted, and there is an inconsistency between 112 l. 5 and 113 l. 2, the same word being rendered in the one place 'ducenarius' and in the other 'decenarius'.

The date 457-460 assigned to the exile of Timothy at 63 n. 5 is clearly a slip. This was the date of his first episcopate, as given at 20 n. 1, and there and at 83 n. 2 the date of his exile is rightly given as 460-475. He was not however at Gangra all that time, as there stated, but was moved thence to Cherson, and his history was therefore written during the earlier part of this period. It must be by another slip that at 20 n. 1 the Antencyclical of Basiliscus is ascribed to Zeno.

E. W. BROOKS.

THE COMMENTARIES OF ISHO'DAD OF MERV.

The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, edited and translated by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, with an Introduction by JAMES RENDEL HARRIS, *Horae Semiticae* Nos. V-VII. (Cambridge 1911.)

IN editing and translating this work Mrs Gibson has once more laid scholars under great obligations. Isho'dad was a Nestorian bishop of Hēdhattā in the latter part of the ninth century. He wrote commentaries on the whole of the New Testament and parts, at least, of the Old. The present edition comprises his commentaries on the four Gospels. The valuable references made by Isho'dad to the *Diatessaron*, and most of those also to St Ephraim's commentary upon it, have already been extracted and published by Dr Rendel Harris in his *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Diatessaron*. But the interest and value of a complete edition of Isho'dad's commentaries is scarcely diminished by these anticipations. The work is literally packed with quotations and extracts from earlier writers, chief amongst whom is 'The Interpreter', Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the commentary on St Matthew especially Theodore is cited over and over again; and Mrs Gibson's work will prove indispensable for the study of his exegesis of the Gospels, unless (as in the case of his commentary on St John) more of his original writings are discovered in Syriac translations.

As regards Mrs Gibson's work, the Syriac text is very carefully edited from three MSS: one in the Cambridge University Library, one lent by Professor Margoliouth, and the third supplied by Dr Rendel Harris. The last of the three is that followed in the printed text, though, as Mrs Gibson admits, the second (M) contains the best text. The readings of the first and second MSS are duly recorded. In the translation Mrs Gibson has not been so successful. If I may venture to say so, I think she has carried literalness to excess, with the result that the English is often awkward and difficult to follow, and sometimes ambiguous. In spite of these and some other shortcomings, however, I think we may join heartily with Dr Harris when he says 'if there should be found some places in which Mrs Gibson has failed to grasp Isho'dad's meaning, or has rendered the Syriac wrongly, a tolerant judgement will no doubt be given by scholars in view of the fact that so much has been added to Syriac literature at a single stroke' (Introd. p. xi).

In his Introduction Dr Harris gives us several interesting discussions

of comments by Isho'dad; but his arguments on pp. xxiii-xxiv are difficult to follow. Isho'dad is trying to harmonize St Mark's $\epsilon\iota\ \mu\eta\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu$ (ܡܚܕܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ) with St Matthew's $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\ \rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\nu$ (ܡܚܕܐ ܠܐܝܢܐ). He says that some read (Mark's) *ellā* (= ܠܐܝܢܐ), 'except', as *allā*. This latter form, he implies, means 'and not', and brings Mk. into agreement with Matth. Dr Harris remarks, here 'Isho'dad appears to be on the right track: it is one of the commonest confusions in Syriac, to have the two senses of ܠܐܝܢܐ [*ellā*] conflicting with one another'. But surely 'and not' is *not* one of these meanings: they are (1) 'but', (2) 'except', or 'unless': a difference which gives no help in the present case. What Isho'dad is really about is a mere piece of fanciful philology, by which he makes ܠܐܝܢܐ = ܡܚܕܐ, by assimilation of ܐ to ܕ on the inadmissible analogy of ܠܐܝܢܐ = ܠܐܝܢܐ. The same bad etymology appears to underlie another interpretation which he cites (discussed by Dr Harris on p. xxix): 'Bethpage: some explain it as the partition of the ways, others as the crossing of the roads.' Here, again, ܡܚܕܐ, *pāgē*, is apparently regarded as a possible alternative form for ܡܚܕܐ (i.e. *pēlāgē*, 'divisions,' or perhaps *pēlgē*, 'halves,' 'intersections'?), this time with elision or assimilation of ܕ. There are a few Syriac misprints in the Introduction: also on p. xxvi l. 9 from the bottom 'burning' and 'heavy' should change places; and on p. xxix l. 7 should not ܡܚܕܐ ('locusts') be ܡܚܕܐ ('milk')?

R. H. CONNOLLY.

THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

Das Verständnis der Oden Salomos, von WILHELM FRANKENBERG.
(A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1911.)

Les Odes de Salomon. J. LABOURT et P. BATIFFOL. (J. Gabalda, Paris, 1911.)

FRANKENBERG has a ready way with the Odes. He maintains that they are Christian, and that Harnack is quite wrong in regarding them as Jewish compositions interpolated by Christian hands. There is, moreover, nothing original in them; they are dependent on the canonical Psalter and on the exegesis of the Alexandrine School (Clement, Origen).

The text of the Odes is given in an attempted re-translation into Greek, which Frankenberg holds to be the original language. A discussion of their meaning follows, beginning with Odes xvii and xlii, in each of which Harnack acknowledges a large Christian element. The main subject of these two Odes is said by Frankenberg to be the μεταστοιχείωσις εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν φύσιν, of which Gregory of Nyssa writes (*in Cant. Cant. Hom.* ix). The speaker in xvii 10-14 is not Christ Himself (as Harnack says) but the Christian 'transformed into Christ'. The numerous parallels which Frankenberg brings from Gregory of Nyssa (on Canticles) and the Homilies of Macarius, as well as from Origen on the Psalms, are well worthy of study.

The work of Labourt and Batiffol styles the Odes 'une œuvre chrétienne des environs de l'an 100-120'. The well-known Syriac scholar, M. Labourt, provides a translation into French with notes chiefly dealing with textual criticism, while Mgr Batiffol contributes 'Introduction et commentaire'. The discussion of the character and *provenance* of the Odes (extending over eighty-three pages) is very interesting. Batiffol rejects the view of Dr Bernard that the Odes are 'a collection of hymns packed with allusions to baptism' (*J. T. S.* vol. xii p. 29). 'Les Odes', he writes, 'semblent réfractaires à toute conception sacramentelle.' Further, he will not allow (with Rendel Harris) that the Odes are judaeo-christian, nor (with Harnack) that the interpolator was an adherent of 'grosskirchliche' orthodoxy. Finally, he agrees with Wellhausen that the mysticism of the Odes is 'un mysticisme d'essence grecque, provenant du milieu où le quatrième Évangile s'est produit, très vraisemblablement dans la dépendance du quatrième Évangile. . . . On pourra le (ce mysticisme) localiser en Syrie, en Asie peut-être encore, et le dater de la période 100-120'.

W. EMERY BARNES.

MISCELLANEA.

A Study of the Conversion of St Paul. By R. J. FLETCHER, D.D.,
Preacher of Gray's Inn. (G. Bell & Sons, 1911.)

DR FLETCHER, who is Hulsean Lecturer at Cambridge this year, has given us in this book a sound and careful account of the influences at work in the mind of St Paul just before his conversion, a brief discussion of the conversion itself, and an indication of the line of thought to which it led him. After a description of the sources of our knowledge of St Paul's life and thought, in the course of which he rather hastily dates the Third Gospel about the year A.D. 80, and therefore the Acts still later, he passes on to investigate the root ideas of Pharisaism. These he finds in the two conceptions of God, first as a Heavenly King, and secondly as Holy. He gives a description of varying conceptions of the Messiah, perhaps hardly allowing enough weight to eschatological conceptions, and proceeds to discuss the reason for the hostility between Jesus and the Pharisees, which he finds, not so much in any Messianic claim of His, as in His repudiation of legalism in religion and His refusal to confuse religious and political ideals.

In the light of the picture which he has drawn of the general beliefs of a Pharisee of about the year A.D. 30, he proceeds to discuss the state of mind of Saul the Persecutor, whom he believes to have been in a condition of religious depression, and so he passes to his account of the actual conversion. As to this, however, he adopts a very tentative attitude. He mentions as possible the view that the light seen by St Paul was 'a projection into the external world of a light entirely mental, a flash of comprehension'. But he himself rather suggests that 'The shock of what was perhaps from one point of view an unusual effect of the sun's rays gave articulation to an inward voice'. But his treatment of this matter is rather inadequate. He raises the question whether the experience was pathological, but he hardly discusses it at all. He points out, however, what significance the apparition of a bright light must have had for Saul, comparing it with Prophetic Visions in the Old Testament, and hurries on to his exposition of the Gospel at which he conceives that St Paul arrived as a result of his new conviction that Jesus was the Christ.

For 'a study of the conversion of St Paul' the book seems a trifle out of proportion. The actual conversion is rather cursorily treated, and some of the main questions, especially on the side of psychology, are

not really faced. Moreover, the author's calmness and caution, and his anxiety to avoid over-statement, valuable as these are in their way, perhaps hardly contribute so much to the elucidation of the thought of St Paul as they might to that of a less enthusiastic and more systematic thinker. Who would recognize St Paul's Gospel in the second of the five propositions in which Dr Fletcher says that that Gospel centres: 'That the breaches by all men of God's law, due to the immanence in all men of the defiling influence, sin, would not be permitted by God to prevent the entrance of some men into His kingdom'?

Yet the book should be welcomed as a really learned and useful contribution to the discussion of a difficult and important subject.

G. H. CLAYTON.

The Credibility of the Gospel (Longmans, Green & Co., 1912) is the title of the English translation (by the Rev. G. C. H. Pollen, S.J.) of Mgr P. Batiffol's *Orpheus et l'Évangile* (V. Lecoffre, Paris, 1910), eight lectures given under the presidency of the Bishop of Versailles to a large audience of leading Roman Catholics a couple of years ago, of which I regret that no notice has appeared in the JOURNAL. The book contains an admirable and attractive presentation of the trustworthiness of the Gospel history in general, with special reference throughout to the chapter on Christian origins in M. Reinach's *Orpheus*, and English readers will be grateful to author and translator for this English version of it. I do not know of any book which covers the ground so effectively. Mgr Batiffol has no difficulty in shewing that M. Reinach's position is dependent on theories of early Christian history and of the composition of the Gospels that are now abandoned by many of the chief 'critics' of various schools. If he conveys the impression that traditional views are more completely justified than, in some respects, they really are, he does so less by questionable assertion than by delicate suggestion, and by passing lightly over some of the more dangerous ground and concentrating attention on the evidence for the credibility of the central facts of the Gospel story. And that is what was needed for his purpose: the purpose, namely, of reassuring educated Christians in view of criticism such as that of M. Reinach.

Yet in the interests of a wider and more permanent apologetic some of Mgr Batiffol's positions cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. For example, while rightly emphasizing the judgement of recent critical students of the Gospels who find Catholicism in St Matthew, he appears to treat this judgement as carrying with it the credibility of such a passage as xvi 17-19, though really it in no way affects the question whether our Lord Himself used the words or not.

H h 2

And in appealing to the sayings 'which the Gospels report concerning Jesus' as revealing 'the consciousness He has of Who He is', he gives no hint of the high probability that many of these sayings reflect later conceptions of Christians rather than our Lord's own thought about Himself at the time to which they are ascribed. With regard to 'assertions in the fourth Gospel which cannot be verified by history' he says that 'we hold them to be true because they are inspired, and we hold them to be inspired because the Church guarantees them as such'—a form of reasoning which I cannot distinguish from M. Reinach's own, which is condemned on the same page because it leads him to negative results. And occasionally he is definitely unfair, as in repeating of Schmiedel the old slander that he accepts in the Gospels only nine authentic 'passages from Jesus', and in saying with regard to the authorship of the fourth Gospel that 'we can take it as settled that this Gospel is correctly ascribed to the Apostle St John'—a saying which is notoriously contrary to critical opinion of to-day (but perhaps the translator is at fault here: the words are *nous pouvons tenir pour assuré que . . .*). And it is surely extravagant to describe as 'better attested than any other in the Gospel' the saying 'this is my blood, the blood of the alliance (*sic*), which shall be shed for you'.¹ The early history of the Eucharist is certainly not one of the things we can take as settled, and the question whether our Lord used the equivalent of the term *διαθήκη* at the Last Supper cannot be lightly dismissed.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

Primitive Catholicism, by Mgr PIERRE BATIFFOL, Litt.D. : translated by H. L. BRIANCEAU. (Longmans, Green & Co, 1911.)

AN English edition of *L'Église naissante* is welcome. Harnack has recommended Protestants interested in Church history to study it thoroughly, and the fifth French edition, from which the translation is made, differs from its predecessors in containing, in the Introduction, a reply to Harnack's *Constitution and Law of the Church*.

Mgr Batiffol frankly sets out to prove, solely by historical methods, that 'from the very outset of its historical existence Christianity was a formed faith, a visible society, a living authority' (p. xvi), or again, 'The Church . . . was not, in this first period of her existence, in an amorphous state . . . she was a Gospel, an Apostolate, a tradition,

¹ Mgr Batiffol follows the common text of the Vulgate here; but 'will be shed', not 'shall be', is the English translation of it. In another passage, where 1 Cor. xi 26 is cited, the translator follows the future tense of the Vulgate (again 'shall'), though the author there gives the present.

a worship, a hierarchical society, *one* Church made up of *many* Churches, a unity preserved by the unity of the *Cathedra Petri*' (p. vii). He holds that 'the prerogative of the Apostles is . . . the true key to the question of the origin of the Church : by this prerogative is explained the initial fact that Christianity is a society and not a mere preaching, a society ordered and governed and not a "charismatic anarchy"', so that 'what Professor Sohm holds to have been an initial confusion, and Professor Harnack holds to have been an initial logic, we hold to have been a thing intended' (p. xxii).

The first chapter sets out to prove that Christianity began as an organized unity, not constituted by unity of race (witness the early separation of Judaism and the Faith); nor yet by outpourings of the Spirit, for St Paul subordinates 'charisms' to the Faith; nor by its being an eleemosynary brotherhood; but because it was a *religio*, a *corpus* without legal existence and proscribed when noticed.

Chapter ii discusses the meaning of 'Apostles' and finds in the Apostolate 'a rallying-centre, a principle of unity and authority, a principle laid down by Jesus Himself' (p. 53), round which the new Israel, a *tertium genus*, grows up; and Excursus A, despite a somewhat summary dismissal of other theories and the assignment of an official position to Peter after Pentecost that is difficult to maintain, is a very able defence of the Roman view of 'Thou art Peter'.

Contending that the Christian consciousness was profoundly convinced of itself as a new people (*yévos*) before the time of Clement (Harnack), Batiffol finds in the *Didache* evidence of 'a Christianity of community life and institutions, autonomous and authoritative', and in 'Prima Clementis' besides a hierarchy of presbyter and deacon, a formulation of the theory of Apostolic succession. Ignatius, again, bears witness to an hierarchically constituted Church and a Roman primacy of authority. The realized sense of the organic unity of all the churches seems clear enough, but we should have liked a clearer indication of what the Bishops really were (ch. iii).

As a teacher of the authority of episcopal succession Irenaeus has forerunners in all essentials in Polycarp, Papias, Hegesippus, &c. The faith is everywhere the same, i.e. what has been handed down (pp. 196-197), and, though the doubtfulness of the translation is acknowledged, the famous passage of Irenaeus is built upon confidently for the Petrine claims (pp. 207-210). Thus 'the symbol of faith, the episcopate, the canon of the New Testament, the Roman primacy . . . appear to the historian as principles laid down from the first, and developing with the continuity characteristic of the growth of an organism, which, once it is created, grows and expands according to its law' (p. 230).

Tertullian's variations (ch. vi) are between 'his Catholicism in his best days', which 'confirms the notion of Catholicism presented to us by Irenaeus', and 'his semi-Montanism and his open Montanism' which 'confirm the same notion, but by way of contrast' (pp. 272-281 and 287 sq.).

Chapters v and vii defend against Harnack the Catholicism of the Alexandrine Church. But, though Origen's strong language about the deposit and tradition of the faith proves that such a way of thinking can scarcely be a new one (pp. 298-321), concerning the Petrine claims 'we should like to see Origen giving some firmer indication of the dogmatic and juridical meaning of this primacy' (p. 326).

Cyprian's Catholicism, though resting on a hierarchical basis, unlike that of Irenaeus and Tertullian on a doctrinal one, was not new. What had still to be made clear in his time was how the see of Peter was not only the source but also the perpetual guarantee of 'the endurance of unity'. This Cyprian nearly had the glory of demonstrating in *De Unitate Ecclesiae*. He failed because the book was written for the special purpose of establishing the unity of each local church (p. 364). Mgr Batiffol is constrained to argue with Cyprian about the claims of the Roman see; he speaks of 'the restless and inconsistent provincialism of the Africans', of Cyprian's appeal to reason against custom as 'appallingly rash', and, from Cyprian's refusal to acknowledge the jurisdictional supremacy of Peter, he assumes its general recognition (p. 389). Nevertheless, Cyprian's doctrine of empiric catholic unity finds echoes everywhere, and is not a theory refuted by the actual circumstances (Harnack).

An acknowledged bias is better than a concealed one, and Mgr Batiffol has given us a very able, learned, and honest defence of the Roman position, the value of which is little diminished by the fact that sometimes conclusions seem to outrun premises. And at the same time we are grateful to M. Brianceau, who has accomplished the work of translation admirably. There appears to be a word missing on p. xxiii, and on p. 252 n. 'both' ought to be 'book'.

P. N. F. YOUNG.

The Revelation of the Son of God. Being the Hulsean Lectures for 1910-1911. By E. A. EDGHILL, B.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1911.)

THE sub-title of this book is 'Some questions and considerations arising out of a study of second-century Christianity'. The author describes the characteristic features of the Christianity of the second century and tries to shew that the divergence between it and the

Christianity of the New Testament has been much exaggerated. But he writes of the second century with his eye on the Church of to-day, and his real interest seems to lie in modern controversies.

He shews that in the second century Christianity was recognized as being a religion rather than a philosophy, and he gives some account of the religious condition of the world at that time. In his estimate of different religions and philosophies he is perhaps rather unfair to Judaism. He contrasts Christianity with other systems as being both rational and historical; and he attacks the apologetic which rests its case on the satisfaction of human needs. He seems, however, to misinterpret those who adopt that line of thought. For many of them would accept everything that he says about reason, but would say that their reason led them to suppose that real human needs must find fulfilment. 'Truth in a religious context', he says, 'is as large as life'; and again, 'Reason cannot capitulate even to Revelation, of which Truth—not emotional or aesthetic satisfaction—is the test'. But 'emotional and aesthetic satisfaction' is surely a part of life, and therefore on his own shewing must be taken into account, and probably none of those of whom he seems to be thinking would for a moment make it their sole criterion.

He passes on to deal with the question of Miracles, asking whether belief in miracles was of the essence of the Christianity of the second century, and here his criticisms of Dr Figgis and others are acute and useful. But it is extremely difficult to discover what he himself means. He seems to think that the experience which Christians had of the present power of the Lord led them to think that miracles must have been characteristic of His earthly life. But whether he thinks that the events commonly regarded as miraculous actually took place is not clear. And here again he seems to take those whom he criticizes at their worst, and to fail to understand the full force of their contentions.

After a comparison of the Christianity of the New Testament with that of the apologists, in which he recognizes that the apologists believed much more than they mentioned in their apologies, writing as they were to heathen, he concludes with a chapter on the use of creeds, which is largely a criticism of Dr Denney's *Jesus and the Gospel*.

The book is always interesting and sometimes eloquent; but it cannot be said to add much to our knowledge of the Christianity of the second century.

G. H. CLAYTON.

The University of Cambridge. Vol. iii. From the Election of Buckingham to the Chancellorship in 1626 to the Decline of the Platonist Movement. By JAMES BASS MULLINGER, M.A. (University Press, Cambridge, 1911.)

CAMBRIDGE may well be proud of its historian; and it will do well to add to its pride a sense of gratitude for his powers of long continuance at a heroic task. His first volume appeared in 1873, and the second in 1884. His ruling passion both for the fulfilment of his purpose and for consistent completeness in detail shews no sign of failing.

The measure of accomplishment already attained absolves a reviewer from any description of Mr Mullinger's familiar method. Students are prepared now for a Cambridge historian who takes all contemporary academic life within his purview; in fact, a fairly compendious record of the sister University could be compiled from these pages. We also get frequent glimpses of foreign academies, but it is still more interesting to come in mid course upon proposals for provincial Universities in England; in 1642 both Manchester and York desired permission to set up such bodies in their midst, the Lancastrians, because they had 'many ignorant and unlearned ministers amongst us' who were not 'able to convince and discourage Papists', and the Yorkshiremen, because they had two suitable buildings, of which one, St William's College, as Mr Mullinger may care to notice, has recently been 'redeemed by worthy benefactors' to the perpetual uses of the Northern Convocation.

Nevertheless, for the time being Oxford and Cambridge remained without rivals. If they were to be put down at all it was not by the opposition of competitors but by the constant interference on politico-ecclesiastical grounds of whatever powers happened to be at Whitehall. Laud in 1635 and Cromwell in 1654 both tried the experiment of a visitation of Cambridge, and both were actuated by ecclesiastical motives. Laud's position was that even in places normally exempt from archiepiscopal interference it was his business 'to see the doctrine of the Church maintained'. Cromwell's Ordinance was equally connected with an attempt 'to draw up *in terminis* the fundamentals of religion'. By consequence there is no sign during the period of a conviction that either the ecclesiastic or the ecclesiastical layman (such as Cromwell was) can afford to let the ordinary layman alone to pursue his search for truth. For in the earlier years we have Bacon influencing the effort to establish a lectureship in history, for which persons in holy orders were not to be eligible, and we have the lecturer (Dorilaus) at once delated to Laud by the interference of Matthew Wren. At the other end of the story we come upon René Descartes combining with

his distrust of scholastic methods a sincere desire to touch 'the hem of the garment which enshrouded the Immortal and the Divine'.

But the interference of the hierarchy and the Governments in the life of the University was not all that it had to suffer. London as well as Westminster exerted its influence, and the *Clerus Londinensis* in an age of pluralism included several Cambridge men whose contribution to academic developements operated more from the City than in Cambridge. For instance Mr Mullinger complains rightly of Lazarus Seaman's non-residence and indifference as (the intruded) Master of Peterhouse. But Seaman, who held the City benefice of All Hallows, did not hesitate, though he was admitted Master of Peterhouse in April 1644, to accept office as junior dean of Sion College, London, in April 1645, and to serve the office of President for two years, 1651-2. Among his colleagues on the Court were Arthur Jackson (Mullinger, p. 227) and Thomas Horton, President of Queens'. As Sion College had been founded by a Puritan at the outset of the period covered by this volume for the promotion of 'lovè in conversing together', it became the meeting-place of many academic divines whose benefices gave them the right of fellowship; Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emmanuel, Brian Walton, of the *Polyglott*, Sidrach Simpson, of Emmanuel and Arnheim, Simeon Ashe, Manchester's chaplain, and John Arrowsmith, Master of Trinity, are only a few of Mr Mullinger's *personae* who could use the college in London Wall as a place in which to lay their plans and push their particular men. Indeed, John Lawson, the physician, whom Mr Mullinger (p. 519) describes as being vainly put forward by poor Richard Cromwell's mandate for a fellowship at Queens', enriched the Library of Sion with a benefaction of books which might have gone to Cambridge if Queens' had been more compliant. That the University should have survived these external interferences and brought itself out at last into the wealthy place of the 'Platonist' search for truth is not the least encouraging feature in our historian's present instalment of his elaborate record.

E. H. PEARCE.

Dr John Walker and 'The Sufferings of the Clergy'. By G. B. TATHAM, M.A. The Prince Consort Prize, 1910. (University Press, Cambridge, 1911.)

A REVIEWER who has found Dr Walker's a fascinating work, whether he is airing the prejudices of the age of Anne or describing the adventures

and afflictions of the clergy in the Civil War, has a gentle quarrel with Mr Tatham, who thinks that 'of those who are aware of its existence few have had the curiosity to peruse its contents'. And evidently he considers that this public judgement is right, and that only minute students of the Civil War or of local antiquities need trouble themselves with our author. Yet it is very doubtful whether in fact Walker is so little known and appreciated. Mr Tatham has in any case done him excellent service in shewing his honesty in the use of his materials, and his zeal in collecting them. It was obviously not Walker's fault that they were imperfect. From many districts he got few answers to his enquiries, and the libraries offered every obstacle to research. Henceforth the great question as to the fate of the royalist and Laudian clergy will be easier of solution. Mr Tatham has calendared Walker's MSS in the Bodleian, and furnished them with a full index. It is plain that this work is excellently done; there are few obvious mistakes, though 'Hent' on p. 150 should be 'Hext', and 'Devenham' on p. 306 must be 'Davenham', not 'Dunham', as Mr Tatham suggests. But there are points at which he should have given ampler information. On p. 156 he says that an authority of Walker's gives the names of seven Suffolk clergymen; why are they denied to us? On p. 218 we are told of a letter giving the names of twelve parishes in Wiltshire the incumbents of which are ejected: those names are not given. As a rule Mr Tatham gives names and places; one wishes he had been quite consistent in this good practice. But he has given a sure starting-point for the next stage in the enquiry. This is the local one, and if as much interest were taken in the antiquities of our counties as in their birds and butterflies, we might soon hope to see it accomplished. Every parish register needs to be examined to see if there be not a change of hand at one of the critical points, or the baptism of children of a new family at the rectory, or the entry of the marriage of a new incumbent of some neighbouring parish. Such a search, carefully conducted over a sufficiently wide area, would produce considerable results; and if all England were subjected to it, probably a larger number of sufferers than 3,500, Mr Tatham's guess, would appear. It would also appear that the holders of fairly good livings had a much worse chance of continuance than those who occupied poor vicarages. But all this lies outside Mr Tatham's scheme. His calendar of Walker's collections, and especially of those which reached him too late for incorporation in the *Sufferings*, is a most thankworthy piece of work; and his account of Walker himself, his methods, his difficulties, his measure of success, and the criticisms he endured, is admirable.

The theory of toleration under the later Stuarts. By A. A. SEATON, M.A.
The Prince Consort Prize 1910. (University Press, Cambridge,
1911.)

The theory of religious liberty in the reigns of Charles II and James II.
By H. F. RUSSELL SMITH, B.A. Thirlwall Dissertation 1911.
(University Press, Cambridge, 1911.)

THESE thoughtful and laborious essays were well worth printing. Mr Smith is perhaps the more suggestive, and Mr Seaton the more exhaustive, though the former has read much more literature than he cites, and the latter's book would have been none the worse if its quotations were abbreviated. If they are very equal in merit, they are also very likeminded. Both use as their standard of comparison for the tone of the later seventeenth century that doctrine of toleration which is now dominant among ourselves. It would have been more instructive to compare the prejudices of the age with the contemporary practice and theory of New England, which also was peopled by subjects of the later Stuarts; and modern France might have furnished analogies as well as contrasts. Yet Locke provides a convenient *terminus ad quem*, and is duly praised by both our authors, though Mr Seaton's approval is more discriminating than that of Mr Smith. If we had to choose between them, Mr Seaton's wealth of facts, as when he states the Independent position and describes the love of liberty which it engendered, would incline us to him; though it would have been interesting if he could have cited champions of freedom who were quite dispassionate in their advocacy. Mr Seaton's style sometimes tends to rhetoric, and Mr Smith's to obscurity, and neither is perfectly accurate in his history. Clare was not a College in Tillotson's day, and the ships at Marathon were not Greek but Persian. Each has an excellent bibliography, and Mr Seaton some useful appendices, especially one which gives a summary of the principal penal and test acts of the period.

E. W. WATSON.

In *Pioneers of our Faith* (Methuen & Co., 1910) Mr Charles Platts tells the story of the principal figures in the history of the English Church as far as the death of the Venerable Bede. His first three heroes are St Alban, St Ninian, and St Kentigern, all of whose lives are treated at some length, but he has nothing to say of St Columba, and only a word or two about St Patrick, and it is obvious that his main interest lies in that band of notable men and women who made the seventh century the heroic period of our Church's history. It needs no ordinary pen to do justice to that age, but Mr Platts fails neither in

sympathy nor in erudition. He has evidently made a careful study of his sources, and indeed the bibliography at the end is not the least valuable part of his book. Nor has he been content with mere literary research. Much of the interest of the lives of such worthies as Aidan and Cuthbert, Chad and Aldhelm, lies in the local names or traditions that perpetuate their memory, and in this respect Mr Platts displays a very intimate acquaintance with the topography of various historical spots, and with the legends that have grown up around them. But, good as it is both for its scholarship and for its reverent *pietas*, his book is open to criticism on two grounds. In the first place his selection of materials is at times faulty : he has incorporated too many legends of very slight importance, and in places his pages are a little overloaded with extraneous details. And secondly his arrangement is frequently awkward and difficult to follow ; and although it is foreign to his purpose to give a mere series of biographies, yet he would have gained in lucidity by keeping more strictly to the biographical order. These blemishes, however, do not materially impair the usefulness of what is both a learned and an interesting historical study.

H. C. O. LANCHESTER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1912 (Vol. lxxiii, No. 146 : Spottiswoode & Co.). F. MORGAN The Irish and Welsh Churches—G. E. HODGSON The rule of St Benedict—H. M. RELTON Nestorius the Nestorian—E. F. PINSENT The Social results of mental defect—Religious instruction in girls' schools—E. C. SHARLAND Richard Crashaw and Mary Collet—R. ALLEN Mission Ka Nankar—The strength and weakness of a disestablished church as seen from within—W. O. BURROWS The Archbishops' committee on Church finance—J. R. ILLINGWORTH Harry Drew of Hawarden—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1912 (Vol. x, No. 2 : Williams & Norgate). RENÉ-L. GÉRARD Civilization in danger (second study): France, England, Germany—O. LODGE Balfour and Bergson—J. A. THOMSON Is there one science of nature?—G. T. LADD Is the universe friendly?—J. R. MACDONALD The 'corruption' of the citizenship of the working man: a reply—C. F. D'ARCY Is Personality in space?—W. P. KER Popular philosophy—R. R. MARETT In a prehistoric sanctuary—W. H. R. RIVERS The primitive conception of death—J. A. PATTERSON The ecclesiastical situation in Scotland: another point of view—J. ABELSON Mysticism and rabbinical literature—C. F. DOLE The Divine Unity—H. D. RAWNSLEY Social Service, No. 2—Pernicious literature—Discussions—Survey of recent literature—Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1912 (Eighth Series, No. 13 : Hodder & Stoughton). G. A. SMITH The natural strength of the Psalms—A. DALE The Bible—S. R. DRIVER The Book of Judges—J. T. STODDART Two American biographies of Luther—W. M. RAMSAY The teaching of Paul in terms of the present day—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Elephantine Papyri—J. ROBERTSON The 'Dawn' in Hebrew.

February 1912 (Eighth Series, No. 14). C. F. BURNEY The Priestly Code and the new Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine—A. J. WENSINCK Ephrem's hymns on Epiphany and the Odes of Solomon—J. R. HARRIS Ephrem's use of the Odes of Solomon—S. R. DRIVER The Book of Judges—W. M. RAMSAY The teaching of Paul in terms of the present day—W. M. RAMSAY Dr Johannes Lepsius on the symbolical language of the Revelation, translated by Helena Ramsay, Introduction and Notes—J. OMAN Personality and grace: 3. Autonomy—C. A. SCOTT

Ephesians iv 21 : 'As the Truth is in Jesus'—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Mishna on Idolatry—W. C. GREEN On a neglected aspect of the Third Commandment.

March 1912 (Eighth Series, No. 15). S. A. COOK The Elephantinê Papyri and the Old Testament—A. S. LEWIS Achikar and the Elephantinê Papyri—G. MARGOLIOUTH The Sadducean Christians of Damascus : 2. The Exordium of the Manifesto—J. OMAN Personality and grace : 4. Dependence and Independence—D. WALKER Present day criticism—N. H. MARSHALL The Atonement in Modern Life—W. M. RAMSAY The teaching of Paul in terms of the present day.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1912 (Vol. xvi, No. 1 : Chicago University Press). E. C. MOORE Modern Liberalism and that of the Eighteenth Century—S. W. DIKE Shall churches increase their efficiency by scientific methods?—W. A. BROWN The place of Christ in modern Theology—D. S. SCHAFF The movement and mission of American Christianity—C. BURRAGE The restoration of immersion by the English Anabaptists and Baptists (1640-1700)—Critical Notes—Recent theological literature.

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(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY, 1912

THE MEANING OF MYSTICISM.

Is there at the present day any religious term so much in men's mouths, handled with such easy-going dogmatism and confidence, and yet involved in so much ambiguity and obscurity as 'Mysticism'? I hardly think I should have ventured to write on it if Mr Quick's exceptionally sane and lucid article in the January number had not opened what seems, at least to me, a plain road to its true interpretation, theory, explanation. For any attempt to suggest an explanation is blocked by two preliminary difficulties.

In the first place 'mysticism' shares with 'socialism' the modern weakness of being an undefined subject. The strongest advocates of both have very definite ideas of what they are advocating, but the great mass of sympathizers, while they repudiate the legitimacy of its extreme forms, have no clear or consistent position of their own to put forward.

In the second place, just as people urge socialism as a principle without explaining how it is to be related to the ordinary principles of free commercial life, so many urge the important place of the 'mystical sense' without offering any account of its relation to ordinary common-sense knowledge.

I called Mr Quick's paper lucid in so far as he has for readers of this JOURNAL gathered the different senses of the word together into one view. I venture to call it sane because he has insisted that such relations must exist, and has marked off the lines on which the different human operations co-operate with and check off one another. I am prepared to accept his statement as a basis to work from. I am in entire accord with his view of its relation to intellectual theology.

If I quote the article it is because I value it. I venture in places

to criticize, because I want, if I can, to go beyond it. There is a third question, on which Mr Quick hardly touches, and which lies at the back of both the difficulties referred to. What after all is this mystical sense, power, instinct, by whatever name we call it? Is it a mental faculty, something like telepathy or second sight, possessed only by certain gifted people, altogether different from the common faculties of observation, generalization, and inference with which we are familiar? Or is it nothing more than a somewhat special application of those common powers? A discussion of the relation between the results attained by one method and those attained by another will be necessarily inconclusive till we have made clear what the two methods are. I want to apply an analytic method to the descriptive materials Mr Quick has provided.

Let us grant that mysticism or mystical apprehension does stand for a group of real phenomena in the mental life, though we admit it is a group somewhat difficult to define. It is at least distinguishable from the group Mr Quick calls intellectual—though I should prefer the older term rational. We will try to approach it through the distinction.

The intellect or reason begins from and builds upon direct sense-perceptions. By comparison and reflexion it groups them in species and genera. By further reflexion we trace laws of connexion between these or between phenomena. But the essential character of the process is shewn in the result, which is a single thought-abstraction, clear of outline, capable of being defined, and therefore at once limited and fixed—a static concept.

This process has very obvious defects. I am trying to get into my mind some conception of a real thing. I am rather apt to think I am doing it, but as a matter of fact I am only gaining concepts of certain qualities, aspects, and relations of the thing taken separately. 'Personality transcends the intellect,—is a more ultimate reality than the abstractions (of reflexion).' I agree, and yet I think this sentence misses the point. The comparison should lie not between the personality which abstracts and the abstractions, but rather between the abstractions and the things from which they are abstracted. My notions of a personality are inadequate. So are my notions of a collar-stud. The thing itself—be it big or little—is a single whole, very imperfectly

approximated to by a number of diverse concepts, about its shape, its hardness, its whiteness, its usefulness, its capacity-for-disappearingness, and so on.

My concepts fail therefore first, because they do not render the thing to me as a whole unity in which qualities are grounded, but only as a bundle of qualities which I must tie together as I can. Secondly, they give me only the actuality of the thing as it is, or as I think it. They will not give me its change, its movement, its potentiality. That also I have to build up for myself out of the various successive states in which I have viewed it. The collar-stud has very little capacity for change, so I am not much troubled; but personality, or a voyage, or a machine, or my digestion, are always changing. Change or movement constitutes a large part of their being, and my concepts are sore put to it to make the ideas intelligible.

Here, then, mysticism steps in. 'Mystical experience claims to tell us (*or*, to give a certain knowledge) of some wider reality beyond ourselves which is not directly apprehensible by or through the senses.' On this I am going to make three criticisms. The first is connected with the words 'tell' and 'knowledge', but for the moment I will leave that as too big. Secondly, the words 'beyond ourselves' are not wanted, for we are also told that mysticism 'claims to deal with the deepest mysteries of personal life'. Thirdly, I thought it was recognized by all modern writers that no knowledge whatever was *directly* apprehensible through the senses; it was always constructed by mental process and by means of mental categories working upon sensible data.

I am afraid I have not left much of the definition standing, but then definitions are notoriously pesky things, and a definition of mysticism—well, we had better get back to our description, but we will carry off the two surviving words 'wider reality'. They may serve as a text for the two different aspects of mysticism.

In what does mystical experience reach something wider than the intellect? Mr Quick's citations make it evident. God, Eternity, Immortality, Personality, but here again I demur. Certainly these are very wide, very solemn and awful subjects, but their solemnity rather paralyses my thinking. I have a very strong objection to the latent supposition in some folk's minds that we have one set of faculties for doing big things and another for doing

little things. We do not use one eye for Mont Blanc and another for a mole-hill. It is one and the same mind which thinks out Kant (if it can) and Bernard Shaw (if it wants to). Wickedness and philanthropy, burglary and a Sunday-school treat are planned by the same mental processes. I want to know what my mind is actually doing, and it is much easier to follow it on less exacting topics.

A collar-stud is a very small matter. I grant that looking for an infinite wholeness among the definable properties on that scale rather strains one's mental sight, but it is there all the same. There is a mystery about all and every reality—a collar-stud, a box of matches, a sheep's tail, or a boy's soul—which is strictly an unspeakable mystery, for each sentence with its finite meaning, and whole strings of sentences, can only state particular concepts appertaining thereto; the reality to which they appertain is not capable of statement.

Nevertheless, I can say 'whole sheep', and therefore I suppose I can in some fashion think of it in spite of its infinity. Let me study the process. First I think of a sheep, its image rises clear before me, in profile, feeding. But sheep are not always broad-side on nor always feeding. Other images succeed—a sheep head on, a sheep looking at me over his left shoulder, a little Lakes' sheep rushing a five-foot wall. Sheep are not all pictures. I must think of wool, mutton, gregariousness, comparative anatomy, graminivorousness. Now I want to reach the whole mighty reality. I fix my gaze on vacancy, dream all these alternating (particular) images and concepts to their lowest point. I cannot get rid of them altogether or I should not be thinking of infinite (unlimited) *sheep* which is itself a limited kind, but of an infinite nothing.

I never took a sheep so seriously before, and I do not suppose I shall again. But let us try the mathematical infinity of number. Once more I begin with the finite, 1, 2, 3, 4, . . . 17 . . . 527—thousands, 'ah'—millions, 'oh'—and more and more and more and—ETC. Finally I end on that; I do not imagine infinite number; I substitute for it the consciousness of I-could-go-on-if-I-wanted-to. It is still a single conception—the conception of the 'etc.'

Now if we compare this with the various accounts Mr Quick gives of mysticism as it is commonly recognized, we shall see that

it exactly corresponds to one aspect of what he and other writers are describing. I take three prominent features.

(1) I venture to maintain that the *Via Negativa* is the only true definable form of Mysticism, just as Communism is the only definable theory of Socialism. I am aware that all good mystics, e. g. Dr Inge and Mr Quick, deny that, but only, as it seems to me, because no good mystic is ever a pure mystic. He realizes that mysticism is only one method, and that it cannot be worked by itself.

(2) The library of the s.s. *Celtic* does not contain Dr Inge's book so I only speak from memory, but Mr Quick makes the failing very clear. The mystical attitude is a generalized view gained by exclusion of the particulars. I do not give this as exactly Mr Quick's own view, but he does point out how the mystic sense of God was felt to exclude the memory of individual people, and that it ignored the particularity of Christ's life. I will return to this point presently.

(3) The clearest affinity to my theory of mysticism as the generalized conception is given by William James—'the mystical feeling of enlargement, a peculiar emotional mood'—easily absorbing very various philosophies or theologies just because (the *because* is mine) 'it has no specific intellectual content whatever of its own', i. e. we have negated all its intension.

A little above I demurred to the definition (or explanation) of mysticism as 'giving knowledge' or 'telling us', for the moment we use those terms we must be ready to answer the question—What does it tell us? And the answer can only be in terms of a definable intellectual concept, expressed in a conceptual proposition. This Mr Quick virtually admits.

In the same way, I demur to the phrase 'mystical experience'. No doubt it is a possible phrase, and yet I think it is misleading. If I choose to ponder the 'Law of the Attraction of Masses', the notions which float through my mind are an object of consciousness, and so far experienced.

Similarly, I can speak of having experienced some queer dreams. But in general use 'experience' is kept for something external. If I use it of purely internal thoughts, it is always by taking them as external.

An experience is then in common use an experience of *some-*

thing. If I meditate on Gravitation, its universality and so on, it is a meditation. If some one drops a brick on my foot, I should say I had had experience of gravitation, but I should hardly say that of the meditation. The exact meaning of the term may not be very important, but it is very important that we should not use it in two different senses. My meditation on gravitation may well fill me with a sense of awe, a sense of the greatness and wonder of things, but, even if I call that meditative effort a mental experience, I am not supposing that it was anything more than a meditation, or that gravitation itself (whatever that may be) came into my mind. If I meditate upon God, I do it in just the same way, universalizing my thought from the particular operations with which I am familiar. Certainly this thought of God does fill me with awe and wonder, but to call it an experience implies to many people that God Himself actually came near us. I do not say that that may not take place in meditation, I only do say that it is no more necessarily to be assumed than in the case of gravitation.

I maintain that this mystical intuition of things is nothing more than a highly abstract, highly generalized or universalized way of contemplating them apart from particular or specific *differentiae* or manifestations. I can apply it to my friend Tom or my horse Bill—by excluding particular actions or appearances. I can apply it to friendship or horsiness, more generically. I can apply it to force or animal or any other subject. In such case, the bigger the idea, or the further I carry the process, the vaguer, the more dream-like, the more 'mystic' the meditation becomes.

I am afraid that to many people I may seem to be attacking one of the strongest, perhaps the only strong, ground of Christian or Theistic belief. Strictly speaking, that is no concern of mine here. I have only attempted to make an analysis of certain mental phenomena, to trace their analogies, to shew how and whence they arise.

Still, I ought to face the question: Is this conclusion un-Christian or anti-Theistic? I think it certainly helps to shew that no basis for a solid Theism exists outside Christianity. In the first place, it must be noted that the idea of a mystic approach to God, although Christians have made much use of it, is not itself Christian. The evidence on that side is conclusive. I even venture to affirm that it is based on a non-Christian principle.

It is an approach to God by way of a certain human state or effort of ecstasy, abstraction, exclusion—by throwing the human soul in upon itself. Now if there is any fundamental principle in Christianity more clear than another, it is that man cannot come to God, that for the soul to go in upon itself is to go into sin. The beginning of salvation is that God comes to man, and the salvation of the soul is salvation *from* itself.

Mr Quick rightly insists on the test 'by their fruits ye shall know them' (with the Vedantists). But by what fruits? I answer unhesitatingly—if rashly—that the great test fruit of heathenism is its religious 'aristocraticism', or esotericism. Its religious methods and achievements are always those of select souls, people of peculiar capacities. Its highest methods and achievements are not open to the vulgar and commonplace.

This same character is claimed for and on behalf of mysticism by all. Certainly Mr Quick and all Mr Quick's authorities admit it. If my analysis is correct the reason is obvious. It always is the few who love the (mystic) twilight of the generalization and the abstract. The *profanum vulgus*—for whom Christ came on earth and died—feel most at home over simple concrete things, definite ideas, the matter-of-fact duties that want doing.

All this is a very one-sided view I fully admit. It applies only to the *Via Negativa*, to the pure abstraction, or excluding generalization. To reach the 'wider reality' is not so easy, for the wider we make our ideas the further they get from reality. And I maintain that these mystic 'intuitions' are ideas, concepts, the most highly conceptualized of all concepts.

Mr Quick puts the other side also, and it is a startlingly different one. Mysticism 'gives life to theological doctrine,—enables us to keep the eternal before us', makes realization of it. I fully accept this as a fact, puzzling as the contradiction may seem.

On my interpretation, however, I do not think there is any contradiction. I have maintained that the mystical method is not an intuition, but a meditation or reflexion, merely carried to a high point of abstraction. Mr Quick puts the point in saying 'It is intensely difficult to realize eternal truths in the midst of actual life,—to feel oneself constantly in the presence of God'.

I should go much further. I should say it was fundamentally

impossible. And for a very good psychological reason. Every concept is one concept, limited, defined to this or that. That is why all human conceptions are so inadequate,—conceptions, as I said at the beginning, not of a thing, but of some part, quality, or aspect of the thing,—and the thing is a whole or unity, which underlies and transcends the parts and so forth taken in separate number, or even the mere numerical total of them, if that ever could be reached.

But this inherent defect of the human mind applies equally to the concept of the whole. When I think of the whole, I have to make of that a separate and defined concept which negatives or excludes the parts. When I think of catching my steamer, or getting to Liverpool, or writing an article on Mysticism—these are parts or events in my life, and I am thinking of them and not of God or of eternity. I may learn—I trust I have learnt—to intermingle or alternate the thought of God with them. But steamers, Liverpool, theories of Mysticism, and Eternity are all different concepts. They only can be alternated.

This is the meaning of prayer and worship, which are essentially mystical acts. And this is why prayer and worship are to most of us a bore. What we are doing is concrete, limited, and very interesting by virtue of its intense actuality. To pray about it is possible and easy, if it does not take too long, and if we can feel that it is useful, which we have a sneaking idea it may be. But worship, prayer in the full sense is not concerned with an IT. It is a stilling of the soul before the Infinity of God, a realizing of our own nothingness, and it is very difficult and very trying indeed. The measure of its difficulty and of our boredom is just the measure of its importance. We are bits, and the things we do are bits. Concerned as we are with them it is vitally necessary that we should do our mystic turn, that we should bring the vastness of God before our minds. A necessary part of the way and means thereto is the process of negating the littleness of ourselves and our own doings.

The danger of mysticism to which I am so sensitive—perhaps hyper-sensitive—is that it treats this realization of God as an approach to God, and thereby it makes the *sense* of God's presence the same as the presence, which I take leave to call a very horrible doctrine. The next step is to take the feeling

of God for God Himself. That reaches its climax in the idea of identification with the Infinite, against which Mr Quick rightly protests. We find men of the deepest religiousness—all the more because they are religious—hunting feelings, nursing feelings, smoothing them out, chuckling and pleased with themselves under the notion that they are getting God by hands-full.

No doubt the Saint in meditation enjoys the Presence of God in a way we common folk never or very seldom do. But then once more that is the *enjoyment* of it. And the butcher's boy skimming the corner on one wheel is not enjoying that Presence (his mind being too full of the joy of a different excitement), but the really vital question is whether God is present with him. The answer to that depends on whether he is a good boy, and even a marked capacity for religious abstraction will not by itself settle the point.

Many mystics have been good Christians. St John of the Cross was one. I know that—not by his being a great mystic, but because he was sure that his brother (who was a gardener and thought a great deal of his cabbages) was a better Christian than himself. As Mr Quick has pointed out, the greatest of the mystics attached little importance to their 'experiences'. They were very far from giving them the weight assigned to them in modern writings.

I am afraid I am not quite at an end. We must admit that the intellectual formlessness of mysticism, implied in Mr James's 'it has no intellectual content of its own', is an exaggeration. I pointed out that however much we generalize or universalize a concept, we must keep in it some of its particular or specific meaning, however shadowy, or it will cease to be a concept at all. Mr Quick shews on his side how the mystical 'experiences' are shaped by the theology from which they start.

But we must go further. The mystic state does not normally give knowledge, but it cannot be denied that certain intuitions arise out of it. I call them intuitions in the sense that they appear more or less as sudden ideas, not as reasoned conclusions. I shrink from dealing with this aspect because it involves my opening up another tremendous field of discussion. I will try to give my own view as shortly as possible.

I contend in the first place that it can be psychologically:

demonstrated that the senses receive, the brain stores, the mind uses, enormously more, and more delicate, impressions than one's consciousness recognizes. Everybody will have had experience of identifying a friend 'by instinct' at a distance so great that he could not name or see any of the signs by which the identification was made. One could only say 'I felt it was he'.

I maintain further that the whole of all thinking processes is unconscious. It is only conclusions at different stages—for I do not mean only final conclusions—which come before the mind as static concepts. Here is some one's thought,—'I believe in Mr Lloyd George.' Why? There follow an immense number of arguments, good or bad,—and being political they are probably mostly bad. My immediate point is that these are only arguments. If I press the question, how did that man actually come to that opinion?,—I think we shall all of us begin to recognize that how any of us come by our opinions is an exceedingly difficult thing to learn. We can only trace bits of the road we came by if we can remember what influences affected us at one time or other. Our actual line of thought is a matter of inference. We have no direct knowledge of it.

Our conscious ideas therefore bear the same relation to our unconscious ideas that the coals in the cellar do to a coal seam. They merely represent such fragments as we have been able to extricate and box up for practical use. One can 'feel' a thing to be right or wrong long before one can get at or express in black and white the reasons on which that feeling is based.

I do not mean therefore to place the sub-conscious in dominance over the conscious. The domination should be very much the other way. I have a feeling that that is my friend in the distance, but I shall not run into the road and wave my arms lest I make a fool of myself. It may be that the superior delicacy of the sub-conscious perception has identified him aright, but it may be also nothing more than a suggestion of my impatience for his coming. My conscious faculties are slow, but much less liable to blunder.

Now that state of reserved abstraction when my mind is fixed on the somewhat bare Infinity of things is very favourable to the suggestion of ideas which find it difficult to make themselves heard when my mind is fully occupied with the more concrete and

hard-edged concepts. Daisies can push up through the grass, but hardly through a concrete walk. In the state technically described as 'ecstasy' there is a complete cessation of all external impressions. Visual images or word images are then thrown up very freely as in dreams, their exact nature being determined by previous habit, or by surviving indications of the reflexions under which the state was initiated. There are generally no recoverable ideas.

This complete state is very rare, but most people can gain something of it in prayer and above all in the practice of 'meditation'. Ideas which are both definite and analysable, then recur very freely. Some of these ideas may be new, some may be the results of thought processes. I believe all new ideas, if right, to be the gift of God, i.e. however they come, but we are not justified in taking all ideas as God-given illuminations merely because we cannot trace their origin. It is foolish and rash to set them aside because we cannot give a logical and reasoned account of them. I think it still more foolish and rash to trust ourselves to them unreservedly till we can.

HERBERT KELLY.

DOCUMENTS

A FRAGMENT OF AN UNKNOWN LATIN VERSION
OF THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

(BOOK VIII 41-END : LAGARDE 274. 26-281. 9.)

FROM A MS IN THE CHAPTER LIBRARY OF VERONA

LI foll. 139 b-146 a

fol. 139 b

Fecerit uel inuitus; ac propitius
et placidus factus connumeret
in ora piorum securitatem po
titis, in sinus abrah(ā*et is*)aac
20 et iacob, cum omn(iu)s qui a sae
culo placuerunt (e*l e*)gerunt
uoluntatem ipsius, (u)bi effugit
dolor ac meror (e*l ge*)mitus. sur
gamus. sese et inuicem sese per
25 petuo dō per uerbum quod in ini
tio

274. 26

πάν ἁμάρτημα ἐκούσιον
καὶ ἀκούσιον, καὶ ἰλεως καὶ
εὐμενῆς γενόμενος κατατάξῃ
εἰς χώραν εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένων,
5 εἰς κόλπους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ
Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ μετὰ
πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐ
αρεστησάντων καὶ ποιησάν
των τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ἔνθα
10 ἀπέδρα ὁδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ
στεναγμός. ἐγειρώμεθα· ἐαν
τοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ αἰδίῳ
θεῷ διὰ τοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγου

18. ora appears to be the reading of the
MS, or perhaps we should write *oras*.
18. 19. securitatem potitis; as though the
translator was rendering κατατάξῃ τοῖς
ἀνειμένοις.

4. ἀνειμένην γ, cf. p. 494 l. 1 5.
κόλπον τ 11. ἐγειρώμεθα x t: ἀνα
στάντες γ

[The Introduction will be found below, pp. 505-510.]

fol. 140 a

conndemus. et episcopus dicat:
 qui natura immortalis ac sine ter-
 mine, a quo omne immortale ad
 que mortalem factum *est*, qui ra-
 5 tionabile animal hominem mu-
 di ciuem mortalem ex confecti-
 onem promisisti, qui enoc et he-
 liam mortis experimentum no-
 concessisti accipere, dñ ABRAHA-
 10 ET dñ ISAAC ET dñ IACOB, NON ut MOR-
 TUORUM SED ut UIVENTIUM dñ es,
 quod omnium animae aput te ui-
 uunt et IUSTORUM sfs IN MANU
 tua sunt QUOS NON TANGANT UER-
 15 BERA, OMNES ENIM sc̃IFICATI SUB
 TUIS MANIBUS sunt; ipse et nunc
 inspicie in seruum tuum illum
 quem elegisti et suscepisti in ali-
 si quid inuitus uel uoluntate pec-
 20 cavit, et ad angelos placidos ad-
 siste ipsi, ac dignum ipsum facito
 sinu patriar(*charu*)m et propheta-
 rum et apostolorum et omniu-
 qui a saeculo tibi placuerunt, ubi
 25 non est meror adque dolor et ge-
 mitus

9. Matt. xxii 32, Luc. xx 37, 38 13.
 Sap. iii 1 15. Deut. xxxiii 3

6. A line has fallen out by *homoeoteleuton*: supply -one fecisti et resurrecti-
 10. non: quorum appears to have fallen
 out before non. 15. sc̃ificati: perhaps
 from an exemplar sc̃ificati. 18. Again
 a line of the exemplar omitted: supply
 -am sortem et condona illi. 20. ad 1°:
 should be omitted: possibly cancelled
 in the MS. 21. dignum... facito: the
 translator read *καταξίωσον* for *κατάταξον*.

275. 2

παρθόμεθα. καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος
 λεγέτω Ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀθάνατος
 καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, παρ' οὗ πᾶν
 ἀθάνατον καὶ θνητὸν γέγονεν,
 ὁ τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ζῶν τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον τὸν κοσμοπολίτην
 θνητὸν ἐκ κατασκευῆς ποιήσας
 καὶ ἀνάστασιν ἐπαγγελάμε-
 νος, ὁ τὸν Ἑνῶχ καὶ τὸν
 Ἠλίαν θανάτου πείραν μὴ
 ἐάσας λαβεῖν, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ
 καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὃν οὐχ
 ὡς νεκρῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ζώντων
 θεὸς εἶ (ὅτι πάντων αἱ ψυχαὶ
 παρὰ σοὶ ζῶσιν καὶ τῶν δι-
 καίων τὰ πνεύματα ἐν χειρί
 σου εἰσίν, ὃν οὐ μὴ ἄψη-
 ται βάσανος· πάντες γὰρ οἱ
 ἡγασμένοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖράς
 σου εἰσίν). αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν
 ἐπίδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου
 τόνδε, ὃν ἐξέλεξω καὶ προσ-
 ελάβου εἰς ἑτέραν λῆξιν, καὶ
 συγχώρησον αὐτῷ, εἴ τι ἄκων
 ἢ ἐκὼν ἐξήμαρτεν, καὶ ἀγγέ-
 λους εὐμενεῖς παράστησον
 αὐτῷ· καὶ κατάταξον αὐτὸν
 ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τῶν πατριάρχων
 καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἀποστόλων καὶ πάντων τῶν
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων
 σοι, ὅπου οὐκ ἐνὶ λύπῃ καὶ
 ὀδύνῃ καὶ στεναγμοῖς,

5. τοῦτο: om. y t 7. ἐν κατα-
 σκευῇ t 8. ἀνάστασιν: + αὐτῷ y
 11. ὁ θεὸς Ἀ. ὁ θεὸς Ἰ. καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰ. t
 18. οἱ: om. t 21. ἐπίδε: om. x
 24. tr. ἐκὼν ἢ ἄκων t 31. tr. σοι εὐαρε-
 στησάντων t 32. καὶ: om. t

fol. 140 b

*sed locus piorum securus et terra
 rectorum tibi dedicata et illoru-
 qui in ipsa uident gloriam dī et
 sp̄s, per quem tibi gloria honor
 5 et ueneratio gratiarum actio
 et adoratio in sp̄u ad saecula
 amen.
 et diaconus dicat: inclinate et
 benedicimini. et episcopus gra-
 10 tias agat pro ipsis dicens talia: SER-
 ua dñe POPULUM TUUM AC BENE-
 DICITO HEREDITATEM TUAM QUAM
 adquisisti scō SANGUINE xp̄i tui
 ET PASCE IPSOS sub tuam dextera-
 15 ac tege ipsos sub tuas PINNAS
 et da ipsis CERTAMEN conplere BO-
 NUM et cursum PERFICERE et fide-
 CONSERUARE inmutabiliter sine
 culpatione SINE INCUSATIONE
 20 per dñm nostrum ih̄m xp̄m dilec-
 tum filium tuum, per quem tibi
 gloria honor ac (uen)eratio in scō
 sp̄u ad saecula amen.*

25 de diebus eorum qui dormierunt

u
 gas facere conuenit

10, 14. Ps. xxvii (xxviii) 9 11. Act.
 xx 28 15. Ps. xc (xci) 4, lx (lxi) 5 16.
 2 Tim. iv 7 18. 1 Thess. v 23, 1 Cor. i 8

3. dī et sp̄s: I suspect that the true reading was dī et xpi. 6. I have assumed that the Latin version (and the Greek from which it was translated) gave 'in the Spirit', not 'and to the Spirit', compare l. 22. 9. benedicimini: perhaps the traces which seemed to indicate omnis were really the final letters of (benedic)imini, since omnes is absent from the Greek. 10. serua: the indications appear to point to serua rather than to salua. 11, 12. The text ought obviously to run bene|dicito, but the traces appeared to point to gente-. 13. I should prefer emisti pretioso, as nearer the Greek: but scō seems clear.

275. 18

ἀλλὰ χωρὸς εὐσεβῶν ἀνειμένους
 καὶ γῇ εὐθέων σοὶ ἀνακειμένη
 καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρῶντων τὴν
 δόξαν τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, μεθ'
 οὗ σοὶ δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας,
 εὐχαριστία καὶ προσκύνσεις,
 καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς
 αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω Κλίνετε
 καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε. καὶ ὁ ἐπί-
 σκοπος εὐχαριστεῖτω ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῶν λέγων τάδε Σῶσον,
 κύριε, τὸν λαόν σου καὶ
 εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν
 σου, ἣν περιποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ
 αἵματι τοῦ χριστοῦ σου καὶ
 ποιήσαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν
 δεξιάν σου, καὶ σκέπασον
 αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγάς σου,
 καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα
 τελῆσαι τὸν καλόν, τὸν δρόμον
 ἀνύσαι, τὴν πίστιν τηρῆσαι
 ἀτρέπτως ἀμέμπτως ἀνεγκλή-
 τως· διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ

σου παιδός, μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα
 τιμὴ καὶ σέβας καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ
 πνεύματι· εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας·
 ἀμήν.

2. σοὶ ἀνακειμένη: συνηνημένη t
 4. μεθ' οὗ x y: δι' οὗ t 6. καὶ: om. t
 7. καὶ x y: ἐν t 9. κλίνετε: + εαυτοὺς
 y 12. τάδε: τοιάδε t 16. καὶ: om.
 t 21. τελῆσαι x y: ἀγωνίσασθαι t
 22. ἀνύσαι x y: τελῆσαι t

fol. 141 a

facere autem tertia eorum qui dormierunt in psalmis *et* oratione *propter* eum qui *post* tres dies surrexit, et nona in admonitione uiuentium et eorum qui dormierunt, et tricensima secundum ueterem disciplinam moyses—
 populus annua
pro memoria illius, ac *detur*
 10 *ex* ipsius fortunis pauperibus *i*—
admonitionem istius. *sed* haec
de piis loquimur, *de* impiis enim
si ea quae mundi sunt
pauperibus nihil prode esse
 15 cui enim superstiti
inimicum, certum quod et illi si mi-
 grauerit, NON enim EST iniquitas
apud eum. IUSTUS enim dñs et iusti-
 TIAS CURAuit
 20 in memorias autem eorum uocati
 cum disciplina aepulamini ac dī ti-
 more ut qui possitis exorare *pro*
 illis qui migrauerunt. presbyteri
 enim ac diacones xpi constituti
 25 sobrii esse debetis semper et in se
 se

7. Deut. xxxiv 8 17. Ps. xci (xcii)
 16 18. Ps. x (xi) 7

6. I had ventured, following some slight indications of the MS, to restore tricesima to the text in accordance with the reference to Deuteronomy, against the Greek τεσσαρακοστὰ; and now Dr Spagnolo confirms my conjecture from a second inspection of the MS. 7. I am not satisfied with disciplinam for τύπον: perhaps imaginem.

276. 3

ἐπιτελείσθω δὲ τρίτα τῶν
 κεκοιμημένων ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ
 προσευχαῖς διὰ τὸν διὰ τριῶν
 ἡμερῶν ἐγερθέντα, καὶ ἑνὰ
 εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῶν περιόντων
 καὶ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, καὶ
 τεσσαρακοστὰ κατὰ τὸν πα-
 λαιὸν τύπον (Μωσὴν γὰρ
 οὕτως ὁ λαὸς ἐπένθησεν),
 καὶ ἐνιαύσια ὑπὲρ μνείας
 αὐτοῦ καὶ διδόσθω ἐκ τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ πένθησιν
 εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα
 δὲ περὶ εὐσεβῶν λέγομεν·
 περὶ γὰρ ἀσεβῶν ἐὰν τὰ τοῦ
 κόσμου δῶς πένθησιν, οὐδὲν
 ὀνήσεις αὐτόν. ὧ γὰρ περιόντι
 ἐχθρὸν ἦν τὸ θεῖον, δῆλον ὅτι
 καὶ μεταστάντι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν
 ἀδικία παρ' αὐτῷ. δίκαιος
 γὰρ ὁ κύριος καὶ δικαιοσύνας
 ἡγάπησεν· καὶ Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος
 καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ. ἐν δὲ
 ταῖς μνείαις αὐτῶν καλούμενοι
 μετὰ εὐταξίας ἐστιῶσθε καὶ
 φόβου θεοῦ, ὡς δυνάμενοι καὶ
 πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ τῶν μετα-
 στάντων. πρεσβύτεροι γὰρ
 καὶ διάκονοι χριστοῦ ὑπάρ-
 χοντες, νήφειν ὀφείλετε πάν-
 τοτε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς

1. δὲ: om. w 2. ψαλμοῖς w:
 + καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν (ἀναγνώσει yt) xyt
 Lagarde 3. τὸν διὰ: om. per homioeo-
 teleuton x 8. μωσὴν w 10. μνείας:
 μνήμης y 11-13. αὐτῶν ... αὐτοῖς
 ... αὐτῶν w 11. διδόσθω δὲ w
 24. μνήμας w 28. γάρ: om. t
 30. ὀφείλεται x

fol. 141 b

et in alios ut possitis inmoderatos
docere. dicit autem scribura po

TE^{te} TENS FERUORE CONCITANTUR : VINUM
NE POTENT, UT NE POST QUAM UIBERINT

- 5 OBLIUISCANTUR SAPIENTIAM ET REC
TE IUDICARE NON POSSINT. igitur et
presbyteri ac diaconi post deum
omnipotentem ac dilectum filiu—
ipsius potentes sunt aeclesiae.
10 hoc enim dicimus non ut minime
uibant (aliter enim iniuriam est
facere dī facturæ quæ in *laetitia*—
est) sed ne uino uerint. non
enim scribura dixit minime po
15 tare uinum sed quid ait ? VINUM
NON UIBERE IN EBRIETATEM, e(*t ile*
rum SENTES PULLULANT IN MA^{(nu}
EBRI. hoc autem *non de cleric(is)* di
cimus tantum sed de omni etiam
20 plebeio xp̄iano super quo inuoca
tum est nomen dñi nostri ih̄u xp̄i ;
et ipsis enim dictum est CUI UE ? CUI TU
MULTUS ? CUI TEDIUM SOLLICITUDO ?
CUIUS LIUIDI OCULI ? CUI CONTRITIONES
25 SUPERUACUE ? NONNE EORUM QUI

2. Prov. xxxi 4, 5 (xxv 72, 73) 12.
Eccles. xxxiv 27 (xxxv 35) 15. Agg. i 6
17. Prov. xxvi 9 22. Prov. xxiii 29, 30

4, 11, 16. uibere for bibere. 7. deum :
it is most unusual, almost unique, to find
this word written in full in a MS, how-
ever early, though in inscriptions it is
much less uncommon. 12. factura *cod.*
22. ue : i. e. uae.

276. 18

καὶ πρὸς ἐτέρους, ἵνα δύνῃσθε
τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας νοθεύειν.

λέγει δὲ ἡ γραφή Οἱ δυνάσται
θυμῶδεις εἰσὶν· οἶνον μὴ
πινέτωσαν, ἵνα μὴ πιώντες
ἐπιλάβωνται τῆς σοφίας καὶ
ὀρθὰ κρίνουν οὐ μὴ δύνωνται.
οὐκοῦν καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ
οἱ διάκονοι μετὰ θεὸν τὸν
παντοκράτορα καὶ τὸν ἡγα-
πημένον αὐτοῦ υἱὸν δυνάσται
ὑπάρχουσι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
τοῦτο δὲ φαμεν οὐχ ἵνα μὴ
πίνωσιν (ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ
ἔστιν ὑβρίσαι τὸ ὑπὸ θεοῦ
γενόμενον εἰς εὐφροσύνην)
ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ παροινώσιν. οὐ
γὰρ εἶπεν ἡ γραφή μὴ πίνειν
οἶνον, ἀλλὰ τί φησιν ; Μὴ
πῖνε οἶνον εἰς μέθην· καὶ
πάλιν Ἄκανθαι φύονται ἐν
χειρὶ μεθύσου. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ
περὶ τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ μόνον
φαμέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ παντὸς
λαϊκοῦ χριστιανοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ
ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ·
καὶ αὐτοῖς γὰρ εἴρηται Τίνοι
οὔαι ; τίνοι θόρυβος ; τίνοι
ἀηδαί καὶ λέσχαι ; τίνος
πελιοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί ; τίνοι
συντρίμματα διακενῆς ; οὐ

3. δὲ : γὰρ x 4. οἶνον : + δὲ t
7. μὴ : om. w 14. πίνωσιν w ἀλλ'
ὥς y οὐκ w y : καὶ t : om. x 20.
πίνειν w 27. κυρίου : + τοῦ θεοῦ w
31. πελιοὶ x : πελιδνοὶ w y t τίνοι :
τίνος w

fol. 142 a

TARDANT IN UINO ET EXPLORANTUM

UBI CONUIUIA FIUNT

de illis qui persecuntur et
fugiant propter
fidem quod auxilium adipi-
scantur

5 Persecutos propter fidem et urbe-
ex urbem fugientes quod memo-
ria habent dñi uerba suscipi; scien-
te)s enim quod sfs PARATUS CARO
aule)m DEBILITATE LABORAT, fugiunt
10 ac rapinam substantiae propo-
nunt ut innegatum in sese nome-
xpi conseruent. ministrare igitur
ipsis quae ad usum, mandatum do-
minicum implentes. quod unusquis
15 que in qua destinatus est sorte
de

bet contemptus ordinem custodi-
re sed minime sapere sibi quae
non sunt commissae. hoc autem o-
nes communiter edicimus unum
20 quemque contemptum esse or-
dine sibi dato et non transire li-
mites, non enim sunt nostri sed di
sunt. QUI AUDIT ENIM UOS dñs ait
ME AUDIT ET QUI ME AUDIT AUDIT
25 EUM QUI ME MISIT ET QUI UOS CON-

TEMNIT

5. Cf. Matt. x 23 8. Matt. xxvi 41
= Marc. xiv 38 23. Luc. x 16, Matt.
x 40

2. conuiuia *cod*², conuiuia *cod*². 7-9,
11. Some letters are lost at the beginning
of each of these lines; cf. fol. b. 7. sus-
cipi: translating προσλαμβάνεσθαι not προσ-
λαμβάνεσθε. 13, 14. do|minicum, or
in l. 14 dñicum. 16, 20. Read of course
contentus, contentum.

277. 7

τῶν ἐγχρονιζόντων ἐν οἴνῳ
καὶ τῶν κατασκοπουμένων ποῦ
πότοι γίνονται;

τοὺς διωκομένους διὰ πίστιν
καὶ πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως φεύγον-
τας διὰ τὸ μεμνησθαι τῶν
λόγων τοῦ κυρίου προσλαμ-
βάνεσθε· ἐπιστάμενοι γὰρ
ὅτι τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα πρόθυμον,
ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής, ἀποδιδρά-
σκουσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων προίενται, ἵνα
ἀνεξάρνητον ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς τὸ
ὄνομα τοῦ χριστοῦ διατηρή-
σωσιν. ἐπικουρεῖτε οὖν
αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν, ἐντο-
λὴν κυριακὴν πληροῦντες.
ἐκεῖνο δὲ κοινῇ πάντες παραγ-
γέλλομεν, ἕκαστον ἐμμένειν
τῇ τάξει τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐτῷ
καὶ μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς
ὅρους· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἡμέτεροι,
ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ ὑμῶν γάρ,
φησὶν ὁ κύριος, ἀκούων ἐμοῦ
ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων
ἀκούει τοῦ ἀποστείλαντός με,
καὶ ὁ ὑμᾶς ἀθετῶν

1. χρονιζόντων w 2. τῶν: om.
w κατασκοπεύοντων w 6. τὸν
λόγον xy 7. προσλαμβάνεσθαι
w 11. ἀπαρχὴν y 12. προσίενται
w 13. ἐφ' w xy: ἐν t 16. τὰ
πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας xy 18. ἐκεῖνο:
τοῦτο w πάντες: πᾶσι w 19.
ἕκαστον: + μὲν x 23. ἀκούων γὰρ
ὑμῶν w

fol. 142 b

ME CONTEMNIT QUI AUTEM ME CO-
TEMNIT CONTEMNIT EUM QUI ME MI-
SIT. si enim inanimata facta or-
dinem reddit, qualis est nox dies
5 sol / luna sidera aelementa ui-
ces in uices menses septima-
nat dies orae, ac seruiunt usui
qui inpositus est secundum
quod dictum est DEFINITION(em)
10 posuisti QUAM NON TRANSEANT
et iterum POSUI AUTEM IPSI LIMITES
ET CIRCUMDEDI CLAUSTRA ET POR-
TAM, DIXI AUTEM IPSI USQUE HUC
UENIES AC NON TRANSIES ; quanto
15 magis uos debetis nihil audere
transmouere de illis quae uo-
bis dī uoluntate a nobis sunt
constituta? sed quoniam con-
temptibile multi et hoc duxerunt
20 esse, confundere uero ordines
et ordinationem quae est in uno
quoque eorum transmouere
audent, adripietes sibi digni-
tates non datas et permitten-
25 tes sibi tyrannico more quoru-

9. Ps. ciii (civ) 9
10, 11

11. Job xxxviii

3. inanimata: perhaps inanimalia *cod.*
4. reddit: singular, because of the Greek
verb ἀποσφίζει, after the neuter plural.

277. 20

ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, ὃ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν
ἀθετεῖ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.
εἰ γὰρ τὰ αἴφνυχα γενόμενα
τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποσφίζει, οἷον
νύξ, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος, σελήνη,
ἀστρο, στοιχεῖα, τροπαί,
μῆνες, ἐβδομάδες, ἡμέραι,
ῥαί, καὶ δουλεύει τῇ δια-
τυπωθείσῃ χρεῖα κατὰ τὸ
εἰρημένον Ὅριον ἔθου, ὃ οὐ
παρελεύσεται· καὶ πάλιν περὶ
τῆς θαλάσσης Ἐθέμην αὐτῇ
ῥα περιθεῖς κλείθρα καὶ
πύλας, εἶπα δὲ αὐτῇ Μέχρι
τοῦτου ἐλεύσῃ καὶ οὐχ ὑπερ-
βήσῃ, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς
οὐδὲν ὀφείλετε παρακινεῖν τῶν
ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην θεοῦ παρ'
ἡμῶν ὀρισθέντων; ἀλλ'
ἐπειδὴ πάρεργον οἱ πολλοὶ
καὶ τοῦτο ἡγήσαντο εἶναι,
συγχέειν δὲ τὰς τάξεις καὶ
τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστου χειροτονίαν
παρακινεῖν τολμῶσιν, ὑφαρπά-
ζοντες ἑαυτοῖς ἀξιώματα τὰ μὴ
δεδομένα καὶ ἐπιτρέποντες
ἑαυτοῖς τυραννικῶς

1. ἐμὲ 1°. . . ἀθετῶν: *om. per homoteleuton* y δ δὲ x t: καὶ ὁ w 3. εἰ
γὰρ: *deficit abhinc* w γὰρ x t: τοίνυν y
11. παρελεύσεται x y: παρελεύσονται t
13. κλείθρα: *praest* καὶ t 17. ὀφεί-
λεται y παρακινεῖν x: *praest* τολμᾶν
y t 26. δεδομένα t

fol. 143 a

non habent potestatem dare, et
propterea dñm in iram conmouent,
quemadmodum coreilae ac rex
ozias dignitatem inuase
 5 runt pontificatum preter dī uo-
 luntatem, ac facti sunt illi qui
dem
facie leprosus et stimulant quide-
um qui disposuit xpm et con-
 10 *tristant et spm scm infirman-*
tes ipsius testimonium
repente inminens periculum
talia facientibus prouidentes et
illam quae in sacrificia et grati-
 15 *arum actiones desidiam ex eo*
 quod ab illis qui minime deueant
 offerantur impie, lusum existi-
 mantes pontificalem dignitate-
 quae imitationem continet mag-
 20 ni pontificis ihū xpī regis nostri,
 necessitatem habuimus docere.
 iam enim QUIDAM DE RECTO ITINE-
 RE DISCESSERUNT SECUTI propria-
 uanitatem. dicimus autem quod
 25 moyses dī cultor cui dñs CORAM

7. 9. Num. xvi 35, 30 8. 2 Paral.
 xxvi 19 22. 1 Tim. v 15 25. Exod.
 xxxiii 11

4. ozias dignitatem : the word praeter
 or contra appears to have fallen out here,
 corresponding with the Greek παρ' αζίαν.
 5. preter dī uoluntatem : Greek άνευ
 θεού, but perhaps άνευ θελήματος θεού
 stood in the translator's text.

278. 8

ἀ μὴ ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν διδόναι,
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παροργίζουσι
 μὲν θεόν, ὥσπερ οἱ Κορεῖται
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὀζίας παρ'
 ἀζίαν ἐπιθέμενοι ἄνευ θεοῦ
 τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ καὶ γενό-
 μενοι οἱ μὲν πυρίφλεκτοι, ὁ
 δὲ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου λεπρός,
 παροξύνουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν χρι-
 στὸν τὸν διαταξάμενον, λυποῦ-
 σι δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον
 ἀκυροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν μαρτυ-
 ρίαν, εἰκότως τὸν ἐπηρτημένον
 κίνδυνον τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα πρᾶτ-
 τουσι προϋδόμενοι καὶ τὴν εἰς
 τὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐχαριστίας
 ἀμέλειαν ἐκ τοῦ ὑφ' ὧν μὴ
 χρὴ προσαγομένης ἀσεβῶς,
 παιδιᾶν ἡγουμένων τὴν ἀρχι-
 ιερατικὴν τιμὴν, ἥτις μίμησιν
 περιέχει τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιε-
 ρέως Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἀνάγκην
 ἔσχομεν καὶ τοῦτο παραινέσαι·
 ἡδὴ γάρ τινες ἐξετράπησαν
 ὑπίσω τῆς ἐαυτῶν ματαιό-
 τητος. λέγομεν δὲ ὡς Μωσῆς
 ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ θεράπων, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς
 ἐνώπιος

1. ἔχουσιν t 9. καὶ τὸν . . . λυ-
 ποῦσι δὲ : om. t χριστὸν x : praem
 Ἰησοῦν y 13. ἐπηρτισμένον x 27.
 δὲ : om. t

fol. 143 b

cum PRAESENTI loquebatur SI QUIS
AD SUUM LOQUATUR AMICUM cui di-
cit SCIO TE SUPRA OMNES CUI IN ORE
loquebatur ET NON PER incerta
5 uel per somnia uel per angelos
uel per pau as, iste quando in
ebat diuinam sanctionem
diuisit quae debeant quidem a po-
tificibus celebrari quae uero
10 a sacerdotibus quae autem a di-
aconibus, et unicuique propria-
et conuenientem ministerio
tribuit religionem. et quae pon-
tifices quidem praeceptum est
15 celebrare, haec sacerdotes infa-
dum erat haec diaconi non adi-
bant, sed unusquisque quae acce-
pit ministeria circumscripta ser-
bat: si quis ultra quam traditum
20 est adire uolebat, mors erat poe-
na. hoc autem maxime demons-
trabit quae fuit in saul experien-
tia; qui sacrificasse sine prophe-
ta ac pontifice samuel existima-
25 tus intulit sibi peccatum execra-
tionem

3. Exod. xxxiii 17 4-6. Num. xii 6,
8 22. 1 Reg. xiii 8 sqq.

1. loquebatur: ut has apparently
dropped out after -ur. 6. pauras was
Dr Spagnolo's first transcription, and
he still on second reading adheres to
five letters of the six. I cannot tell
what word, corresponding to αἰνιγμάτων,
this can stand for. 7. sanctionem;
or perhaps the MS has pactionem
'covenant'. 18, 19. ser|bat: should
of course be seruabat. 22. demon-
strabit: for demonstraui. 25. exe-
cratorem: et has apparently dropped
out before ex-.

278. 21

ἐνὼπιῳ ὥμλει ὡς εἴ τις
λαλήσει πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ φίλον,
ὃ εἶπεν Οὐδὲ σε παρὰ πάντας,
ὃ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὥμλει καὶ
οὐ δι' ἀδῆλων ἢ ἐνυπνίων ἢ
ἀγγέλων ἢ αἰνιγμάτων, οὗτος,
ἡνίκα τὴν θεῖαν νομοθεσίαν
διετάρσαστο, διέειλε τίνα μὲν
χρὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐπι-
τελεῖσθαι, τίνα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
ιερέων, τίνα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Λευι-
τῶν, ἐκάστω τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ
ἀνήκουσαν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ
θρησκείαν ἀπονείμας. καὶ
ἅπερ μὲν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι
προστέτακτο ἐπιτελεῖν, τού-
τοις τοὺς ιερέας οὐ θεμιτὸν
ἦν προσιέναι, ἅπερ δὲ τοῖς
ιερεῦσιν ὤριστο, τούτοις οἱ
Λευῖται οὐ προσήεσαν, ἀλλ'
ἐκάστοι ἄς παρελήφεσαν
ὑπηρεσίας περιγεγραμμένας
ἐφύλαττον· εἰ δέ τις πέρα
τῆς παραδόσεως προσιέναι
ἐβούλετο, θάνατος ἦν τὸ
ἐπιτίμιον. τοῦτο δὲ μάλιστα
διέδειξε καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὸν Σαούλ
πέτρα, ὃς θῆσαι νενομικῶς
δίχα τοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἀρ-
χιερέως Σαμουὴλ ἐσπασεν
εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ
κατάραν

7. θεῖαν: om. γ 8. διέειλε x t:
διέστειλε γ 15. ἅπερ: ὑπὲρ γ
20. προσήεσαν γ: προσέεσαν x t 24.
προΐεναι γ 30. ἐσπασεν: ἐστήσεν γ

fol. 144 a

nullo modo abiciendam ac neq'
ob id quod ab ipso erat litus exora-
tus est profeta. euidētissimo au-
tem actu demonstrauit dñs secun-

5 dum oziam quod non in latōne
super iniquitate poenās adiecit,
et qui pontificatum furiose calca-
uit et regno priuatus est. quae ue-
ro de nostris temporibus forte no-
10 ignoratis, scitis enim forte a no-
bis episcopos nominatos ac pres-
byteros ac diaconos ora(t)ione
ac manibus inpositi(s) nominum
diuersitatem sign(i)f(c)icantes. non
15 enim ille qui uolebat apud nos ma-
num implebat, quemadmodum
in notho uitularum sub hieroboā-
circumcisi sacerdotii, sed uoca-
tus a dō. si enim non erat quidem
20 lex quidem et hordinum diuersi-
tas, sufficebat per unum nome-
omnia fieri; sed a xpō edocti seque-
tiam rerum, episcopis quidem ea
quae sunt pontificatus tribuimus
25 presbyteris autem ea quae sunt
sacerdotii

5. 2 Paralip. xxvi 16 sqq. 15. 3
Reg. xiii 33, xii 28 sqq. 18. Heb. v 4

2. litus: from linere 'to smear'. 5.
in latōne m. 1, in dilatione m. 2. 10.
forte: read perhaps certe. 13. nōminum:
after this word the words diuersitate [et]
rerum have apparently dropped out by
homoeoarcton, so that the phrase would
run 'nominum diuersitate [et] rerum diuer-
sitate'. 17, 18. The translator has quite
misunderstood the meaning of the Greek
'in the case of the spurious counterfeit
priesthood of the calves under Jeroboam'.
19, 20. quidem . . . quidem *cod*: in the
second of the two places we must read
quaedam.

279. 7

ἀναπόβλητον, καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ
κεχρῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς
βασιλέα ἐδυσώπησε τὸν
προφήτην. ἐνεργεσττέρα δὲ τῇ

πράξει διέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς
κατὰ τὸν Ὀζίαν, οὐκ ἐν μελ-
λησμῷ τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ παρανομίᾳ
εἰσπραξάμενος δίκας· καὶ ὁ
τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης καταμανεῖς
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀλλότριος
κατέστη. τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν
ἴσως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε· ἴστε γὰρ
πάντως ἐπισκόπους τε παρ'
ἡμῶν ὀνομασθέντας καὶ πρε-
σβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους εὐχῇ
καὶ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσει, τῇ δια-
φορᾷ τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν
διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων
δεικνύοντας· οὐ γὰρ ὁ βου-
λόμενος παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπλήρου
τὴν χεῖρα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς
κιβδηλοῦ τῶν δαμάλεων ἐπὶ
τοῦ Ἱεροβοὰμ παρακεκομ-
μένης ἱερωσύνης, ἀλλ' ὁ
καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ θεσμός τις ἦν
καὶ τάξεων διαφορά, ἤρκει
ἂν δι' ἐνὸς ὀνόματος τὰ ὅλα
τελεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
κυρίου διδασκόμενοι ἀκολουθίαν
πραγμάτων, τοῖς μὲν ἐπισκό-
ποις τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης
ἐνείμαμεν, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέ-
ροις τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης,

5. εἰδείεν y τοῖς x: ἐν τοῖς y t
8. καὶ ὁ x t: ὁ οὖν y 13. τε x: om.
y t 17. τὴν x: πραετ καὶ y t 20.
παρ' ἡμῶν y ἐπλήρου x t: ἐτίθει y
26. εἰ μὲν γὰρ x t: εἰ τοίνυν y

fol. 144 b

- diaconis uero quae ad utrosque ministeria, ut pure peragantur ea que ad religionem pertinent. neque enim diacono offerre fas
- 5 sacrificium aut baptidiare aut benedictionem paruam uel magnam facere, neque presbyterum ordinationes facere. non enim sēm est ordinem cuerti : NON EST ENIM DŚ INCONSTANTIAE ut in feriores quae sunt superiorum tyrannico more propriēt noua[—] sanctionem fingentes in malo suo nescientes quod durum ipsis
- 15 ADVERSUS STIMULOS CALCARE. non enim nos aut episcopos oppugnant huiusmodi homines sed omnium episcopum ac patris pontificem xpm ihm dñm. a moyse quide[—]
- 20 dō amicissimo ac pontifice constituti sunt pontifices et sacerdotes et diaconi, a saluatore nostro tredecim nos apostoli, ab apostolis autem ego clemens ego iacob
- 25 et nobiscum alii ut ne iterum omnes

9. 1 Cor. xiv 33

15. Act. xxvi 14

20. ac pontifice : Moses is not called 'high priest' in our present Greek text, but cf. 145 b l. 24, which seems to shew that the Latin is right here. 22. Note the translation of Λευίται, even where Old Testament Levites are meant, by diaconi: cf. p. 500 l. 16. 24. Note the inversion of order, by which Clement precedes James in the Latin text.

279. 23

τοῖς δὲ διακόνοις τὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀμφοτέροισι διακονίας, ἢ καθαρῶς τὰ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπιτελούμενα. οὔτε γὰρ διακόνῳ προσφέρειν θυσίαν θεμιτὸν ἢ βαπτίζειν ἢ εὐλογίαν μικρὰν ἢ μεγάλην ποιεῖσθαι, οὔτε πρεσβύτερον χειροτονίας ἐπιτελεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον ἀνестράφθαι τὴν τάξιν. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς ἀκαταστασίας, ἵνα οἱ ὑποβεβηκότες τὰ τῶν κρείττωνων τυραννικῶς σφετερίζωνται, νομοθεσίαν καὶ νῦν ἀναπλάττοντες ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ ἑαυτῶν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι σκληρὸν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους πολεμοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα, χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. ὑπὸ Μωσέως μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἀρχιερεῖς κατεστάθησαν καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς οἱ δεκατρεῖς ἀπόστολοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος καὶ ἐγὼ Κλήμης καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν ἕτεροι, ἵνα μὴ πάντας πάλιν

4. διάκονον γ 8. οὔτε x: οὔτε t: ἢ γ 30. ἡμῶν x γ: ὑμῶν t 31. πάντα x tr. πάλιν πάντας γ

fol. 145 a

connumeremus, *communiter au-*
tem a nobis omnibus presbyteri
ac diaconi et lectores. primus igitur
natura pontifex unigenitus

5 xps, NON SIBI HONOREM *adripiens*
 SED A patre constitutus; *qui ho-*
*m(o)f*actus *propter nos* ac spirita-
 le (*sacr*)ificium offerens dō suo ac
 pa(*tri a*)nte passionem, nobis cons-
 titu(*it so*)tis HOC FACERE, aliis quide-
 10 nob(*iscum*) constitutis *qui in ipsu-*
c(*rediderunt*, s)ed tamen *non omnis*
*q(uei credidit i)*am et sacerdos cons-
 titutus est et pontificalem honorem
 15 inpetrabit. post autem *elebati-*
onem ipsius nos optulimus secun-
 dum constitutionem ipsius SACRI-
 FICIUM PURUM adque insanguineu-
 et episcopos ordinauimus ac praes-
 20 byteros et diacones numero sep-
 tem. ex quibus unus erat stefanus
 beatus martyr non deficiens a no-
 bis eum qui in dñm est bonus sensus
 qui tantum di culturam fide oste-
 25 derat et ea quae dñm est nostru-

5. Heb. v 4, 5 6. Symbolum 10.
 1 Cor. xi 24, &c. 17. Mal. i 11

3. Subdeacons are omitted in the Latin text. 5. *adripiens*: I supply the word by comparison with 145 b l. 21. 14. The line is too long as it stands; but I do not see how to shorten it. 15. *inpetrabit* for *inpetrauit*. Note the term 'elevation' for the Ascension. 23. *eum*: the word *secundum* must have dropped out before *eum*. 25. *ea*: should be *eam*. *quae*: *ad* must have dropped out before *dominum*.

280. 9

καταλέγωμεν, κοινῇ δὲ ὑπὸ
 πάντων ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι
 καὶ διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι
 καὶ ἀναγνώσται. πρῶτος
 τοῖνυν τῇ φύσει ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ
 μονογενὴς χριστός, οὐχ ἑαυτῷ
 τὴν τιμὴν ἀρπάσας ἀλλὰ
 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κατασταθεὶς·
 ὃς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος δι'
 ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν
 θυσίαν προσφέρων τῷ θεῷ
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ πρὸ τοῦ
 πάθους, ἡμῖν διετάξατο μόνοις
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καίτοι ὄντων
 σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτέρων τῶν εἰς
 αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων· ἀλλ'
 οὐ πάντως πᾶς ὁ πιστεύσας
 ἤδη καὶ ἱερεὺς κατέστη ἢ
 ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀξίας ἔτυχεν.
 μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτοῦ
 ἡμεῖς προσενεγκόντες κατὰ
 τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ θυσίαν
 καθαρὰν ἀναίμακτον, προεχει-
 ρισάμεθα ἐπισκόπους καὶ
 πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους
 ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμόν. ὧν εἰς τὴν
 Στέφανος ὁ μακαριώτατος
 μάρτυς, οὐκ ἀπολειπόμενος
 ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν εὐ-
 νοίαν· ὃς τοσοῦτον τὴν θεο-
 σέβειαν τῇ πίστει ἐνεδείξατο
 καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν

11. *tr.* τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεῷ γ
 17. πάντως πᾶς x: πάντων πᾶς y: πάντως
 t πιστεύων γ 20. μετὰ x: + δὲ y t
 27. μακαριώτατος x: μακάριος y t

fol. 145 b

ih̄m x̄pm dilectionem ut pro ipso daret
 etiam animam ab interfectoꝛib'
 dñi lapidibus percussus iudeis :
 sed tamen talis ac tantus uir qui
 5 *S̄PU FERUENS* x̄pm uidens IN DEXTRIS
 nī et caelestes portas APERTAS
 nusquam inuenitur illis (*quae*) no-
 ad diaconii ministeriu(m *pertine*)
 bant usus *aut quod sacr(i)fic(i)um*
 10 *restitit* aut quod man(us a)licui
 inposuit sed dia(*conii ordi*)ne-
obseruauit usqu(e in finem sic)
 enim decebat x̄p(i *martyri*) mo-
 derationem reseruare. si uero
 15 philippum diaconum et annania-
 fidelem fratrem incusant aliq̄i
 quod unus quidem eunuchum
 baptizauit alter uero me paulum,
 ignorant ipsi quod dicimus. nos
 20 diximus eis quod NON SIBI quis
 arripit sacerdotii dignitatem
 sed uel a dño accipit, quemadmo-
 dum melchisedech et iacob, aut
 a pontifice, ut aaron a moysen :
 25 igitur et philippus et annanias no-
 se se

5. Act. xviii 25 (cf. Rom. xii 11)
 5, 6. Act. vii 55, 56 17, 18. Act. viii.
 38, ix 18 20. Heb. v 4

1. ispo for ipso *cod.* 20. eis: read enim.
 23. Note iacob in the Latin, where the
 Greek (rightly, I suppose) has iob.

280. 24

Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν ἀγάπην, ὡς
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δοῦναι καὶ τὴν
 ψυχὴν, πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων
 Ἰουδαίων λίθοις βληθεὶς.
 ἀλλ' ὁμως ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ
 τηλικούτος ἀνὴρ, ὁ τῷ πνεύ-
 ματι ζέων, ὁ τὸν χριστὸν
 ὁρῶν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
 τὰς οὐρανίους πύλας ἀνεψω-
 μένας, οὐδαμῶ φαίνεται τοῖς
 μὴ ἀνήκουσι τῇ διακονίᾳ
 χρηστάμενος, ἢ θυσίαν ἀνεψω-
 κῶν ἢ χεῖρας ἐπιθείς τι, καὶ
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς διακονίας τάγμα
 φυλάσας μέχρι τέλους οὕτω
 γὰρ ἔπρεπε τῷ τοῦ χριστοῦ
 μάρτυρι τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀπο-
 σφύζειν. εἰ δὲ Φίλιππον τὸν
 διάκονον ἡμῶν καὶ Ἀνανίαν
 τὸν πιστὸν ἀδελφὸν αἰτιῶν-
 ταί τινες, ὅτι ὁ μὲν τὸν
 εὐνοῦχον ἐβάπτισεν, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ
 Παῦλον, ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτοὶ ὁ
 λέγομεν ἡμεῖς. εἵπομεν γὰρ
 ὅτι οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τις ἀρπάζει τὸ
 ἱερατικὸν ἀξίωμα, ἀλλ' ἡ παρὰ
 τοῦ θεοῦ λαμβάνει ὡς Μελχι-
 σεδέκ καὶ Ἰώβ, ἡ παρὰ
 ἀρχιερέως ὡς Ἀαρὼν παρὰ
 Μωσέως· οὐκοῦν καὶ Φίλιπ-
 πος καὶ Ἀνανίας

29. ἀρχιερέων γ

fol. 146 a

protulerunt, sed a xpo promoti sunt
pontifice di incomparabilis.

281. 7

οὐχ ἑαυτοὺς προείλοντο,
ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ προε-
χειρίσθησαν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ
ἀσυνκρίτου θεοῦ.

1. ἑαυτοὺς : *πραε* αὐτοὶ γ

A. SPAGNOLO.

C. H. TURNER.

INTRODUCTION TO THE FRAGMENT PRINTED ABOVE, PP. 492-505.

Lagarde's text of the *Apostolic Constitutions* rested on four MSS, w (Petersburg gr. 254; A. D. 1111), x (Vienna hist. gr. 46; saec. xiv), y (Vienna hist. gr. 47; saec. xvi), and z (Paris gr. 931; saec. xvi); but of these z is wholly, and w partially, defective for the part corresponding to the Verona fragment. Besides his MSS he wisely employed the *editio princeps* of Fr. Turrianus (Venice, A. D. 1563) as an additional witness, under the symbol t; for Turrianus used three MSS, and these were all of them older at least than y and z, since they could already in the sixteenth century be described respectively as *πάνυ ἀρχαῖον*—this one was from the monastery of Patira at Rossano in Calabria—another *καὶ αὐτὸ ἀρχαῖον* from Sicily, and a third, *ἔτι παλαιότερον καὶ ἀκριβέστερον*, from Crete: it was this Cretan MS which, as the oldest and most correctly written, he had (he tells us in his preface) followed almost exclusively. Lagarde does not rate his predecessor's work very highly; and it is true that, for instance, either Turrianus's MSS or Turrianus himself corrected the paraphrase of 2 Tim. iv 7 in the bishop's thanksgiving (p. 494 ll. 16, 17 above) into accord with the New Testament text. But on the other hand, Turrianus agrees with our Latin fragment against Lagarde in readings that are certainly original, especially in the doxologies.

In order to facilitate comparison with the Greek, I have printed Lagarde's text and a selection from his apparatus¹ parallel with the Latin; but the reader should note that on one occasion, p. 495 l. 2, the Greek text *ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ προσευχαῖς* is (accidentally) not Lagarde's but that of the Greek MS which appears to agree with the Latin. The Latin does not side systematically with any one of the Greek authorities; but it does side definitely against the peculiar readings of y, e.g. 492. 23 *surgamus* with *ἐγειρόμεθα* t x, *ἀναστάντες* y: 497. 10 *rapinam* with *ἀρπαγὴν*

¹ I have added, however, several more biblical references than are marked in his text.

t w x, ἀπαρχήν y : 498. 3 and 501. 19 si enim with εἰ γάρ t x, εἰ τοῦν y : 500. 20 adire with προσιέναι t x, προιέναι y : 501. 7 et qui with καὶ ὁ t x, ὁ οὖν y ; 501. 16 implebat with ἐπλήρον t x, ἐτίθει y : 503. 8 deo suo ac patri with τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ t x, τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεῷ y : 504. 24 a pontifice with παρὰ ἀρχιερέως t x, παρὰ ἀρχιερέων y : 504. 25 non sese with οὐχ ἑαυτοῦς t x, οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῦς y. Therefore, if Lagarde is right that w x represent one family of text¹ and y z another, it is clear that the Latin goes with the first of the two, and (since Lagarde followed that family) with Lagarde; but if our fragment is any fair sample of the whole, Lagarde must have exaggerated either the extent to which Turrianus followed the inferior family, or the extent to which that family is inferior, for the combination t y against x (w x) Lat. is hardly ever found, and the combination t y Lat. against x appears to be invariably right—493. 4 rationabile animal with τὸ λογικὸν ζῶον t y, τὸ λογικὸν τοῦτο ζῶον x : 493. 17 inspicere with ἐπίδε t y, om. x : 498. 15 audere transmouere with τολμᾶν παρακινεῖν t y, om. τολμᾶν x : 502. 25 omnes with πάντας t y, πάντα x : 503. 15 post autem elebationem with μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάληψιν t y, om. δὲ x : 503. 22 beatus martyr with ὁ μακάριος μάρτυς t y, ὁ μακαριώτατος μάρτυς x.

So far we have found the Latin to be averse from siding with one Greek authority against the rest; it goes with t x against y, and with t y against x. But where t is against x y, the Latin sometimes sides with the one against the two; 493. 9 deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob, where t alone repeats θεός, while the others give ὁ θεός Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, though the force of the argument in this case is diminished by the agreement of t Lat. with the biblical texts which may have affected them independently of one another; 493. 24 tibi placuerunt Lat. σοὶ εὐαρεστησάντων t, εὐαρεστησάντων σοι x y ; 494. 4 per quem Lat. δι' οὗ t, μεθ' οὗ x y ; 494. 10 dicens talia Lat. λέγων τοιαῦτα t, λέγων τάδε x y ; 497. 11 in sese Lat. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς t, ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς w x y —but it is not quite certain that ἐπὶ might not here have been translated 'in'.

Of these agreements one is crucial and of far-reaching significance, namely the form of doxology with διὰ instead of μετὰ. It is well known how in the fourth century the doxology in the Eastern churches became a sort of theological test. Nicene churchmen preferred the form δόξα τῷ πατρὶ μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι (ultimately, as we know from the form familiar to ourselves, it was 'et Filio et Spiritui sancto'), the Arian or Arianizing parties saw in that phrase an implication of the doctrine of the co-essential and co-equal Trinity, and preferred the more archaic and more indefinite form δόξα τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ

¹ w is not extant in the chapters covered by our fragment except for the passage 495.1-498.3, and here the combination xy against w is much more common than the combination wx against y.

ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. We are told that the cautious old Arian, Leontius, when intruded into the see of Antioch, only raised his voice, when saying the Gloria, at the words 'world without end', and was indistinctly heard for all the earlier part of the formula. St Basil's use of the more archaic form at Caesarea gave occasion to suspicions of his orthodoxy and so indirectly to the composition of his best known work, the *de Spiritu sancto*. As St Basil demonstrated, both forms are in themselves perfectly orthodox and legitimate, and we must not assume that only Arians used the διὰ . . . ἐν, though it is safe to assume that only Catholics used μετὰ . . . σὺν. Therefore, if the text of the *Constitutions* employed a μετὰ form of doxology, we could hardly place the date of their composition before the very end of the fourth century, since they are certainly Antiochene, and it is quite unlikely that the Nicene doxology should have come into use at Antioch before the time of the emperor Theodosius—if indeed as soon as that. Now the MSS (at least in the eighth book) do not hold consistently to either form; five times at least—I take my data from Lagarde's text and apparatus—they agree on the formula δι' οὗ σοὶ . . . ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, 241. 8, 242. 11, 243. 1, 244. 24, 247. 23; more than twice as often they agree on the alternative type, μεθ' οὗ σοὶ . . . καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι; twice they approach the still more definite Western statement, 258. 6 τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, and 261. 20 σοὶ . . . καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδί . . . καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. In four cases the MSS differ among themselves; in these four cases t always gives the type δι' οὗ σοὶ . . . ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, in two of them, 274. 18, 275. 20, both x y have the μετὰ . . . καὶ type, in the other two, 239. 1, 272. 16, y goes with t, while x gives the unique forms μεθ' οὗ καὶ δι' οὗ . . . ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι, δι' οὗ σοὶ . . . σὺν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι. Lagarde consistently follows x: but I have no doubt at all that where t, or y t, give the form διὰ . . . ἐν their reading ought to be accepted. And more than that, the Latin version supplies good ground for suspecting that the μετὰ . . . καὶ type, often as it occurs in all our Greek MSS, is due to revision; for in 276. 2 t x y have μετὰ . . . καὶ, while the Latin (p. 494 l. 21) has nevertheless 'per quem . . . in sancto spiritu'. The only alternative to accepting the Latin evidence as decisive—the Latin MS, we know, is many centuries earlier than any of our Greek MSS—would be to suppose that the Latin translator wrote from a definitely Arian point of view, and refused to use the Nicene doxology.

With w, which is by two centuries the oldest of Lagarde's MSS, the Latin has, in the brief space where both are extant, not less than five or six agreements against x y, with t sometimes on one side sometimes on the other: 496. 16 bibere with w πίνειν, against πίνε t x y; 497. 7 verba with t w τῶν λόγων, against τὸν λόγον x y; 497. 7 suscipi with w προσλαμβάνεσθαι, against προσλαμβάνεσθε t x y; 497. 13 usum with t w χρεῖαν,

against *χρείας* x y ; 497. 18 hoc autem with w τοῦτο δέ, against ἐκείνο δέ t x y. To these we ought to add 495. 2, where w has ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ προσευχαῖς, the rest ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ἀναγνώσεσιν (ἀναγνώσμασιν) καὶ προσευχαῖς, while the Latin, as Dr Spagnolo has now been able to decipher it, gives only 'psalms and prayer'.

Of course both t and w have their own idiosyncrasies and blunders not shared by the Latin version ; but speaking generally the Latin, as between the Greek witnesses, agrees with the older and better of them. We have now to ask what is the value of the Latin as against the whole of the extant Greek evidence, and we have already had reason, in connexion with the form of doxology, to suppose that the Latin, even when standing alone, may sometimes outweigh all the rest.

Much the most important difference between the Latin version and Lagarde's edition is that in the version the *Constitutions* are immediately followed by the *Canons*. But Lagarde himself (p. 284) explains that, though absent from x y, the *Canons* had a place in w as well as in the edition of Turrianus ; and probably the real reason why Lagarde included the *Constitutions* alone in his edition was that he had already published the text of the Apostolic Canons on pp. 20-35 of his *Reliquiae*, so that he is content to give (pp. 285-287) a collation of the differences of these two witnesses from his earlier text. Unfortunately the text of the *Canons* is very difficult, in some places impossible, to decipher in our MS, and I do not attempt to print the transcription in the JOURNAL, as it will find a more appropriate place in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*. I may, however, state here that, whereas Dionysius Exiguus only translated the first fifty canons (*Ecl. Occ. Mon. Iur. Ant.* i 1-32), the whole number are present in the Verona MS, and it is in the last canon, the list of Scriptural books, that the Latin version makes its most interesting contribution to the critical apparatus of the *Canons*. The text of this list will be found on pp. 511-514 of the present number of the JOURNAL, as the fourth of my series of 'Latin lists of the Canonical Books'.

Another characteristic feature which distinguishes our version from Lagarde's edition is probably again more apparent than real. At 494. 25, 497. 3, 497. 14, the reader will find chapter-headings in the Latin (distinguished for his convenience by heavy type) to which there is nothing in the parallel text from Lagarde to correspond. But if he looks up Lagarde's preface (p. vi *ad fin.*) he will discover that that illustrious but self-willed scholar found chapter-headings in his MSS, but, in the conviction that they were not original, declined to put them in the text or even to record them in the apparatus ; 'capita mea eadem sunt ac Turriani . . . capitum titulos a monachis profectos edere necessarium non videbatur.' A more modest procedure would have been

triumphantly justified by the Latin ; for the three chapter-headings it preserves coincide with the commencement of chapters 42 (42 43 44 are closely connected in subject matter, and form as it were only a single section), 45, and 46 in Lagarde, and I have little doubt that they are faithfully rendered from the Greek. I do not indeed see any *prima facie* reason why they should be attributed to 'monks' rather than to the compiler of the *Constitutions* himself.

These more general considerations may be fitly followed by a briefer notice of individual features (*a*) in the Greek readings underlying the text, (*b*) in the Latinity of the translation.

a. At p. 495 l. 6 I had ventured to restore 'tricesima' to the text ; I could not make the indications of the MS reading square with quadragesima, and the 'ancient type' to which appeal is made, the mourning for Moses, lasted not forty but thirty days, hence I conjectured that the compiler wrote *τριακοστά*, and that the Latin alone now bore witness to the original reading. On a second inspection of the MS Dr Spagnolo is able to make out nearly the whole of the word 'tricensima'. At p. 502 l. 24 the Latin has 'ego Clemens ego Iacob' for the Greek *ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος καὶ ἐγὼ Κλήμης* : and we have to balance the respective probabilities that a Latin translator altered his model in order to do honour to Clement of Rome, and that Greek scribes altered their exemplars to do honour to James of Jerusalem. On the whole I think there is more to be said this time for the Greek texts. At p. 503 l. 2 the orders enumerated are in the Latin 'presbyters, deacons, and readers', in the Greek 'presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, and readers'. It would be interesting to suppose the Latin text right ; but subdeacons are recognized elsewhere in the *Constitutions*, and probably the true explanation is either that it is a mere omission, by translator or scribe, through *homoeoteleuton* (*διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι*, *diaconi et subdiaconi*), or that the Latin translator was not acquainted in his own region with the order of subdeacons, and simply omitted the name and thing. At Rome and Carthage subdeacons, hypodiaconi, were a part of the *clerus* as early as the middle of the third century ; but none of the bishops who subscribed at the council of Arles in 314 brought any attendants other than presbyters or deacons or exorcists or readers, and the canons of Sardica enumerate only the orders of bishop, presbyter, deacon, and reader. If our translator wrote about A. D. 400, and in north-eastern Italy, he may perhaps have been equally unfamiliar with the subdiaconate.

b. In the Latinity of the translation there is entire absence of any trace of influence of the Vulgate ; but it is fair to add that there is hardly more evidence of Old Latin renderings. The translator must have worked at his task with the single preoccupation of representing

the Greek original by Latin equivalents of his own; no other explanation will account for the strange 'spiritus paratus caro autem debilitate laborat' (497. 8) where the old biblical version 'spiritus promptus caro autem infirma' was left untouched by Jerome, just as 'the spirit indeed is willing but the flesh is weak' survives unaltered in the Revised Version of 1881. The representation of Λευῖται by 'diaconi', 500. 16, excludes a date earlier than the end of the fourth century, but then the date of the Greek *Constitutions* themselves gives a similar *terminus a quo*; and in view of the tendency in writers like Ambrosiaster to identify the three orders in the Jewish hierarchy with the three orders of the Christian ministry, I should not like to say that 'diaconus' for Λευίτης is necessarily later than 400. The converse use of 'levita' for deacon occurs already in pope Damasus and St Ambrose. But the most primitive sounding term employed by our translator is 'Elevatio' (503. 15) for the Ascension, Greek ἀνάληψις. Unless this is a pure coinage out of his own head—on the same lines as his 'debilitate laborat'—it suggests a very archaic terminology for the Christian festivals. It does not seem to be paralleled at all elsewhere: 'ascension' (in one or other form of the word) is the universal Latin term. 'Pontifex' for ἀρχιερεύς (p. 504 ll. 24, 27) may also suggest an early date; after the end of the fourth century 'summus sacerdos' or 'princeps sacerdotum' became the fashionable ways to render 'high priest' as opposed to 'priest'.

Of the manuscript in which the fragment is contained I spoke in the October number of the JOURNAL (pp. 19–28 of the present volume), and I need only add that the exemplar of this part of the MS must have been written in lines of about twenty-one or twenty-two letters—rather shorter, that is, than in our MS, which averages some twenty-five or twenty-six letters—as is indicated by the two omissions on p. 493 ll. 6, 18. The pages here transcribed and printed are at places extraordinarily difficult to read, and the italic type represents the best reconstruction I could make out of the data supplied by Dr Spagnolo, to whom scholars are again indebted for the time and zeal which he has devoted to the work of decipherment. Angular brackets < > denote that in those passages the MS is not only worn but worn or torn away, so that the supplements are necessarily conjectural.

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LATIN LISTS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS. IV.
 AN EARLY VERSION OF THE EIGHTY-FIFTH
 APOSTOLIC CANON.

FROM MS VERON. LI foll. 155 b, 156 a.

AT two points in the current volume of the JOURNAL, pp. 19 ff of the October number and p. 510 of the present number, a description has been given of the Verona MS from which the following list of the Canonical Books is derived. As I have already said on p. 508, the Latin fragment of the end of the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is followed without break by the *Apostolic Canons*; and since Dionysius Exiguus, for what reason I know not, only translated the first fifty canons, our MS is the only early authority for the remaining thirty-five—and therewith for the last of all, containing the Biblical list. The *terminus a quo* for the date of the version contained in our MS is the date of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons* themselves, which may be put at about A.D. 400 or a little earlier; the *terminus ad quem* is the date of our Latin MS, and that can hardly be after A.D. 600. In my own opinion the version is probably nearer the earlier than the later of the two *termini*; but in any case both the version and the MS in which it is contained are probably older by some centuries than the oldest Greek MSS hitherto employed.

The differences between the Latin and the printed Greek texts are, as will be seen on comparison of the two columns of p. 513, sufficiently serious; they would have been considerably more serious if I had (as in the fragment of the *Constitutions*, pp. 492 sqq. supra) chosen the text of Lagarde for the Greek column. But the text of Turrianus is here so manifestly superior to that of Lagarde that the only reasonable course appeared to be to give it on this occasion the preference. Lagarde omits the book of Judith, the book of Job, the Psalms; reduces the books of Maccabees from three to one; conversely makes the Wisdom of Sirach into Wisdoms; and adopts a form of doxology with *ὁν* instead of *ἐν*. In these and other points Turrianus agrees with the Latin, and he would be a bold critic who ventured to maintain in any one of them the superiority of the reading of Lagarde.¹ Tobit is omitted in all the texts, Turrianus, Lagarde, and Latin alike.

More interest attaches to the divergences between the text of Turrianus

¹ On the doxology see above, p. 506.

and the Latin, because for the most part, the Latin being the only witness to them, they are now for the first time known. The books of the Pentateuch, the books of Solomon, and the Prophets are reckoned as one whole, and the items composing them are not separately enumerated—five books of Moses, five books of Solomon, sixteen prophets. Somewhat similarly we have the ‘codex of 150 psalms’ instead of the ‘150 psalms’. We shall probably follow the Latin in all these points except perhaps the ascription of five books instead of three to Solomon. If Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus had been already by implication accepted among the books of Solomon, it is not easy to see how it could be said that ‘beyond these [canonical] books’ the Wisdom of the learned Sirach should be used for the purpose of instructing the young.¹

But the *crux* of the situation lies in the New Testament list. All our authorities for the text of the canon reckon the Pauline Epistles at fourteen, and thereby canonize the Epistle to the Hebrews; but our MS allows only two Catholic Epistles, 1 Peter and 1 John. At a rather later date than the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the Peshitta still knows only of three Catholic Epistles, 1 Peter, 1 John, and James; and I do not doubt that more critical texts of our fourth-century authorities will tend to shew that the full canon of seven Catholic Epistles only attained recognition at a later date than has hitherto been supposed. The testimony of the Latin version is, in my own opinion, conclusive as to the original form in this respect of the eighty-fifth Apostolic Canon, ‘one epistle of Peter, one epistle of John, two epistles of Clement, and these present Constitutions, which are meant for bishops only and not for general publication, and the Acts of us the Apostles’.

C. H. TURNER.

¹ Unless we have here an unintelligent combination of the thirty-ninth Festal Epistle of St Athanasius, which allots just this position to Sirach, with a tradition of five canonical books of Solomon.

Verona cod. li fol. 155 b.

sint quidem uobis clericis et laicis
codices uenerand(i et scī ue-
teris autem testamen(ti moy-
sis quinque ihm autem n(aue unus
iudicum unus ruth un(us regno
rum unus quattuor para(lipome
non codices dierum duo (hesdrae
duo hesther unum iud(ith unus
macchabeorum tria (iob unus
codex psalmorum centum qui(n
quaginta unus solomonis li(bri
quinque prophetae d sedecim (unus
extra haec istoria gratia discan(t
uestri adulescentes sapientia(m
nimum edocti sirech · nostri (ue
ro id est noui t(est)amenti ae(uan
gelia quidem quattuor sicut in a-
ntecedentibus diximus mathei
marci lucae iohannis pauli
epistulae quattuordecim petri
epistula una iohannis epistula
una clementis epistulae duae
et haec constitutiones uobis epi-
scopis

8. unus : doubtless a slip, corrected into quattuor. 10. unum : perhaps a slip due to the neuter ἑν of the Greek. 14. d : probably the scribe had begun to write duodecim, the familiar form. 15. istoria : for istoriae. 19. sicut in antecedentibus diximus : ὥς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν εἰπομεν appears in some of the Greek texts, though not in Turrianus or Lagarde. It is presumably a genuine cross-reference to *Apost. Const.*

Text from Turrianus fol. 164 ; apparatus from Lagarde *Reliquiae Iuris Ecclesiastici* p. 35.

οὐ ἔστω δὲ ὑμῖν πᾶσι κληρικοῖς καὶ λαϊκοῖς βιβλία σεβάσματα καὶ ἅγια, τῆς μὲν παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, μωϋσέως πέντε, γένεσις ἔξοδος λευϊτικὸν ἀριθμοὶ καὶ δευτερονόμιον. Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ναυῆ ἑν. τῶν κριτῶν ἑν. τῆς ροῦθ ἑν. βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα. παραλειπομένων τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν δύο. ἔσδρα δύο. ἔσθῃρ ἑν. ἰουδεὶθ ἑν. μακκαβαίων τρία. ἰὼβ ἑν. ψαλμοὶ ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα. Σολομώντος βιβλία τρία, παροιμίαι, ἐκκλησιαστής, ᾠσμα ᾠμάτων. προφῆται δεκαεῖς. ἔξωθεν δὲ ὑμῖν προσιστορεῖσθω μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ. ἡμέτερα δέ, τουτέστι τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, Ματθαίου, Μάρκου, Λουκᾶ, Ἰωάννου. Παύλου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκατέσσαρες. Πέτρου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο. Ἰωάννου τρεῖς. Ἰακώβου μία. Ἰούδα μία. Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολαὶ δύο. καὶ αἱ διαταγαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις

6. καὶ Turrianus : om. Lagarde 7. τοῦ Ναυῆ . . . τῶν κριτῶν . . . τῆς Ῥοῦθ T : Ναυῆ . . . κριτῶν . . . Ῥοῦθ L 8, 19. τέσσαρα T : δ' L 10. Ἰουδεὶθ ἑν T : om. L 11. Μακκαβαίων τρία Ἰὼβ ἑν T : Μακκαβαίων ἑν L ψαλμοὶ ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα T : om. L 12. Σολομώντος T : Σολομώντος L 13. βιβλία T : om. L 14. προφῆται δεκαεῖς T : προφητῶν δεκαδύο, ἐν Ἠσαίου, Ἰερεμίου ἑν, Ἰεζεκιήλ ἑν, Δανιήλ ἑν L 16. τὴν σοφίαν T : τὰς σοφίας L 22. δεκατέσσαρες T : ἰδ' L

fol. 156 a

(*per me clementem in octo codici*)
 (*bus additae quas non oportet*)
publicare praesentibus omni
bus propter archana quae in eis
 5 *et actus nostri apostolorum*
haec uero uobis constituta
sint per nos, episcopi. uos autem
s salbi eritis et pacem
habebitis non seruientes autem
 10 *supplicium pendetis ac bellum*
in se perpetuum habebitis poe
nam it quod non audistis co-
petentem persoluentes. dñs uero
qui solus ingenitus et omniu-
 15 *rum factor omnes uos per*
pacem in s̄co s̄p̄u coadunet con
pleat in omne opus bonum inber
tibiles sine querimonia sine
accusatione dignos autem facit
 20 *uitalae perpetuae nobiscum per me*
dñum dilecti filii ih̄u xp̄i dñi ac
saluatoris nostri per quem gloria
qui supra omnia est dñs ac pater
in s̄co s̄p̄u paracleto nunc et
 25 *semper et in saecula saeculorum.*
 amen.

9. seruientes : or perhaps seruantes.
 11. in se (or cum se) appears likely
 to have been the translation of μετ'
 ἀλλήλων ; see above, p. 492 l. 24, sese
 et inuicem sese . . . commendamus for
 ἐαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους . . . παραθώμεθα. 19.
 facit : for faciat.

'Turrianus

δι' ἐμοῦ Κλήμεντος ἐν ὀκτῶ
 βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημένα, ἃς οὐ
 χρὴ δημοσιεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων
 διὰ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς μυστικά. καὶ
 αἱ πράξεις ἡμῶν τῶν ἀπο-
 στόλων. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ κανόνων
 διατετάχθω ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ὧ ἐπί-
 σκοποι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμμένοντες αὐτοῖς
 σωθήσεσθε καὶ εἰρήνην ἔχετε,
 ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ κολασθήσεσθε καὶ
 πόλεμον μετ' ἀλλήλων αἰδιον ἔχετε,
 δίκην τῆς ἀνηκούας τὴν προσ-
 ἤκουσαν τινύντες. ὁ θεὸς δὲ
 ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος καὶ τῶν ὅλων
 ποιητὴς ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς
 εἰρήνης ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐνώσει,
 καταρτίσει εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν
 ἀτρέπτους ἀμέμπτους ἀνεγκλήτους,
 καταξιώσει τε τῆς αἰωνίου
 ζωῆς σὺν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας
 τοῦ ἡγαπημένου παιδὸς
 αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
 σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μεθ' οὗ ἡ δόξα
 αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ καὶ
 πατρὶ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ
 παρακλήτῳ νῦν τε καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ
 εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ἀμήν.

13. τινύντες T: τινύντες L 14. ἀγέννητος
 T: αἰδιος L 16. ἐνώσει T: σθενώσει L 17.
 καταρτίσει T: καὶ καταρτήσει L 19. καταξιώσει
 τε T: καὶ καταξιώσει L 24. θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ T:
 θεῷ πατρὶ L 25. ἐν T: σὺν L 26. τε T:
 om. L

A. SPAGNOLO.
 C. H. TURNER.

FREIBURG FRAGMENTS OF A MS OF THE PELAGIAN COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL.

EARLY in the present year I received photographs of two conjugate leaves of a Latin manuscript, by the kindness of Professor J. M. Heer of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden, known to the readers of the JOURNAL¹ as the learned editor of the Latin version of the Epistle of Barnabas, and of the Latin codex *gat* of the Gospels, as well as the author of other works. The leaves, which had been in use for many years as the cover of the accounts of a professors' 'goose club'² at Freiburg, are now preserved in the Stadtarchiv there. Dr Heer or some one else has rightly labelled them Pelagius's Commentary on the Epistles of St Paul.

The leaves are the two outer conjugate leaves of quaternion CC.³ The writing may be safely assigned to the first half of the ninth century, and to a South German *scriptorium*. Certain of its palaeographical characteristics may be mentioned. Open *a* is invariable. The form of the uncial C used in signing the quaternion is so peculiar that in itself it may be decisive for one *scriptorium* against all others; at the lower left-hand corner it is provided with an appendage, somewhat like the lower part of a German capital J. The diphthong *ae* is never so written: generally it is represented by *e* merely, once or twice by *ē*.³ In the last lines the following letters are sometimes provided with long tails, reminiscent of legal documents: *f*, *p*, *q*, *r*, and *s*. The short stroke is sometimes used both for *m* and for *n*, both in the middle and at the end of a word or line. The letter *r* is sometimes highbacked, and a low *f* is characteristic. The *y* is of rather peculiar shape and is dotted; the *z* is short, and stretches half below the line. The following ligatures occur: *ec*, *et*, *ex*, *nt*, and *ri*. Punctuation is rare, and is of three kinds: the simplest is that of the dot placed half-way up above the line, the most emphatic is that of two dots in a line and a comma midway between them underneath, while the medium strength is represented by the semicolon. The interrogative sign is entirely absent, though there is at least one place where the sense is interrogative: the absence of the interrogative sign is unfortunate, as its presence would

¹ See vol. xi (1909-10) pp. 137-140 (Souter), 607-611 (Burkitt).

² See *Postscript*, p. 519.

³ Always given in the text below, where it occurs in the MS.

greatly facilitate an answer to the question of the provenance of the MS. The presence of scripture quotations in the text is sometimes indicated in the margin in the usual way. The MS is carefully and neatly written; there is no attempt to save space. The separation of words is fairly advanced. The number XVI, indicating a *capitulum*, appears at 1 Cor. x 25. This is a matter of some importance, as 1 Cor. x 25 is regularly the beginning of Capitulum L or LI: the question what system of capitulation is here used must be left to experts. The scribe was somewhat addicted to the omission of syllables—*euan*(ge)*lizauero*, *ce*(te)*ris*, *idol*(i)*o*, *immola*(ti)*cium*, and he was not always sure of his vowels:—*potet* for *putet*, and *parte cipo* for *participo*.

The following are all the abbreviations and contractions that occur:—*aū*, *dīm*, *dñi*, *ē*, *ēē*, *f̄rs*, *n̄*, *p̄*, *p̄pter*, *q̄*; (= quae), *qđ*, *s̄ca*, *χ̄p̄*. The following syllabic suspensions occur:—*b̄*; (= bus), *ṛ* (= ter), *t̄* (= tur, at end of line).

The contents of the MS correspond to the following places in Migne *Patrologia Latina* tom. xxx (later issue); col. 775 A 2–B 2, B 9–C 9, 779 B 1–C 3, C 13–D 14, that is 1 Cor. ix 15–17, 18–20, x 24–27, 27–31. A calculation shews that six lines of writing have been clipped from the upper part of the leaves, and that each page originally contained twenty-three lines. The signature CC may be taken to indicate that what we have left to us belongs to the twenty-sixth quaternion of the MS. This calculation fits the Pseudo-Jerome fairly well. As quaternion twenty-six represents five columns and two lines of the Pseudo-Jerome in Migne, the previous twenty-five quaternions,—if we ignore the conditions of the printing on the one hand,¹ and the absence of prefatory matter from the printed edition on the other, as well as the fact that there may have been a change of scribe, and even one scribe will not always maintain the same size of lettering throughout—ought to be represented by about 126 columns of printing. As a matter of fact, in Migne this portion takes only 105. If we test by the contents of three old MSS of Pseudo-Jerome, which I have completely collated, we find that, in the case of one peculiar MS, the matter of the first twenty-five quaternions of the Freiburg MS would take ninety-four leaves, whereas almost 98½ are actually occupied by the corresponding material. This result is found to be delusive when we turn to the two other MSS, belonging to opposite recensions, and find that in the one case the MS would require 106½ leaves for what is contained in about 96, and in the other case the MS would require 72 leaves for what is

¹ In MSS text and comment run right on, one following immediately on the other. In Migne a fresh line is begun with each extract from the Epistles. Consequently when the notes are long, a page contains much more than it does when the notes are short. This fact disturbs calculations.

contained in about $66\frac{1}{2}$. It seems clear that the Freiburg MS was longer than Pseudo-Jerome. If we proceed to test our fragments by the contents of the only known MS of Pelagius's commentary in its original form, Augiensis cxix (saec. ix in.) at Karlsruhe, we shall find that the portion in our fragments occupies there $9\frac{1}{3}$ columns. Multiplying this by twenty-five, to get at the space required for the preceding part, we arrive at $233\frac{1}{2}$ columns, or about $58\frac{1}{2}$ leaves. Prefatory matter and all, this part occupies hardly 58 leaves in the Karlsruhe MS. The correspondence would appear to be perfect, and our fragments would seem to belong rather to a pure Pelagius than to a Pseudo-Jerome. But the results above arrived at, and the remembrance that Pelagius is considerably shorter than Pseudo-Jerome, will make us pause a little before accepting this conclusion. Yet a further test is open to us, namely, to try the connexion with the form of the Pelagius commentary represented by the anonymous Veronese MS, Paris *B. N.* 653 (saec. ix in.). This MS has been referred to in several earlier articles.¹ Here the portion represented by our fragments fills almost exactly nine pages. On this proportion, what preceded would require 225 pages. As a matter of fact, that part occupies $222\frac{1}{4}$ pages in the Veronese MS. Here again the correspondence would appear to be practically perfect. But how can the Freiburg MS represent two forms so different? The pure Pelagius form is of all known the shortest, the Pseudo-Jerome is of medium length, and the Veronese form is the longest of all. The explanation must be that the expansions of the Veronese form are in inverse proportion to the capacity of one of its pages, or to put it in proportional form :—

Total length of Aug. cxix : total length of Paris 653 :: a page of Paris 653 : a page of Aug. cxix.

In attempting to decide to which family our fragments belong, we shall be wise to remember that the first twenty-five quaternions were too long for Pseudo-Jerome, and to decide that the Freiburg leaves represent a portion of another MS of the Veronese or longest form of the Pelagius commentary.

Let us now briefly consider the textual quality of the fragments. The following five readings are correct, where all the oldest Pseudo-Jerome MSS have gone wrong ; and in the first and second cases the Karlsruhe MS was the only authority previously known to me which had the right reading :—

potero immutare (*Aug.*) f. 201 r, ll. 15–16.

exemplo apostoli (*Aug.*) f. 208 r, l. 7.

prosunt (*Aug.*, Cassiod. as printed) f. 208 r, l. 11.

¹ *Proceedings of the British Academy* vol. ii pp. 429 f, 435–439, and the *JOURNAL* vol. xii (1910–11) pp. 32–35.

ad cenam om. (*Aug.*, *Cassiod.*), f. 208 r, l. 22.
infideli (*Aug. Sang.*), f. 208 v, l. 15.

But there are more than sufficient errors to set over against these. In addition to the instances of the scribe's carelessness already given, there are various cases of interpolation: *abstinere* (f. 201 r, l. 10), *nec adnuntiem* (f. 201 v, l. 8), *quod* (alt.) (f. 208 r, l. 7), *esse* (f. 208 r, l. 14). Instances of omission are: *in of illicita* (f. 201 r, l. 11) with some Pseudo-Jerome MSS, *enim* (f. 201 r, l. 12) with some Pseudo-Jerome MSS, *legem* (after *qui*) (f. 201 v, l. 22), *ut* (after *fratres*) (f. 208 r, l. 10). Examples of corruption are: *in* (for *me*) (f. 201 r, l. 10), *fecisse* (for *fecistis*) (f. 201 r, l. 20), *immolare* (for *immolate*) (f. 208 r, l. 16), *ergo* (for *ego*) (f. 208 v, l. 18), with some Pseudo-Jerome MSS and *Sangallensis*. One case of transposition is *amplius aliquid* (f. 201 r, l. 20).

If the manuscript had been complete, it would have ranked as equal in value to the Veronese MS Paris *B. N.* 653 (saec. ix in.); and, next to the Reichenau MS itself, Paris 653 is of all MSS the most valuable for the restoration of Pelagius's text. Dr Heer has earned the gratitude of students for bringing these interesting and valuable fragments to light.

ALEX. SOUTER.

fol. 201 recto

.
.
.
.
.

factum non est . sed uobis . exemplum pre
beo . tam proprii quam alieni causa
discriminis saltem ab illicitis abstinere
cum uideatis in aliorum causa salutis ab
stinere debita non minus quam licita
contempsisse ; Bonum est mihi magis mori
quam ut gloriam meam quis euacuet ;
Etiam si fame morerer propositum meum
de quo ante deum glorior nunquam potero
immutare ; Nam si euangelizauero
non est mihi gloria necessitas enim mihi
incumbit ; Cum omnia feceritis precepta
debita uos dicite persoluisse non enim
amplius aliquid fecisse unde gloriari
possitis ; Ue enim mihi est si non euanliza
uero damnationem habeo ; Si enim uolens
hoc ago mercedem habeo si autem inuitus

(775 A2—B2)

(in 1 Cor. ix 15—17)

fol. 201 verso

.
.
.
.
5

habere mercedem et ipse respondit si
gratis adnuntiem nec adnuntiem nec
acceptam exerceam potestatem ; Nam
10 cum liber essem ex omnibus omnium me
seruum . feci ut plures lucrī facerem ;
Cum possim uti libertatem meam et de ce
ris non ita curare omnibus tamen com
passus sum ut eos facerem saluos ;
15 Et factus sum iudeis tamquam iudeus
ut iudeos lucrarer ; Quando se purifi
cauit in templo quod tempore gratiæ
sciēbat esse superfluum ; His qui sub lege
sunt quasi sub lege essem ; Ostendit
20 quomodo fuerit cum ipsis et ipse iudeus
potest et ita intellegi quod samarita
nos dixerit esse sub lege qui tantum
moysē uidentur accipere ; Cum ipse

(775 B9—C9)

(in 1 Cor. ix 18—20)

fol. 208 recto

fol. 208 verso

5

quod licet quod expedit sed nos exemplo apostoli
et Christi non debemus illa tantum considerare
quae licent sed illa potius quae nobis expediunt
et edificant fratres non quaeramus quae nobis solis
temporaliter prosunt et aliis forsitan nocent ;
XVI Omne quod in macello uenit mandu-
cate nihil interrogantes propter conscientiam
esse si uultis manducare carnes saltem
de macello comparate tantum ne in idolo
comedatis et nolite interrogare utrum im-
molaré ; Sint ne cognoscentes uos omnia
immolata esse respondeant et non possi-
tis propter conscientiam manducare ;
Domini est terra et plenitudo eius ; Si domini sunt
munda sunt omnia simpliciter utentibus ;
Si quis uocat uos infidelium et uultis ire omne
quod uobis adponitur manducate

(779 B 1—C 3)
(in 1 Cor. x 24—27)

bentes docuit humilitatem etiam in accubi-
tu custodire postremo legis peritos argu-
it adrogantes eo quod nec ipsi redar-
guerent superbiam nec alios paterentur ;
Si quis autem dixerit hoc immolacium est
nolite manducare propter conscientiam ;
Conscientiam autem dico non tuam sed alterius
nequis potest illa uos quasi sancta comedere ;
15 Ut quid enim libertas mea iudicatur ab infi-
deli conscientia ; Hoc est ad quem profectum
ita utor libertate mea ut me alius repre-
hendat ; Si ergo cum gratia parte cipo-
quare blasphemor pro eo quod gratias ago ;
20 Non ideo sub gratia sumus ut sub libertatis
specie occasionem demus infidelibus blas-
phemandi ; Siue ergo manducatis ;
Siue bibitis uel aliut quid facitis omnia

(779 C 13—D 14)
(in 1 Cor. x 27—31)

Postscript.

By Dr Heer's kindness certain particulars have been communicated to me which affect the matter of the above article. Unfortunately the article was paged before these particulars could be incorporated in it.

'Goose club' is not a correct translation of 'Gesellschaft zum Gauch', which ought to be rendered 'Gawk Club'. Dr Flamm, Assistant-Librarian of the Freiburg Stadtarchiv, discovered the leaves, and Dr Heer identified them.

Having only the photograph to go by, I have framed a somewhat elaborate theory of the CC on the quaternion. Dr Heer has satisfied me that the ink is different, and that what I took to be CC is really an inverted 55. This cover enclosed volume No. 55, the accounts of the club for the year 1592—1593. There is no doubt that this is the correct way to take the symbols, as No. 56, the accounts of the year 1593—1594, is also extant, and is by the same hand numbered 56. Everything, therefore, in the article concerning or based on the supposed CC must be deleted. Cordial thanks are due to Dr Heer for his further spontaneous help.

A. SOUTER.

NOTES AND STUDIES

NOTES ON THE 'INTRODUCTIONS' OF THE WEST-SAXON PSALMS.

THE authors of this article have introduced the use of the name 'West-Saxon Psalms' to designate the prose portion, or the 'first fifty' of the so-called 'Paris Psalter'; and with corresponding linguistic exactness the poetic portion of this unique Anglo-Saxon Psalter has been named the 'Anglian Psalms'.¹

These West-Saxon Psalms have a claim upon the attention of the theological student that should be much more widely known and acknowledged. It is no small degree of surprise that is excited by the observation that so few students of the history of biblical exegesis have become aware of the results of Dr J. Douglas Bruce's dissertation, published now almost two decades ago.²

The discovery of Dr Bruce was twofold. He shewed in the first place that the Latin Rubrics and the West-Saxon Introductions found in the Paris Psalter were closely dependent upon a work ascribed to Bede and entitled *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*. This work gives for each Psalm, first an *Argumentum*, then an *Explanatio*, and lastly a long discussion called the *Commentarius*. The West-Saxon writer makes constant and intimate use of the *Argumenta*, and a sparing though unmistakable use of the *Explanaciones*, but apparently no use of the *Commentarius*, which Dr Bruce therefore supposes not to have lain before him. In the second place, the *Argumenta*, or rather

¹ *Liber Psalmorum : The West-Saxon Psalms, being the prose portion, or the 'first fifty', of the so-called Paris Psalter*. Edited by James W. Bright and Robert L. Ramsay; Boston and London, D. C. Heath & Co., 1907. It may be added that in this edition use has been made of a recently found copy of the Anglo-Saxon Introductions in MS Vitellius E. xviii. Dr Ramsay was led to make this discovery by Wanley's description of the MS. This new copy supplies the hitherto wanting Introductions (Ps. xxi and xxvi).

During the two academic years 1909-1911, Dr Ramsay held the office of a Johnston Fellow in the Johns Hopkins University, and devoted a good share of his time to the further study of questions relating to these Psalms. He has been fortunate in tracing Irish intermediaries in the transmission of the Theodorean matter, a complete account of which appears in a contemporary issue of the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*. A number of points which can be but briefly referred to in the present article are there discussed by Dr. Ramsay more in detail.—J. W. B.

² J. Douglas Bruce, 'The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms commonly known as the Paris Psalter' in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* ix (1894) 43-164. (Also reprinted, with a preface, as a Johns Hopkins University Dissertation, Baltimore, 1894.)

a section of them, which, in the edition cited, has uniformly been marked as section (a), is shewn by Dr Bruce to go back ultimately to the lost work of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Dr Bruce's means of proving this lay in the few citations given in the acts of the fifth Council and other contemporary documents, in the fragments of the *catenae* printed by Corderius and Migne, and in the complete series of headings preserved in two Syriac commentaries, which had been proved by Baethgen to be epitomes of the 'hypotheses' of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

During the seventeen years that have elapsed since the appearance of Dr Bruce's article, much additional light has been thrown upon Theodore's great exegetical work on the Psalter. Although the commentary as a whole still eludes discovery, such a number of fragments, both isolated and continuous, have been found, and so many versions and adaptations in other tongues identified, that it now seems possible to reconstruct the work almost in its completeness. Such a task is indeed at present in progress.¹ But the extraordinary diversity and wide dispersion of the sources to be consulted, comprising material in Greek, Syriac, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and Old Irish, will surely delay the execution of this difficult undertaking.

The progress of discovery may perhaps best be shewn by a brief summary of the important articles and publications that have appeared. To this will be added a classified list of the sources known at present.

In 1885-86-87 the reconstitution of Theodore's commentary on the Psalms was begun in the three important articles of Baethgen,² which established the dependence upon Theodore of two Syriac commentaries, of which one was found among the works of Bar Hebraeus and one in MS Sachau 215 of Berlin. With these were compared the extant fragments of the original, some of which Baethgen identified for the first time in the *Catena* of Corderius.

In 1894 Dr Bruce first brought into the Theodorean field the *Argumenta* of *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis*, and the West-Saxon Psalms. He also made a number of fresh identifications of fragments from Corderius.

During the same year the authorship of *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* was discussed by Dom G. Morin.³ Fresh evidence was brought forward for the ascription to Bede of the *Argumenta* and *Explana-*

¹ We have been informed by Dr H. Lietzmann of Jena that an edition of all extant fragments is being prepared in connexion with the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint.

² Friedrich Baethgen 'Der Psalmencommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia in syrischer Bearbeitung' in *Z. f. d. alttest. Wiss.* v (1885) 53-101; 'Siebzehn makka-bäische Psalmen nach Theodor von Mopsuestia' vol. vi 261-288, and vii 1-60.

³ Dom Germain Morin 'Notes sur plusieurs écrits attribués à Bède le Vénérable' in *Rev. Bénédictine* xi (1894) 286-295.

tiones, and in support of the view, previously communicated to Dr Bruce, that Ambrose Autpert was the probable author of the *Commentarius*.

In 1896 two important discoveries were announced by G. Mercati.¹ The first was the identification of the Latin commentary found in MS C. 301 of the Ambrosian Library of Milan, to which are appended the celebrated 'Milan Glosses' in Old Irish, as mainly a translation of Theodore on the Psalms. Although unfortunately much condensed and considerably revised, this version made it possible for the first time to get an adequate idea of the complete work. Mercati also found a number of fragments of another Latin version, which is much less condensed and probably older. He also called attention to the numerous fragments of the original preserved in the sixteenth-century *Catena* of Barbaro.

In 1898² Mercati announced the further discovery, in another Ambrosian manuscript, of numerous fragments of the original Greek of Theodore ascribed wrongly to 'Anastasius'.

In 1899³ B. Vandenhoff published the Syriac text, with a translation of many of the Psalms, of a manuscript in his own possession containing a revised and augmented text of the epitomized commentary of MS Sachau 215 studied by Baethgen.

In two articles published in 1901 and 1902⁴ by G. Diettrich, several new Syriac sources were brought to light. The earliest of these was the ninth-century commentary of Isô'dâdh on the Psalter, drawn, as Diettrich shews, mainly from Theodore, although with modifications and admixture.

During the latter year an important discovery was announced by H. Lietzmann.⁵ In the MS Coislinianus 12 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, he found a large unbroken portion of the original commentary, comprising Ps. xxxii-lx, with fragments of others. Lietzmann also pointed out the presence of additional fragments in other manuscripts, especially in a number of the *Catena*e listed in his valuable manuals of 1897 and 1902.⁶

¹ A. Ceriani *Rend. del R. Istituto Lombardo* xxix (1896) 406-408; G. Mercati *Riv. Bibl. Ital.* i (May 25, 1896) 95, and *Atti della R. Accad. d. Scienze di Torino* xxxi (1896) 655-676; S. R. Driver *The Academy* l, 82 (August 1, 1896); Jos. Offord, *Jun., The Academy* l, 100 (August 8, 1896).

² G. Mercati *Rend. del R. Ist. Lomb.* xxxi (1898) 1046-1052. The two articles of Mercati have been reprinted, with a few additional notes, in 'Varia Sacra', fasc. iii p. 91 f, *Studi e Testi* No. 11 (1903), Rome.

³ B. Vandenhoff *Exegesis Psalmorum imprimis Messianicorum apud Syros Nestorianos, e codice usque adhuc inedito illustrata*, Rheine 1899.

⁴ G. Diettrich *Beihfte zur Z.f. d. alttest. Wiss.* v (1901) and vi (1902).

⁵ H. Lietzmann *Sitzb. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1902, 1. Halbband, 334-346.

⁶ H. Lietzmann *Catenaen: Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung*, Freiburg 1897; G. Karo and H. Lietzmann 'Catenaarum Graecarum Catalogus' in *Nachrichten d. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen* (1902) pp. 1-60, 299-350, 559-620.

In 1906 F. Nau¹ described another manuscript of the Syriac epitome of MS Sachau 215. In 1907 A. Scher² announced the discovery of still another Syriac source in MS 36 of Diarbekir, which he describes as a Psalter having before each Psalm in red letters the introductions of Eusebius, Athanasius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

In the same year appeared the edition of the *West-Saxon Psalms* cited above. A review of the edition by J. H. G. Grattan,³ which called forth a brief rejoinder by J. W. Bright,⁴ appeared in 1909.

The latest discussion of the Theodorean question falls in the year 1910, in an article by P. L. Mariés,⁵ who announces the discovery of the commentary of Diodore of Tarsus, the teacher of Theodore. Mariés brings certain objections to the identifications of Theodore made by Baethgen, Mercati, and Lietzmann, though without very clear reason. No answer has yet appeared to these strictures.

1. CONTEMPORARY CITATIONS.

Leontius of Byzantium *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* Lib. iii; a bit of the commentary upon Ps. viii. Leontius's attack, written between 529 and 544, may be found, but with the citation from Theodore omitted, in Migne *P.G.* lxxxvi 1, 1385; the citation is given separately in *P.G.* lxvi, 1025.

Facundus of Hermiane *Pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum* Lib. ix cap. 1; extracts from the commentary upon Ps. xlv 1, 5, 7, 8, translated into Latin. This defence of Theodore by Facundus was written between 540 and 551. Migne *P.L.* lxvii 737-742.

Pope Vigilius *Constitutum de Tribus Capitulis*; chaps. 20, 22, 25 cite passages from Ps. viii, hypothesis; xv 10; xxi 15, 16; lxviii 22, in Latin. The proclamation of Vigilius, issued on the eve of the Council of 553, is to be found in Labbé and Mansi *Sacrorum Consiliorum* . . . *Collectio*, 1763, tom. 9, 61-108.

Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople, 553; coll. iv, cap. 19, 21-24, cites the same passages as those in the *Constitutum* of Vigilius. The *Acts* have come down only in Latin. See *ibid.* 202-230.

2. GREEK CATENAE FRAGMENTS. (a) IN MS.

MS Coislinianus 12, Bibl. Nat., Paris, thirteenth century. A *Catena* with an unbroken section of the commentary on Ps. xxxii-lx, with fragments on Ps. lxii, lxiii, lxiv, lxvii, lxx, lxxii. Of this Ps. xlv is published by Lietzmann (1902).

MS C. 98 sup., Ambrosian Library, Milan, twelfth century. A *Catena* on the Psalms with numerous fragments from Theodore, ascribed to 'Anastasius'. The hypotheses to Ps. xliii, cvii, cxvi, cxx, cxxxvi, cxliii, and a comment on Ps. liii, are published by Mercati (1898).

MS Monacensis 12, Bibl. Nat., Paris. A number of brief extracts. Lietzmann (1902) gives a part of the hypothesis to Ps. xlv.

¹ F. Nau *Rev. de l'Orient Chrétien*, II^{me} série, i (1906) 313-317.

² A. Scher *Journal Asiatique*, X^{me} série, x (1902) 331-362.

³ J. H. G. Grattan *Mod. Lang. Review* iv (1909) 185-189.

⁴ J. W. Bright *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxiv (1909) 77, 78.

⁵ P. L. Mariés *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1910, pp. 542-548.

MS Gr. 1422, Vatican Library, Rome. Some fragments ascribed to 'Hesychius'. For a description see Lietzmann's *Catenen* p. 52. The hypothesis to Ps. cxvi and comments on Ps. cxviii may be found in Pitra's *Analecta Sacra* iii (1883) 239, 514; see Mercati (1898). Lietzmann in 1902 printed the hypothesis to Ps. xlii.

(b) PUBLISHED.

Daniello Barbaro *Aurea in L. Davidicos Psalmos Catena*, Venice, 1569. Contains copious extracts on Ps. i-1; for description see Mercati (1898).

Balth. Corderius *Expositio Patrum Græcorum in Psalmos*, 3 vols., Antwerp, 1643-46. A *catena* with many fragments of Theodore, some of which are incorrectly assigned or anonymous. Most of those assigned to Theodore are reprinted in Migne *P.L.* lxi; Baethgen made many fresh identifications, and cites a large number of the hypotheses; these are reprinted by Bruce with a few additions.

Angelo Mai *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca* vol. iii (1845) and vii (1854); for pages see Index. This contains a good number of extracts from two Vatican MSS. All are reprinted in Migne *P.L.* lxi (1864) 647-696.

3. SYRIAC.

An anonymous commentary (written between the fifth and ninth centuries) found in MS Sachau 215, Royal Library of Berlin. The commentary is taken from Theodore, but much epitomized. Baethgen gives a translation of the whole series of headings. Another MS with the same text is described by Nau (1906). Still another MS with a revised and considerably augmented text is published, with a translation of several Psalms, by Vandenhoff (1899).

Iso'dādh (fl. about 852); a commentary on the Psalter found in MSS Or. 4524, British Museum, and Koikulides 19, Jerusalem. Largely taken from Theodore, with modification and mixture. Diettrich (1902) publishes the text and translation of Ps. xv, xxi, xli, lxvii, lxviii, lxxi.

Bar Hebraeus (twelfth century). A commentary on the Psalter, ed. by Paul de Lagarde *Prætermissorum libri duo*, 1879. Baethgen gives the headings, which are usually identical with those of the Sachau MS.

An anonymous commentary (thirteenth century) found in MS Harris 65, British Museum. Described by Diettrich (1901) as adopting 72 of the Theodorean readings given by Bar Hebraeus.

A Psalter of the twelfth century, MS 36, Diarbekir. Described by Scher as containing the headings of Theodore before each Psalm.

A Psalter of the fifteenth century, MS Poc. x, Bodleian Library. Reported by Diettrich (1901) to contain headings which are partly from Theodore.

4. LATIN.

A series of extracts from the commentary on twenty-five of the Psalms (xvii-13) including about fifteen hypotheses, found in MS F. iv 1, fasc. 5, University of Turin, and in MS C. 301 inf., Ambrosian Library, Milan, fol. 4-13. In MS F. iv 1, fasc. 6, University of Turin, are found two extracts from Ps. xvi 11-15 and Ps. xxxvii. All three are Bobbio MSS of the eighth or ninth century. The extracts seem to belong to a rather full, though free and rough, translation of Theodore's commentary. A few citations are given by Mercati (1896).

A complete commentary, perhaps by Saint Columban (†615), found in MS C. 301 inf., Ambrosian Library, Milan, fol. 14 to the end. Edited by G. I. Ascoli *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* v (1878). Another copy of Ps. xiii 12-xvi 11 is found in MS F. iv 1, fasc. 6, of Turin. This commentary, which is apparently based on the one above, gives an abbreviated version of Theodore, sometimes con-

siderably modified. For a description, with an edition of the Old Irish glosses in the Milan codex, and in part of the Latin, see Stokes-Strachan *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* 1 (1901).

A *catena* on the Psalms, with numerous extracts from Theodore, found in MS Pal. Lat. 68, Vatican Library, eighth or ninth century. See Stokes-Strachan 1 xiv.

The *Argumenta* from the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* ascribed to Bede. The 'a-sections' are condensed from the headings in the commentary edited by Ascoli. For manuscripts and editions see the bibliography in the *West-Saxon Psalms* pp. 149-151. To the list there given should be added the Irish MS C. 9 of St John's College, Cambridge (the 'Southampton Psalter'), which gives a very faulty text of the whole series of *Argumenta* (except for Ps. i) and a few of the *Explanations* (for Ps. i, x, cxviii) inserted on the margins. The 'Southampton Psalter' was written in the tenth or eleventh century, and probably derived its glosses, including *Argumenta* and *Explanations*, from the Irish sources described below.

The Latin Rubrics in the 'Paris Psalter', found with both the *West-Saxon Psalms* and the *Anglian Psalms*. These are extracted from the *Argumenta*, generally from the 'b-sections', but at times from the 'a-sections' or the 'c-sections'.

The second set (in green ink) of Latin Rubrics in the 'Lambeth Psalter' (MS 427 of Lambeth Palace Library). The 'Lambeth Psalter' has four sets of Rubrics on its margins in different hands and inks; the second of these, including about seventy Rubrics, is extracted from the *Argumenta*, using all three sections.

The 'Tiberius Psalter' (MS Cott. Tib. C. 6 of the British Museum) contains nine Latin Rubrics (Ps. xxxiii, lii, liii, lix, lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxx, cviii, cxi), and the 'Stowe Psalter' (MS Stowe 2 of the British Museum) four (Ps. lii, lix, lxxvii, cviii), which are taken from the *Argumenta*, including one at least (Ps. lii) from the 'a-section'.

5. OLD IRISH.

A commentary on the Psalter, of which only a fragment, consisting of the general Introduction and a part of the exposition of Ps. i, has been preserved. Edited by Dr Kuno Meyer *Hibernica Minora* (1894). This uses the *Argumenta* and probably also another Theodorean source. From it are probably taken the Latin glosses of the 'Southampton Psalter' (see above).

A versified summary of the above, written December 21, 982, by Airbheartach mac Coisse of the monastic school of Ross Ailithir. MS Rawlinson B. 502, Bodleian Library; published by Dr Kuno Meyer *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* i (1896) 486, 7, and iii (1898) 20-22, and in *Rawlinson B. 502 published in Facsimile*, Oxford, 1908.

6. ANGLO-SAXON.

The *West-Saxon Psalms* of the 'Paris Psalter'.

The peculiar character of the method of interpretation represented in these Anglo-Saxon Introductions conforms in large measure to the allegorical and mystical method of the authoritative commentators, such as Augustine and Cassiodorus, but it becomes strikingly divergent from this tradition through the prominence given to literal, historic, and common-sense interpretations.

There are two noteworthy features that distinguish these Introductions. The first is essentially a product of the mediaeval spirit of exegesis, and

consists in the threefold or fourfold scheme of meanings for each Psalm. Thus, for example, the Introduction to Ps. xliii: 'David sang this three and fortieth psalm, lamenting his troubles; and called to mind the gifts that He had bestowed on his fathers and his predecessors, and had promised to their descendants; and also lamented that it seemed to him that God did not hearken to them in those times so quickly as He had done to his ancestors. And he prophesied also in the psalm concerning Mattathias and concerning his sons, whom we call Maccabees, that they would lament in the same manner amid their troubles under the king Antiochus. And he prophesied also concerning every Christian man that hopes in God, that he would do the same thing; and also concerning Christ, that he would do the same with reference to the Jews.'

This fourfold interpretation of David, of the Maccabees, of every Christian man, and of Christ, represents a regular and fixed scheme which is maintained through nearly the entire series of these Introductions. Of the forty-nine that are extant, thirty are constructed upon this fourfold plan, offering, with variations of order, two explanations from Old Testament history, one of David and one of some later period such as that of Hezekiah, the Exile, or the Maccabees; and two explanations from the new dispensation, one of Christ or the Church, and one of every man. In fifteen instances we find only three lines of interpretation, the one omitted being in each case the second historical. The remaining four (viii, xviii, xlv, xlix) forsake the scheme altogether and explain the Psalm as embodying some dogmatic teaching.

The second distinguishing feature of these Introductions is as modern in spirit as the first is mediaeval. It is the introduction of the second historical interpretation itself. In the thirty Introductions that contain such reference to later Jewish history, the reign of Hezekiah is referred to in the majority of instances, especially the time when he was besieged by the Assyrians; in one instance (Ps. xlv) the reference is to the neighbouring reign of Ahaz; in nine instances to the Captivity; and in two instances (Ps. xliii and xlvi) to the Maccabean period. Since the investigation of Dr Bruce it is known that this feature of the Introductions represents the tradition of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on the Psalms.

In the following notes, the 'Introductions' of the *West-Saxon Psalms* are first analysed with reference to their sources, chief of which are the 'Vulgate Titles' and the *Argumenta*; of secondary rank are the *Explanationes* and the text itself of the Psalms. In a second paragraph, in each case, the corresponding *argumentum* (*a*) is studied in the light of all the Theodorean material that has been accessible. A third paragraph is sometimes added on other elements of the *argumentum*.

The subjoined list of contractions¹ employed in these notes shews what have been the limits of the Theodorean material at hand; but special mention must here be made of the kindness of Dr Mercati and of Dr Lietzmann in giving extension to those limits. Dr Mercati has allowed the use of proofs of the unpublished fragments in the Ambrosian and Turin MSS, and Dr Lietzmann has furnished a transcript of the Coislinianus fragment. It may be added here that of the three published *catenae* of Greek fragments, viz. those of Barbaro, Corderius, and Mai, the first has not been accessible; and that of the other sources cited in the bibliographical list above that still remain in MS, it has been possible to use only the all too scanty illustrations found in printed articles.

i, *Introd.* Although the Arg. is not lacking, and was used by the rubricator, in this one instance the translator seems to have composed no *Introd.*

Arg. Arg. (a) is in substantial agreement with Theodore, as shewn by the Syriac headings of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 85), and by the elaborate discussion in Asc. Arg. (c) is taken directly from the *Breviarium* of pseudo-Jerome (*P. L.* xxvi 871).

ii, *Introd.* (D T M). The three sentences of the *Introd.* supply three interpretations for the Psalm, viz. Davidic, tropological, and mystical. Of these the first is derived from the Vulgate title, with some added details from Arg. (a). The title, *Psalmus David*, which is here cited and commented upon, is found only in the Roman version. In the original Hebrew the second Psalm is, like the first, one of the 'orphan' Psalms, i.e. without a title; and the incorrect addition was dropped in the Gallican version. The second or tropological interpretation has no parallel in Arg., unless it be in the variant reading of

¹ The following abbreviations are employed in this article :—

Introd. = the A.-S. Introductions.

Arg. (a), (b), or (c) = the *Argumenta*, divided into sections as has been done in the authors' edition of the *West-Saxon Psalms*.

Expl. = the *Explanations* of the *In Psalmorum Librum Exegesis* (Migne *P. L.* xciii).

D, P, M, T = the four clauses commonly found in the *Intros.*, viz. Davidic, Prophetic or Second Historical, Mystical or Allegorical, Tropological or Moral.

R, G, H = Jerome's three versions of the Psalter: Roman, Gallican, and Hebraic.

Bthg. = Baethgen's three articles as cited above.

Cois., Cord., Migne, Anast. = the Greek fragments found in the Coislinianus MS, in the published *catenae* of Corderius and Migne, and in MS C. 98 *sup.* of the Ambrosian Library.

Isod., Sach., Barh. = the Syriac commentaries of Iṣō'dādāh, of MS Sachau 215, and of Bar Hebraeus.

Amb.-Tur. = the Latin fragments of MS C. 301 *inf.*, Ambrosian Library, and MS F. iv 1, fasc. 5, University of Turin.

Asc. = the Latin commentary of MS C. 301 *inf.*, Ambrosian Lib., edited by Ascoli.

the MSS B and T. The mystical clause, however, like the Rubric, is evidently derived from Arg. (b).

Arg. Between the Davidic interpretation of Arg. (a) and the exclusively Messianic interpretation given by Theodore to this Psalm no connexion is traceable. The disagreement, which it is of special importance to observe, is beyond doubt; for in spite of the absence of Theodore's own words, we have abundant evidence of the character of his comment. There is (1) the direct evidence of Cosmas Indicopleustes that this is one of the four Psalms (ii, viii, xlv, cix) that Theodore interpreted as exclusively Messianic (Kihn¹ pp. 454 f). Besides this, we have (2) the Syriac headings of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 68), which describe it as a prophecy of Christ's sufferings at the hands of the Jews, and of His human nature; (3) a confirmatory fragment in Cord. (Bruce, p. 115); and (4) a long discussion in Asc., which is here probably very nearly an unabridged translation of the original Greek, and which strongly condemns (p. 18) the

'Iudaeos, qui uero prophetiae huius tenorem a persona Domini detrudere conantur, quorum alii in Zorobabel, alii in Dauid, uolunt dicta psalmi praesentis accipere.'

Thus the interpretation given in Arg. (a) and followed by the A.-S. translator is one expressly condemned by Theodore as Jewish.

This striking discrepancy at the beginning suggests a comparison with the other three Psalms that we know Theodore to have considered Messianic. In the case of Ps. viii, we find the Arg. again replacing Theodore's Messianic interpretation by one condemned in Asc. as Jewish. But in the other two cases (xlv and cix), the Messianic interpretation of Theodore is faithfully preserved. It is evident, therefore, that the compiler of Arg. had no objection to the Messianic application in itself. He has, indeed, added such an interpretation to the one that he derived from Theodore, in a large majority of cases, by means of a subjoined section (b) or (c). The explanation of the discrepancies that do occur must therefore be sought in a collection of all the cases.

The whole number of cases of disagreement between the Arg. (a) sections and Theodore, of which we can be reasonably sure, is eighteen: viz. ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, xi, xii, xiv, xv, xxxvii, cxxxix, cxl, cxli, cxlii, and cxliii. Of these the disagreement at Ps. xxxvii, as we shall see, is merely accidental, being a reflection of that at Ps. vi. There remain two groups of divergent Psalms, one of twelve near the beginning and one of five near the end of the Psalter. In the first of these groups the interpretations of Arg. (a) stand alone, being opposed in each case

¹ H. Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, 1880.

by a divergent interpretation preserved in common by Asc., Sach., Barh., and all other sources for Theodore so far as they are accessible (for exact details see notes to each Introd.); but in the group of five at the end of the Psalter, Arg. (a) has the support of Asc., and the two in common offer a tradition conflicting with Sach., Barh., and, in the one case where its reading for these Psalms has been reported (Ps. cxliii), with Anast. (see Mercati, 1898).

In view of all the facts, it appears certain that in all these cases the interpretation of Arg. (a) represents a departure from the original Theodore. The reason which Bruce has suggested (p. 117) for the variations, namely, that they are due to a manuscript in the chain of tradition which became damaged at the beginning and near the end, the missing parts being supplied after the general model of those that were left, is perhaps the most plausible that can be assigned. But the curious agreement between Arg. and Asc. in the latter group and not in the former seems to shew that the process of loss and replacement took place twice, and presumably was performed by two different copyists. The source upon which Asc. is based—presumably the version of which we have some fragments in Amb.-Tur.—must somehow have lost its original headings for Ps. cxxxix–cxliii. The new headings supplied in Asc. are hesitating in tone and much more dependent on the Vulgate titles than Theodore would have had them; and in all five Psalms the interpretation chosen is of Hezekiah; Hezekiah being of course one of the most common and perhaps the best remembered of Theodore's genuine headings. The copy of Asc. which Bede used in the preparation of the Arg., besides offering him these five spurious headings at the end, which he faithfully followed with but slight condensation, must also have failed him in twelve Psalms at the beginning (ii–ix, xi, xii, xiv, xv). These he replaced, with somewhat more originality than his predecessor, by eight new Hezekian headings, two Davidic, one Exilic, and one Providential.

The surprising feature about the process of corruption here suggested is not the repeated losses sustained at the beginning and end of the manuscripts, for such losses are commonplaces of manuscript history; compare the three folios missing from the Paris Psalter (at Ps. xx, xxv, and l), and the Amb.-Tur. fragments. But we should hardly have expected to find both revisers so much in sympathy with Theodore's views as their new headings shew them to have been. Bede, in truth, if he be indeed the author of Arg., as now seems probable, made them by his twelve additions distinctly more heretical than the original that was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council; and in two cases (Ps. ii and viii) even fell into interpretations which Theodore himself had violently condemned as Judaizing. Unless, however, a simpler explana-

tion can be suggested to account for the facts, we must assume some such development as the one proposed ; and on any supposition the facts attest a noteworthy exegetical freedom of thought in Ireland and England.

When we come to take the next step, from the Arg. of Bede to the A.-S. Introductions, a fresh complication reveals itself. A number of the Introductions suggest the use of a fuller source than the one given in Arg. (cf. Ps. vii, xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, xlv). In some of these cases it would seem that a (b) section or a (c) section has dropped off in the text of Arg. that has come down to us ; and that such losses have occurred is strongly evidenced by the Latin Rubrics, which were also taken from Arg. (cf. Ps. vii, xxi, xxiv, xlv, xlvi, l). But a comparison of the twelve spurious Arg. (a) sections invented by Bede with the corresponding A.-S. Introductions shews that the translator must have had access to an additional Theodorean source. Nine of the twelve new headings he faithfully follows ; but three (Ps. iii, vii, and viii) he ignores, and adheres instead to the original Theodorean interpretation preserved in Asc. and the Syriac sources. The A.-S. text of the Psalms also frequently betrays his acquaintance with explanations which we know from Asc. or from the Greek fragments to have been in Theodore's commentary. Whether this additional channel through which the Theodorean views reached him was Asc. or some fuller version, we shall be unable to tell until the forthcoming edition of Theodorean remains facilitates a detailed comparison. But the Arg., although his chief source, was quite certainly not his only one.

A possible solution is suggested by the fragmentary Old Irish commentary on the Psalms edited in *Hibernica Minora* (see above). Of this we have only the preface and part of the exegesis of Ps. i preserved. The discussion of Ps. i begins with a citation of Bede's Arg. and Expl. ; and an acquaintance with Theodorean views through some other source, whether Asc. or not we can hardly ascertain, is elsewhere shewn. If we may suppose, as seems not unlikely, that the Irish commentary continued in the same way for the following Psalms, citing regularly Bede's Arg. for each, and also making frequent use of its other 'Theodorean source for both heading and commentary proper, we should have in it perhaps the sole authority needed by the A.-S. translator.

Arg. (b) furnishes the first example of the 'Mystical Title' and 'Liturgical Note'.¹ These allegorical and orthodox additions, perhaps added by Bede as a sort of palliative to the too original (a) sections, were probably derived from such a 'Collectio argumentorum' as is found in the *Opera* of J. M. Thomasius, tom. ii pp. xlvii-lxii. They are usually headed, in the three texts collated for the edition in the

¹ See the accompanying article cited above from the *Z. f. alt. Phil.* for a fuller discussion of these divisions of the *Argumenta*.

West-Saxon Psalms, by the word 'Aliter'; but the newly found text of the 'Southampton Psalter' frequently writes instead 'Spiritualiter', as here, or 'Allegorice'; and since either of these might easily have been corrupted into 'Aliter' by a mistaken expansion of scribal abbreviations, it is likely that they represent the original form.

iii, *Introd.* (D T M). Of the three interpretations here given, Davidic, tropological, and mystical, the first depends on the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David, cum fugeret a facie filii sui*, and also, as we have seen above (Notes, ii, *Introd.*), seems to reflect, not Arg. (a) as we have it, but the Davidic interpretation of Theodore's original heading. The tropological clause also here owes not even a hint to Arg. (a), as may have been the case in the preceding Psalm. In Asc., however, which we may suppose the translator's version of Arg. (a) to have most nearly resembled, are to be found sources for both of these interpretations; cf. p. 28:—

'Psalmus hic proprium et specialem habet titulum, et quidem uel inscriptione tituli eum super alia praenotare, dictus est autem a beato David id temporis quo Absolon inuaso imperio aduersum eum parricidalia arma arripuit. . . . Et ipse quidem (i.e. David), inter aduersa positus, nouerat per Spiritus Sancti gratiam quod esset a tribulatione liberandus; tamen ideo interdum angores suos deslet, interdum uelut a malis omnibus absolutus agit gratias, ut exemplum eius apud alios utilitatem eruditionis operaretur, et eos emendationi per conuersionem studere non pigeat, quandoquidem uident et istum, multam habentem fiduciam in Domino, nunc humiliari et deiici, nunc a malis mirabiliter erui.'

For his third or mystical interpretation, the translator's sources were Arg. (b) and the Explanatio:—

'David Christum accipe, Absalom Iudam Iscariotem, a cuius facie Christus fugit, uel corporaliter in montem Oliueti recidendo, uel spiritualiter sui cognitionis et dilectionis lumen abscondendo.'

Arg. The Hezekiah interpretation is quite in Theodore's manner, but it is certain that here, contrary to his usual custom, he accepted the title and made the Psalm Davidic. Not only have we the Asc. cited above, and the Sach. and Barh. headings (Bthg. v 92), but the original hypothesis itself preserved entire in Cord. (see Bruce, p. 115), all of which witness to the same effect. The addition of a tropological application to the historical one, as found in Asc., is entirely in Theodore's manner.

iv, *Introd.* (D T P M). Here for the first time the translator gives us the full set of four interpretations, Davidic, tropological, prophetic, and mystical, required to complete his plan. Before these, however, he has put an explanatory note on the Vulgate title, which evidently lay before him in the form it had assumed in R: *In finem, psalmus David, canticum* (corrected by G to *In finem, in carminibus, psalmus*

David). The note was probably based on the Explanatio, which comments as follows on the association here of the terms *psalmus* and *canticum* :—

‘Psalmus autem est organum musicum, capite sonorum, quo diuina praeconia canebantur; canticum, quod supernas laudes humanis uocibus personabat; sed haec ideo uidentur esse sociata, quia, et instrumentis musicis et choris psallentium, sacrificiis coelestibus consona uociferatione canebantur.’

The Explanatio in its turn has borrowed from Cassiodorus (*Expositio in Psalterium*, P. L. lxx); and with it may be compared the definitions of *psalmus*, *canticum*, *psalmocanticum*, and *canticum psalmi* given by Cassiodorus in his Praefatio (p. 15), definitions which reappear in the Commentaries of Remi (P. L. cxxxi) and Bruno (P. L. cxlii), and, somewhat modified, in the Commentarius of the *Exegesis* for this Psalm. At a later date, the definitions of the same terms given by Aelfric in his Glossary come also from Cassiodorus (Padelford *Old English Musical Terms* Bonner Beitr. iv p. 25). We may compare also the Old Irish commentary (*Hib. Min.* p. 30), which says: ‘the word *psalmus* applies to what was invented for the harp and is practised on it. *Canticum* applies to what is practised by the choir and is sung with the harp. *Psalmus cantici* applies to what is taken from the harp to the choir. *Canticum psalmi* applies to what is taken from the choir to the harp.’

The Davidic interpretation depends on the title and, by a characteristic transference of details from Hezekiah to David, upon Arg. (a). The transference here involved no difficulty, but in later Psalms, as Bruce has pointed out (p. 65 f), the reconciliation of Vulgate title and Theodorean views, as might be expected, was sometimes accomplished only by a *tour de force*. For the tropological clause no source is to be found in the immediate neighbourhood of this Psalm, but it is an essential part of the fourfold scheme which is evidently in the translator’s mind, and it is not only in harmony, as Bruce has shewn (p. 70 f) with orthodox mediaeval commentators, but is also quite in the spirit of Theodore (see below, Ps. xii and xxxii). The prophetic clause is of course from Arg. (a), which here gives a spurious and non-Theodorean interpretation (see Ps. ii above). Finally, the mystical clause comes from Arg. (b) and (c).

Arg. The Hezekiah interpretation differs totally from that of Asc., Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 84), and Cord. (see Bruce, p. 115), which demonstrate the genuine Theodorean interpretation here to have been ‘Providential’.

v, *Introd.* (DTPM). Again we have the fourfold interpretation, headed, as in the preceding Psalm, by an explanatory note on the Vulgate title, which this time comes rather from G, *In finem, pro ea quae haereditatem consequitur, psalmus David*, than from R, *In*

finem, pro haereditate, psalmus David. Most of the commentators explain *ea* of this title as referring to *Ecclesia*, which pursues an inheritance which is either Christ, or, as here, Heaven (cf. Augustine, 'Intelligitur ergo Ecclesia, quae accipit haereditatem uitam aeternam per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum'). The translator also adopts the usual mediaeval explanation of the words *In finem* in the Vulgate titles (G and R *passim*; but in H *Uictori*; cf. A. V., 'To the Chief Musician') as referring to Christ; cf. the *Explanatio* for Ps. iv, where the phrase first occurs, 'Finis legis est Christus, ad iustitiam omni credenti, qui est omnium bonorum gloriosa perfectio'; and see also Augustine, Cassiodorus, pseudo-Jerome, Remi, Bruno, and the Commentarius. Of the four interpretations which follow, the Davidic is from the title, the tropological is original with the translator, the prophetic is from Arg. (a), and the mystical from Arg. (b).

Arg. Instead of the Hezekiah interpretation of Arg. (a), the genuine Theodorean interpretation, according to the evidence of Asc., Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 94; Bruce 112), must have been Exilic.

vi, *Introd.* (D T M P). The Davidic sentence draws upon the Vulgate title, (R) *In finem, in hymnis, pro octaua, David*, and also upon sections (a) and (c) of Arg. David's sickness is borrowed from Hezekiah's; cf. Bruce, p. 76, 'We have, of course, no memorable sickness recorded in the life of David as in that of Hezekiah, but the paraphrast carrying out his method in a perfectly mechanical way does not concern himself about the facts of history.' The reference to the day of Judgement is to be connected not only with Arg. (c), but also with the words *pro octaua* of the title; cf. the *Explanatio*, 'Pro octaua Domini significat aduentus, quando, finita saeculi hebdomade, ad iudicandum uenerit mundum.' The tropological sentence is doubtless original, although Asc. shews that it was also given in the genuine Theodorean heading. The mystical sentence is from Arg. (b), and the prophetic, here put last, from Arg. (a).

Arg. Theodore's interpretation appears from Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 61, 92), and a fragment in Migne, to have been Davidic, a penitential Psalm for his sin with Bathsheba; Asc. adds a tropological application, which was without doubt also present in the original Greek, cf. below, Ps. xxxv, xxxvii.

vii, *Introd.* (D T M). In no one of its three interpretations does the *Introd.* shew the influence of the Hezekiah interpretation of our present Arg., whereas it is in harmony with the Davidic explanation which we know to have been originally given by Theodore. If this, as we have assumed above (Notes, ii, *Introd.*), was in some form before the translator, he must have drawn from it, together with the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David, quem cantauit Domino pro uerbis Chusi filii Iemini*,

the first clause of his *Introd.* Whether he likewise derived from Theodore his tropological clause we cannot tell; but we know from Theodore's own words in one of the recovered Hypotheses (see Ps. xxxv, below) that he regarded all the Psalms that he classed as Davidic as also especially intended for moral edification and instruction. The third or mystical clause of the *Introd.*, however, certainly found a source in the *Arg.* that lay before the translator; for the (b) section that gave it has been preserved to us in the Rubric.

It must, however, be noted that in one point the writer of *Introd.* fails to follow Theodore. As represented by Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 92), and Asc., Theodore seems to have identified *Chusi* of the title with David's friend and counsellor *Chusai Arachites* (A. V., Hushai the Arkite; see 2 Sam. xvi and xvii), a view which was also taken by Augustine, Cassiodorus, Remi, and Haymo. From this identification pseudo-Jerome, Bruno, the *Explanatio*, and the *Commentarius* vehemently dissent, preferring to find in the name an epithet of King Saul. But neither of these opinions can have been accepted by the translator, whose words shew that he must either have adopted a third mediaeval view, that of Arnobius ('Cum nuntiassent pueri Dauid quod possent Absalom occidere, et diceret Dauid, Parcite ei, et fugeret ipse Dauid a facie eius, apparuit super eum Semei, qui erat de cognatione Saulis, et iactans post eum lapides clamabat eum esse uirum sanguinum,' &c.), which identified *Chusi* with *Semei filius Iemini* (A. V., Shimei the Benjamite), 2 Sam. xvi 11 (cf. the reference to this opinion in pseudo-Jerome and in the modern commentary of Neale and Littledale), or must have regarded *Chusi*, in anticipation of a common modern view (cf. the edition of A. F. Kirkpatrick, *Cambridge Bible*, 1903), as an elsewhere unnamed slanderer of David.

Arg. The heading of Sach. and Barh. is translated by Baethgen as follows, 'Gesprochen von David, als er hörte, dass Achitophel sich erhängt hatte' (Bthg. v 92). Asc. reads:—

'Psalmus hic conuenienti titulo praenotatur, cum enim a Chussi Achitofel fuisset sententia dissoluta, reuersus Achitofel in domum suam, dolorem repudiati consilii sui suspendio pauplicauit; quo audito, beatus Dauid, id quod factum fuerat adscribens Deo, psalmum istum pro gratiarum cecinit actione.'

viii, *Introd.* (Dogmatic). Here we have the last and most striking of the three cases (Ps. iii, vii, and viii) in which the *Introd.* diverges from the present form of *Arg.* to agree with the genuine interpretation of Theodore. A more than usual degree of interest attaches to Theodore's interpretation of this Psalm, for it is not only one of the four Psalms alone admitted by him to be Messianic, but also one of those for which he was condemned by the Council of 553. To this circumstance we owe the preservation of a large fragment of the

original Hypothesis in the Acts of the Council, cap. xix (cited also in the original Greek by Leontius, see Migne, p. 1004, and also Kihn, p. 400, Bruce, p. 115; and given in Latin in Vigilius and Mansi), which, together with a smaller fragment in Migne (p. 651), the headings of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 69), and the fairly complete Latin version of Asc., enable us to be certain of Theodore's exegesis. This may be summarized as follows: 'The Psalm is a direct prophecy by David of the incarnation (cf. Asc., 'In hoc psalmo beatus David, profetali repletus spiritu, de Domini incarnatione prae loquitur'). The wicked denial of this by the Jews is confuted by Christ's application of the Psalm to Himself in Matt. xxi 16. The double nature of Christ is the key to the contrast in tone between the first and last part of the Psalm; vv. 1-4, as shewn by the passage in Matthew, apply to the Divine Nature, or "God the Word" as Creator of all, object of wonder in all the earth (*τεθραυστώσθαι ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ*); vv. 5-8, as shewn by the Apostle's use of them in Heb. ii 6-9, apply to the "assumed Man". The Jews, on the contrary, explain the Psalm as referring to the contrast between God and man in general.' Up to this point it seems that Theodore was perfectly orthodox, and his interpretation is the one universally accepted by mediaeval commentators; but he went on to emphasize the distinction he found in the Psalm between the two 'natures' to such an extent that, as it seemed to the Council, he made two 'persons', and so fell into the heresy afterwards known as Nestorian. But this part of the Hypothesis is cut short in Asc., and probably had disappeared altogether in the version before the A.-S. translator.

The Arg. in its present form is widely different, and suggests the very interpretation stigmatized by Theodore as Jewish—the usual modern interpretation—which finds in the two parts of the Psalm merely the contrast between divine omnipotence and human weakness. It seems plain that the translator had access to a fuller and more Theodorean form. As does Theodore, and as both do again in the case of Theodore's next Messianic Psalm, Ps. xlv, he has adopted a special method of treatment. The fourfold scheme is dropped altogether, and both here and at Ps. xlv we find practically but one interpretation, the Messianic or 'dogmatic' (so also in Ps. xviii and xlix; cf. Theodore's classification, Ps. xxxvi, below). There was also, no doubt, influence from the Vulgate title, *In finem, pro torcularibus, psalmus David*, and perhaps also from the Explanatio, 'Sic Domini Christi ex duabus et in duabus naturis inconfusis atque distinctis una persona salubriter et indubitanter agnoscitur.' But the attempt of Bruce to find a source for the reference to the Incarnation in the present form of Arg. can hardly be accepted.

Arg. The curious adoption in *Arg.* of the Judaizing interpretation must have taken place in perfect innocence of Theodore's express rejection of it. Doubtless in inventing it Bede simply drew upon the Psalm itself (cf. *vv.* 3, 4, 5).

ix, *Introd.* (D T M P). The ninth Psalm comprises the ninth and tenth of the A. V. The two are distinct in the original Hebrew, Jerome's Hebraic version, and the A. V., but united in the LXX, G, and R. In Barh. and Isod. they are distinct; but in Sach., Asc., *Arg.*, and certainly in the commentary of Theodore, who used the LXX, they are united, as also in all other mediaeval commentaries. In this article the Vulgate numbering has been used throughout. The *Introd.* here resumes the fourfold form, and draws upon both sections of *Arg.*, upon the Vulgate title, *In finem, propter occulta filii, psalmus David*, and upon the Psalm itself (cf. *v.* 14).

Arg. Here again the *Arg.* in both its interpretations, of David and of Hezekiah, is probably entirely independent of Theodore, although it chances that Theodore's interpretation is also to be classed as Davidic. But the Davidic clause of *Arg.* is clearly based on the Vulgate title, whereas Theodore, as shewn by Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 56, 86, 92), and Asc., seems to have ignored the title and explained the Psalm as spoken by David in the person of his people praying for national victory over the surrounding nations. Nothing of this reappears in *Arg.*, and the Hezekiah alternative, which is entirely novel, is added in the same hesitating manner as at Ps. cxli, cxlii, cxliii.

The occurrence of alternative interpretations in *Arg.* at Ps. lxxxv and cvii is hardly to be classed with the four cases here cited, as is done by Bruce (p. 111); it is due, not as here to a loss of the original Theodorean headings, but to an effort which frequently appears to reconcile Theodore with the Vulgate titles (cf. Ps. xxix below).

x, *Introd.* (D T M). Here, in addition to the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, and *Arg.*, the translator draws upon the first verse of the Psalm itself. The prophetic interpretation is absent from the *Introd.* and *Arg.* alike.

Arg. For the first time since Ps. i, the genuine Theodorean interpretation is preserved, and Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 92), and Asc. agree with *Arg.* in explaining the Psalm as spoken by David about his own experience during the pursuit of Saul.

xi, *Introd.* (I T M). The threefold interpretation is again from the Vulgate title, *In finem, pro octava die, psalmus David*, the *Arg.* (a and b), and the first verse of the Psalm itself.

Arg. It is difficult to say whether the *Arg.* here is or is not independent of Theodore. There is nothing in its wording that might not be drawn from the title and *v.* 1 of the Psalm. Theodore, as shewn

by Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 85), and Asc., made the Psalm purely moral or tropological, whereas Arg. fits it to David's life. Hence, though the same general lesson appears in both, they are probably unrelated except by common derivation from the Psalm itself.

xii, *Introd.* (D T M P). With the reappearance of the Prophetic interpretation in the Arg., the full fourfold scheme reappears in the *Introd.* The Davidic sentence is from the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, and Arg. (a), with the same transference from Hezekiah to David noted in Ps. iv.

Arg. The departure here from Theodore is absolute. A fragment of the original Hypothesis in Migne, confirmed by Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 92), and Asc., shews that Theodore made the Psalm purely Davidic, connecting it with David's penitence for his sin with Bathsheba. The long heading in Asc. discusses the object of the penitential Psalms, and emphasizes that in all such Psalms a tropological purpose is always to be assumed in addition to the Davidic or prophetic occasion ('Consequenter ergo ista et si qua sunt alia huiusmodi beati David dicta psalmis probantur inserta, quia poterant plurimum utilitatis conferre lectoris; docent enim quod debeat modus confessionis adhiberi', &c.) Cf. Ps. iv, xxviii, and xxxi.

xiii, *Introd.* (D T M P). Of the four interpretations, the Davidic is from the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, and the Psalm itself; the mystical from Arg. (b); and the prophetic from Arg. (a). Bruce notices (p. 79) the mistake made in calling Rab-shakeh (2 Kings xviii, xix) king of the Assyrians.

Arg. Arg. (a) agrees here with Theodore as represented by Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 93), and Asc.; and we have besides the evidence of the original Hypothesis to Ps. lii, recovered by Lietzmann, that Theodore referred this Psalm to Hezekiah and his dealings with Rab-shakeh.

Section (c), here placed first, is taken from pseudo-Jerome; it is a note on the word *insipiens* of v. 1. This far-fetched allusion to Nabal, the rich fool, gave an additional connexion between the Psalm and the rich young ruler of Matt. xix 16-26, who is mentioned in Arg. (b) and in the Rubric (see Neale, i 184); but the principal ground for the connexion was of course the parallel between vv. 2 and 4 of the Psalm and Matt. xix 17.

xiv, *Introd.* (D P T M). Beside the four usual methods of interpretation the *Introd.* has a trace of a fifth, the 'anagogical' (œce *resto*, &c.). The Davidic feature, coming from the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, together with an addition adapted from the words of Arg. (a) about the people in captivity, and the prophetic and mystical clauses from Arg. (a) and Arg. (b) respectively, are in accordance with the customary method. The tropological and anagogical clause, on

the other hand, seems drawn from some orthodox commentary on the first verse of the Psalm; thus for example Cassiodorus:—

‘Sed intueri quam pulcherrime uarios se sensus apta uerba distinguant. In tabernaculo, dicitur, quis habitat! de illo qui adhuc in huius saeculi agone contendit, in monte quis requiescit! Quando iam unusquisque fidelium post labores huius saeculi aeternae pacis securitate reficitur.’

And similarly Augustine, pseudo-Jerome, and Remi.

Arg. That *Arg.* (a) again offers a spurious interpretation is shewn by a comparison with *Sach.*, *Barh.* (*Bthg.* v 93), and *Asc.*, all of which agree in relating the Psalm to Hezekiah. It is noteworthy that this is the only case where the new interpretation chosen for *Arg.* (a) is Exilic. Possibly it is to be explained as a confusion arising from an awkward condensation of such a heading as we find in *Asc.*; for *Asc.* here is rather obscure, and its reference to a ‘captivity’, though meaning the threatened one of Senacherib in Hezekiah’s time, might easily have been misunderstood to mean the Great Captivity:—

‘Nam et David, ut omnem filii Israel spem noxae securitatis incideret, quae per hoc, quod recenti Dei auxilio extra periculum omne constituerant, ac de metu fuerant captiuitatis erepti, poterat eorum sensus ad tollere, ut uidelicet de se magna sentirent, ac non parui apud Deum meriti esse crederent, ne ergo, abiecta omni sollicitudine uitae melioris, in otium se desidiamque laxarent, hunc psalmum cecinit.’

xv, *Introd.* (D P T M). Of the four usual interpretations, the Davidic is in accord with the Vulgate title, *In tituli inscriptione, ipsi David*; the prophetic with *Arg.* (a), and the mystical with *Arg.* (b).

Arg. This is the last of the non-Theodorean *argumenta* occurring among the first fifty Psalms, except in the case of Ps. xxxvii, where, as we shall see, it is due to a special cause. The spurious interpretation selected is as usual that of Hezekiah, the details being evidently gathered from the Psalm itself. For the genuine interpretation we have an abundance of evidence, this being one of the comments condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council. The original Hypothesis, apparently complete, is cited in Migne from Cord.; a full Latin version is given in *Asc.*; and in Syriac we have *Sach.*, *Barh.* (*Bthg.* v 77, 92), and the recently recovered *Isod.*, from which the entire comment on this Psalm is translated by Diettrich (pp. 104–108). Like the ninth, Theodore made this Psalm Davidic, spoken in the name of the people returning thanks for the national victory over their neighbours that had occurred in David’s time. The passage condemned by the council, which is preserved in its Acts (cap. xxi) and in Vigilius, was Theodore’s comment on vv. 10 and 11; in explaining these famous verses he departed from the orthodox interpretation of them as a direct Messianic prophecy, regarding them primarily as a figurative reference to David’s earthly

trials, with only a secondary application, through his heretical theory of 'types', to Christ's death and resurrection; cf. Kihn, pp. 138 and 160 ff. Thus the Davidic character of the original interpretation is put beyond all doubt. But of the cloud of ancient controversy surrounding the Psalm both the compiler of our present Arg. and the A.-S. translator were evidently unaware; and not without its humorous aspect is the way in which, in the *Introd.*, the orthodox mystical interpretation, the heretical Davidic interpretation, and a perfectly new Hezekiah interpretation are all innocently combined.

xvi, *Introd.* (D T M). A threefold interpretation is given, the prophetic being absent from both Arg. and *Introd.* The Davidic clause agrees with the Vulgate title, *Oratio David*, and Arg. (a).

Arg. Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 92), and Asc. agree with Arg. (a) in making the Psalm purely Davidic. The Arg., however, is general in its terms, and in its wording has little resemblance to the other sources, which assign the Psalm definitely to the time of David's persecution by Saul.

xvii, *Introd.* (D T M). Again the interpretation is threefold. The Davidic clause and Arg. (a) are both in agreement with the Vulgate title, *In finem, puero Domini David, qui locutus est ad Dominum uerba cantici huius in die qua eripuit eum Dominus de manu Saul et de manu omnium inimicorum eius, et dixit*. There is no necessary conflict, as Bruce thinks (p. 80), between Vulgate title and Arg. as to the date of its composition by David, for the phrase *in die qua* does not designate any particular day.

Arg. Contrary to his custom, Theodore here seems to have given full credit to the Vulgate title. Besides Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 92), and Asc., we have here for the first time the other Latin commentary (Amb.-Tur.) found in the Ambrosian MS C. 301 inf. and MS F. iv 1, fasc. 5, University of Turin. To the Davidic interpretation of Sach. and Barh., Asc. and Amb.-Tur. add an express notice of agreement with the Vulgate title and mention the occurrence, with variations, of the Psalm in 'the book of the Kings' (2 Sam. xxii). The text of Amb.-Tur. is much fuller than that of Asc., and perhaps translates the original without abbreviation. There is nothing to indicate with which of the other two Latin texts the brief abstract of Arg. (a) is the more closely connected.

xviii, *Introd.* (Dogmatic). Here, as at Ps. viii, xlv, and xlix, the translator drops his usual fourfold or threefold scheme and gives but a single interpretation. In all these cases the intention seems to be to mark the Psalm off as directly didactic and doctrinal, whereas the large majority of the Psalms are conceived as dramatic, composed in character, as suitable expressions of pious thought and feeling not only for David

at the time of composition, but also for repetition at many later periods of sacred and church history. Exactly this distinction is made by Theodore (see Notes xxxvi, *Introd.*), except that Theodore conceived many Psalms to have been composed by David with no reference to his own circumstances, but in prophetic adaptation to some later personage of history such as Hezekiah or the Maccabeans, whereas the translator made all such Psalms primarily Davidic.

The source here was doubtless the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, and Arg. (a), although the latter is freely paraphrased, and a different purpose assigned to the creation; the divergence was probably due, as Bruce suggests (p. 80), to the obscurity of the Latin.

Arg. The providential interpretation is found also in Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 84), and the two other Latin texts. The words of Arg. (a) reappear almost exactly in both the other Latin texts, but a closer examination shews that it is slightly closer to Asc.; cf. Amb.-Tur. :—

‘In praesenti psalmo beatus Dauid institutae a Deo creaturae ordinem narrat, ipsius etiam creatoris providentiam operum adserit testimonio, atque ab elementorum ordinatione opificem nititur adprobare, qui ex hoc ipso multam curam hominum se habere signavit, dum ita elementa componit, ut per ipsa possit agnoscere’; *Asc.*, ‘Proprium argumentum eius est institutae a Deo creaturae ordinem pandere, aperire causam, per haec adprobare providentiam Dei, qui ex hoc ipso multam curam hominum se habere monstravit, dum ita elementa a se creata componit, ut per ipsa possit cognosci.’

It may be noted that the readings *dum* and *per* adopted in our text of Arg. are supported by both the other versions. Before the passage cited there occurs in Asc. a curious comment on the use made of this Psalm by the Apostle (Rom. x 18): ‘Hunc quoque psalmum ad Euangelium transferre Apostolus abusus in oportunitate sententiae, dixit, In omnem terram exiit sonus eorum.’ The words are quite in the spirit of Theodore (cf. his comment on xv 10), but are probably the insertion of the reviser, since they do not appear in Amb.-Tur. They are also omitted in Arg. In Amb.-Tur., on the other hand, there is added a condemnation of the sceptical denial of creation and providence, which is omitted in Asc. and Arg.

xix, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *In finem, psalmus David*. The Davidic clause, as usual, adapts the details applied in Arg. (a) to Hezekiah. In the mystical clause, derived of course from Arg. (c), the translator characteristically substitutes the concrete *apostolos* for the general term *ecclesia* (cf. xxii, *Introd.*).

Arg. Arg. (a) agrees with Asc., from which it might have been abstracted, as also with Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 93).

xx, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *In finem, psalmus David*. As in the preceding, the translator makes the people speak the words of

the Psalm. Bruce (p. 81) derives the mystical clause from the *Explanatio*: 'Hic psalmus Domini Saluatoris primo incarnationem et postea deitatis facta decantat.' But it is also possible that the Arg. contained a section (b), now lost, as at Ps. vii, which supplied the Messianic interpretation.

Arg. The Hezekiah interpretation is found also in Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 93), and Asc. Of the two occasions mentioned in Arg., the Syriac headings give only the slaughter of the Assyrians; but Asc. mentions also the cure of Hezekiah's sickness.

xxi, *Introd.* (D T M). This is one of the two Intros. (xxi, xxvi) recovered in the Vitellius MS. The Vulgate title is *In finem, pro assumptione matutina, psalmus David*.

Arg. As testimony for Theodore's interpretation we have Sach., Barh. (Bthg. v 78, 92), Isod., Asc., Amb.-Tur., and, this being one of the comments condemned by the Council, a long passage from the Commentary (on vv. 2, 17, and 19) preserved in the Acts and in Vigilius. The heretical theory of 'types' which was responsible for his condemnation appears clearly in the heading given in Asc. :—

'Domini ultima in cruce oratio docuit ad quem debeat hic psalmus referri, qui tamen suis temporibus habuit figuram illius historiae quae narrat David coniuratione Abisolon in erumnas coactum, in quibus positus hoc carmen uice orationis cecinit.'

Cf. also the passage cited from the Acts of the Council (cap. xxii) by Kihn (p. 161) :—

'Quod enim psalmus nullatenus conuenit Domino, certum est. Neque enim erat Domini Christi, qui peccatum non fecit, nec inuentus est dolus in ore eius, dicere, Longe a salute mea uerba delictorum meorum (v. 2). Sed et ipse Dominus, dum secundum communem hominum legem in passione opprimeretur, Deus meus, Deus meus, quare me dereliquisti? (v. 2) emisit uocem; et Apostoli, Diuiserunt sibi uestimenta mea, et super uestimentum meum miserunt sortem (v. 19), ad eum traxerunt, manifeste quoniam quod supra modum dictum fuerat prius a David propter illata ei mala, hoc ex operibus euenit in Domino Christo, cuius et uestimenta diuiserunt et sorti tunicam subiecerunt.'

The recently discovered commentary of Isod., from which this Psalm is translated in full by Diettrich (p. 108), gives at length Theodore's refutation of the orthodox directly Messianic interpretation, and a long note to the same effect is found in Amb.-Tur. The heading of Amb.-Tur., on the other hand, unlike that of Asc., has no such clause; and hence it was probably inscribed here by the author of Asc. to reconcile matters with the orthodox interpretation. It is likewise unmentioned in the very brief Arg. (a), which might have been abstracted from either of the other two Latin headings. The A.-S. translator must consequently have been quite unaware of the thin ice over which he was skating.

Doubtless he derived his mystical clause from some orthodox comment such as that of the *Explanatio*, 'Per totum quidem psalmum loquitur Dominus Christus', or added it mechanically. Yet the combination at which he has arrived is very much like that for which Theodore was condemned.

The Arg. here lacks the (b) section, but this is probably supplied by the rubric, as at Ps. vii. The (c) section is adapted from pseudo-Jerome :—

'Hanc inscriptionem Hebraei aliter habent, Pro ceruo matutino; et interpretatione peruersa putant de Esther totum uicesimum primum psalmum esse compositum, quod uidelicet ipsius periculo et intercessione apud regem sit de periculo Israeliticus populus liberatus.'

The citation of this Jewish interpretation is interesting as giving precisely the same sort of historical interpretation as those of Theodore, although his interpretation here, as we have seen, was a different one.

xxii, *Introd.* (D P T M T). The Vulgate title is *Psalmus David*. This *Introd.* is peculiar in putting the prophetic clause first and the Davidic clause second—an involuntary betrayal of the usual order of derivation—and in giving two tropological clauses. The Davidic and the first tropological clause seem merely the mechanical carrying out of the system. The mystical clause depends on Arg. (c), which in turn comes from Arnobius. The second tropological is from Arg. (b); possibly also the *Explanatio* was used :—

'Loquitur per totum psalmum renatus in baptismo Christianus, gratias agens quia de ariditate peccati ad loca pascuae et ad aquam sit refectionis inductus.'

Arg. With Arg. (a), Asc. here agrees almost verbally, and Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 94) in substance. The liturgical note *ad Hester* in Arg. (b) was doubtless intended to associate v. 6 of the Psalm with Esther iii 13, and viii 17 (Neale i 307).

xxiii, *Introd.* (T M D). This *Introd.* is quite peculiar in its omission of the prophetic clause referring to the Exile, found in Arg., although the wording of Arg. has clearly influenced the A.-S. writer, and in its unique arrangement of the clauses with the Davidic last and the tropological first. No source for the tropological interpretation is to be found in Arg. as we have it; but in the heading of Amb.-Tur. discovered by Mercati we learn that Theodore did give such an interpretation, and, what was equally unusual for him, placed it first. The coincidence suggests that the text of Arg. used by the writer of *Introd.* was fuller, beginning with a sentence or clause lost in our form (cf. Ps. ii above). The Davidic clause rests on the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David*, *prima Sabbati*, with the customary adaptation from Arg. The mystical clause is explained by Bruce (p. 81) as coming from the *Explanatio*:

'Prima sabbati significat diem Dominicam, quae prima est post Sabbatum, quo die Dominus resurrexit a mortuis.' But the translator's reference to the Ascension was taken rather from such a comment as that in the Commentarius :—

'Hic autem prima Sabbati accipitur aliter : Sabbatum namque, id est, requies, fuit nobis resurrectio Domini, qui resurgens nos conresurgere fecit, ascendens quoque et sedens ad dexteram Patris nos ascendere et consedere fecit.'

Arg. Asc. is here almost verbally identical with *Arg.* :—

'Psalmus David, prima die Sabbati : praedicitur de populo, immo praecipitur, in praesenti psalmo, quibus uitae suffragiis ualeat de captiuitate Babilona liberari.'

The heading of Amb.-Tur. is altogether different in wording :—

'Sollicite beatus David, atque admota in hanc rem opera, profetat in praesenti psalmo, uolens quidem omnes homines ad studium uirtutis accendere, sed praecipue Iudeos ; ac populum in Babilone ducendum praedicit ergo longe antea ; non debere eos de diuino desperare adiutorio, sed studium omne ad correptionem uitae emendationemque conuertere, per quod utique possint etiam de captiuitate reuocari.'

Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 94) also give the Exilic interpretation.

xxiv, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *In finem, psalmus David*. Besides this and the *Arg.*, the *Introd.* reflects the language of vv. 10, 11, and 19 of the Psalm itself. The mystical interpretation Bruce thinks (p. 82) is simply repeated from the preceding Psalm ; but it is more likely to have been derived from a lost section (b) of the *Arg.*, the existence of which is demonstrated by the rubric (cf. Ps. vii).

Arg. *Arg.* (a) and Asc. are almost verbally identical, and both are in substantial agreement with Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 94).

xxv, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *Psalmus David*. As Bruce points out (p. 83), the repeated expressions of 'innocence' in the *Introd.* are due to the first verse of the Psalm ; cf. also the *Explanatio*, especially for the tropological clause :—

'Totus psalmi textus ad perfectum aptandus est Christianum, qui, diuersorum laude meritorum in ecclesia perseuerans, diuinis se beneficiis consolatur. Sanctus iste quem diximus primo modo psalmi innocentiam suam respici deprecatur, quia cum iniquis hominibus non habuit portionem.'

The translator's history is much at fault here : he speaks of certain evil counsellors of David who are unknown to Scripture and who are perhaps a confused memory of Hushai with his ill counsel to Absalom ; and he confounds the Assyrians with the Babylonians.

Arg. The wording of *Arg.* (a) is somewhat obscure, and it is doubtful whether the A.-S. translator fully understood it. The meaning is, 'In the character of the exiles at Babylon, but especially of the faithful exiles, a song of prophecy is composed. . . .' Asc., which is almost verbally identical, supports the reading *prophetiae* for *propheticæ*.

The heading preserved in Amb.-Tur. is fuller, and explains the allusion to *captiui sancti* as follows:—

‘In populo Israhel, quem captiuum Nabocodonosor rex Babilonem adhu^xit (sic), fuerunt perpauci numero Deo moribus et studio uirtutis accepti, qualis fuit Ezechiel, Daniel, ac iii pueri . . . profetat in multis psalmis ex persona eorum, ac loquitur quae illis merito uideantur conuenire; e quibus psalmis iste unus est.’

Cf. also Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 95): ‘Gesprochen im Namen der Edlen in der Verbannung, welche um Erlösung baten’; and cf. Arg. (a) at Ps. lxxv, c, cxviii, cxxix.

xxvi, *Introd.* (D P T M). This is the second of the two Intros. recovered in the Vitellius MS. The lost first clause must have been Davidic and perhaps reflected the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David, priusquam ungeretur* (var., *egrederetur*; G, *lineretur*).

Arg. Asc. is in verbal agreement with Arg. (a), but slightly fuller. Sach. (Bthg. v 93) gives substantially the same interpretation. Arg. (b) refers to the catachumens; there is a cross-reference to Isaiah which escapes identification, unless it be an altered form of Is. i 19, iv 2, or lv 2.

xxvii, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *Huic David psalmus* (G, *Psalmus ipsi David*). The Davidic and prophetic clauses are much expanded and contain features for which there is no source in the present Arg. (a), such as the reference to Hezekiah’s deliverance from his enemies and to David’s ‘unseen’ enemies. These details were given by Theodore, according to the testimony of Sach. and Barh.; and hence it is likely that the translator had before him a form of Arg. (a) that still contained them (cf. Notes, ii, *Introd.*).

Arg. Asc. agrees with Arg. (a) almost verbally, with a curious additional phrase connecting with the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David huic (Ezechiae); qua oratione infirmitatis suae tempore sit Ezechias usurus, profetatur hoc carmine*. Fuller than either are the headings of Sach., ‘Gesprochen im Namen Hiskias als er von den Assyriern befreit war, und von einer Krankheit ergriffen wurde’, and Barh., ‘Gesprochen von David im Namen Hiskias als seine Freunde treulos gegen ihn waren, und sich über ihn freuten zur Zeit seiner Krankheit’ (Bthg. v 93).

xxviii, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *Psalmus David, in exitu* (G, *in consummatione*) *tabernaculi*. The Davidic and prophetic clauses depend on the Vulgate title and Arg. (a) in the usual fashion; the tropological and mystical are probably merely mechanical additions, although it is worth noting that the original Theodore offered a clear tropological interpretation in addition to the one of Hezekiah. There is not, however, sufficient resemblance in detail between this addition (which is preserved only in the heading of Amb.-Tur.) and the tropological sentence of *Introd.* to warrant the assumption of connexion (cf. Notes, iii, iv, and xii, *Introd.*).

Arg. Arg. (a) is almost verbally identical with Asc., and agrees in substance with Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 93). The heading given in Amb-Tur. is quite long and contains, besides the tropological interpretation mentioned above, an interesting statement of Theodore's peculiar theory of the way in which the Psalms were composed, which reads as follows :—

‘Beatus enim Dauid, futura praedicens, loquitur ex persona eorum qui inter-futuri erant rebus ac negotiis post futuris ; et ea loquitur, non quae ab his sine dubio erant dicenda, sed conueniebat eis dicere, et quae pro successu rerum ipsa consequentia suggererebat. Simul etiam docet posteros, ut, prosperatis negotiis suis, studeant circa Deum deuoti esse semper et grati ; et quid dico posteros ? omnes etiam homines, quibus, praestante Deo, res ex uoto praeueniunt, instituit quae illos dicere de Deo et sentire par sit. Non ergo quasi omni modo dicenda, sed quasi conuenientia ac rebus apta, prae loquitur, ideoque ergo tunc psalmum ita composuit, eo quod uerba congruant rebus, ac docet huiusmodi sermonibus uti Ezechiam, siue post collatam uictoriam siue de periculo infirmitatis ereptum. Ob hoc namque et sub populi in Babilone possit (positi) persona tali (talitudo) frequenter loquitur, quae transcendunt quidem mensuram eorum, tamen necessaria sint (sunt ?) ad continendas in timore personas animas (sic) et pietatis magisteria conferenda ; qualis est maxime xii psalmus, et si qui sunt eius similes, in quibus religiosae et deuotae in Deum mentis affectus ostenditur.’

In Arg. (b) the liturgical note, ‘ad superpositionem diei sabbati paschae,’ seems to refer to the use of this Psalm on Holy Saturday, when there was a double or strict fast (for *superpositio*=double fast ; see Ducange). The reason for associating the Psalm with ‘Noe diluuium’ is apparent in v. 8, where we should read in the A.-S. **flōde** instead of **folce** (G, *Dominus diluuium habitare facit*).

xxix, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title is *Psalmus cantici, in dedicatione domus Dauid*. With the tropological and mystical clauses may be compared the Explanatio :—

‘Domus autem Dauid Dominici corporis templum, dedicatio uero eius resurrectionem eius ostendit, qua in aeternam gloriam potestatemque perductum est. Prima narratione Dominus post resurrectionis gloriam Patri gratias agit, quia eum de mundi istius aduersitate liberauit, sanctis iubens laudem dicere Domino, quando uniuersa in eius potestate sunt posita.’

Arg. Arg. (a) is almost verbally identical with Asc. ; but the variant readings may be noticed of *pro euentu* for *prouentu*, and *errore correcti* for *errore correpti*. Amb-Tur., which is much fuller, and the brief heading of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 93), also interpret of Hezekiah and his sickness ; but it is noteworthy that they have nothing corresponding to the last clause of Asc. and Arg. (a), ‘et pro conseruatione templi tanquam pro dedicatione cantatur’. This clause is therefore probably not from Theodore, but is an addition made to reconcile the Vulgate title with the Theodorean Hypothesis, which as usual had ignored it.

Such attempts are characteristic of Asc. ; cf. Ps. xxxiv, xlv, l, li, liii, lvi, lviii, lix, in all of which cases the original Greek is at hand and additions made in Asc. are obvious (see also Lietzmann, p. 340). Naturally in Arg. (a), which is almost always briefer and more condensed than Asc., these compromising additions are often dropped ; but the fact that they do sometimes reappear in Arg. (a), either in full, as here and at Ps. xxxiv, or more or less attenuated, as at Ps. l, li, liii, and lix, is important, for it proves Arg. (a) to have been derived either from Asc. or a predecessor of Asc. Cf. also Ps. lxxxv and cvii (Bruce, p. 111, and Notes, ix, Introd.), where the compromising addition is fuller and clearer in Arg. (a) than in Asc.

xxx, *Introd.* (D P T M). In addition to the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, use may have been made of the mystical interpretation of *Explanatio*, which begins :—

‘Titulus notus est, pertinens ad Dominum Christum, de cuius passione et resurrectione totus est psalmus iste cantatus. Per uniuersum psalmum uerba sunt Domini Saluatoris.’

Arg. Arg. (a) is almost verbally identical with Asc., and in substantial agreement with Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 95).

xxxii, *Introd.* (D P T D M). The Vulgate title is *Ipsi David, intellectus*. The Introd. freely expands the two brief clauses of Arg. (a), and adds to his usual scheme a second Davidic clause. He has evidently drawn upon the Psalm itself, and probably also upon the *Explanatio*, which emphasizes the penitential nature of the Psalm : ‘And the Psalm is rightly marked with such a title, when the sinner understands too late that he has fallen into wickedness, because sins which he ought at once to have confessed he finds that he has concealed too long’ (translation from Neale, i 481).

Arg. Here for the first time Arg. (a) in its present form joins with the prophetic a tropological interpretation ; for other instances see Ps. xxxii, xxxiii, xxxviii, lxxii, lxxx, xciv, civ, cxi. All the other branches of the Theodore tradition accessible for this Psalm, Asc., Amb.-Tur., Sach., and Barh. (Bthg. v 93, 100), likewise preserve the double interpretation, which as we shall see was probably always present, explicitly or implicitly, in Theodore himself (see Notes, xxxii, *Introd.*). For its probable presence in the translator’s Arg. in some cases where it is lost in ours, see Ps. iv and xii above. Asc. is much fuller than Arg. (a), but is in verbal agreement ; Amb.-Tur. is still fuller and has no such similarity in wording.

xxxii, *Introd.* (D T P T M). The prophetic interpretation is derived from the first part of Arg. (a), and this in the usual fashion is also transferred to David, in accordance with the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David*. The second clause of Arg. (a) is tropological, and is reflected, though not

minutely, in the two tropological clauses of the Introd. Then the mystical clause is added for completeness.

Arg. This Psalm begins the series for which we have Theodore's original Greek preserved in full in the MS Coislinianus 12 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, as discovered by Lietzmann (Ps. xxxii-lx). The Hypothesis for Ps. xxxii agrees closely with the Latin of Arg. (a) and Asc. and the Syriac of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 87, 93); the Greek is also to be found in Migne and Bruce, p. 106 (quoted from Cord.). As in all branches of the tradition, it gives the double interpretation, of Hezekiah and tropological; and it adds an important general remark shewing that Theodore regularly completed his various prophetic interpretations by the tropological application: 'This in the Psalms must be especially noted, that they turn ever from their particular subjects (hypotheses) to instructive exhortation (ἐπὶ κατηχητικὴν παραίνεσιν), accomplishing this in various ways to the profit of the hearers; so that it is necessary to know the particular subject in order to know the power (δύναμις) of the Psalm.'

xxxiii, *Introd.* (D T P M). The Vulgate title, *Psalmus David, cum commutauit uultum suum coram Abimelech et dimisit eum et abiit*, is altogether set aside in favour of Arg. (a); and the usual transference to David, as far as possible, of the prophetic interpretation is made. From Arg. (a) come also the prophetic and tropological clauses of the Introd. Arg. (b) and Arg. (c) are not used.

Arg. The double interpretation, of Hezekiah and tropological, is given alike in all branches of the tradition, Asc., Sach., and Barh. (Bthg. v 93), and is again confirmed by the original text of Cois.

xxxiv, *Introd.* (D T M). The Vulgate title is *Ipsi David*. The translator omits the prophetic clause, transferring to David what is said in Arg. (a) about Jeremiah, and drawing from Arg. (b) his tropological and mystical interpretations. His failure to notice Jeremiah may have been due to a failure to recognize the name of the prophet, which appears only here in the whole series of Args. (cf. the form 'heremiae' of Asc.). The last clause, **mā witgiende þonne wyrgende oþþe wilniende**, is an independent addition in accordance with the traditional mitigation of the imprecatory passages of the Psalms. At this point the Commentarius ('non maleuolentia optandi sed praescientia prophetandi') and Cassiodorus, at Ps. v 10, 11 Augustine and Richard Rolle, at Ps. xi 3 pseudo-Jerome, and at Ps. lxviii 24 Gregory in the *Cura Pastoralis* offer much the same explanation. The last passage may be cited: '**Ne cwæþ hē þæt for þȳ þe hē ænegum men þæs wȳscte oþþe wilnode, ac hē witgode swā swā hit geweorpan sceolde**' (Sweet *Cura Past.* p. 29; cf. Bruce, p. 86).

Arg. The hypothesis recovered in Cois. (also given complete in trans-

lation in the heading of Amb.-Tur.) is very long, explaining David's custom of selecting some prominent man in each age as his dramatic mouth-piece, establishing such choice of Jeremiah here by detailed comparison of the language of the Psalm and the prophet, and adding at length a tropological interpretation. Of all this Asc. gives only the Jeremiah interpretation, very much condensed, but characteristically attempts to reconcile it with the Vulgate title by prefixing the phrase, 'Occasione aerumnarum suarum', which has no parallel in Theodore, in Amb.-Tur., or in Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 99). The Arg. further abbreviates Asc.; its retention of the Asc. reconciling phrase (as at Ps. xxix) proves that it depends on Asc. (or an ancestor of Asc.), and not directly on Amb.-Tur. or on Theodore. Finally, the A.-S. author of Introd. has fixed on this surreptitious addition and has failed altogether to notice Jeremiah.

xxxv, *Introd.* (D T M). The Vulgate title is *In finem, seruo Domini David, psalmus*. The Davidic clause shews familiarity not only with Arg. (a) but also with the story as recounted in 1 Sam. xxvi. The tropological clause again (cf. Notes, ii, *Introd.*) coincides with one in Theodore which is absent from our present text of both Arg. and Asc. The mystical clause clearly refers to Judas, although the MS reading **dydon** shews that **Iudas** was mistaken by some copyist as a plural (= Jews); a similar confusion appears in the various readings of Arg. (b) between Judas and Judea.

Arg. In the Hypothesis as preserved in Cois., Theodore explains at length why he adds to his Davidic a tropological interpretation, but the addition has survived only in Amb.-Tur., which summarizes it as follows:—

'Necessarium autem fuit et ualde utile etiam hominum, psalmos in quibus de passionibus suis beatus David loquitur monimentis tradere; propter eos quibus erat talis lectio profutura, ut ad emendationis studium prouocetur.'

In Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 92) and Asc., which is in close verbal agreement with Arg. (a), only the Davidic clause appears.

xxxvi, *Introd.* (D T T M). The Davidic clause rests on the Vulgate title, *Ipsi David*. The first tropological clause depends on Arg. (a), possibly also on the *Explanatio*, and certainly also on v. 1 of the Psalm, in its expanded form as given in the version (Bruce, p. 87). The second tropological and mystical clauses seem added mechanically.

Arg. The Cois. Hypothesis contains for this Psalm, besides the tropological interpretation of Arg. (a), an interesting statement of the five different classes into which Theodore divided the Psalms. The passage reappears, with considerable abbreviation, in Amb.-Tur., but disappears in the Syriac and Asc. Theodore's classification is as follows: 1. Dogmatic Psalms (οἱ δογματικούς λόγους ἐκτιθέμενοι; 'quibusdam de dogmatibus disputat'). 2. Laudatory Psalm (ὑμνωδία ἀπὸ

τῆς [δ]ημιουργίας τῷ Δεσπότῃ; 'in quibusdam uero ipsam diuinorum operum dispositionem ad laudandum Deum materiam sibi proponit et causam'). 3. Prophetic Psalms, which both prophesy and edify, varying the exhortation with the occasion (οἱ πράγματα ἐσόμενα ὑποπιθέμενοι; 'In aliis dum praedicit futura, pro rerum ipsarum quas adnuntiat qualitate, quid faciendum, quid cauendum sit diligenter inculcat'). 4. Personal Psalms (οἱ ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν; 'non numquam etiam sub exemplo suo docet auditores qualiter ea quae euenerint portare conueniat'); these are subdivided into (a) Penitential (διδάσκοντες τί προσήκει λέγειν ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐξεταζόμενον; 'quid si in peccatum lapsi fuerunt agere debeant'); and (b) Supplicating (τί προσήκει φθέγγεσθαι ἐν συμφοραῖς καθεστῶτα; 'quid debeant dicere in tribulationibus constituti'). 5. Purely Moral Psalms (οἱ ἐκτὸς ὑποθέσεως παραίνεσιν ποιούμενοι; 'sunt etiam alii psalmi in quibusdam sine aliquo hominum argumento magisterium exhortationis induci, interdicens omnibus uitiiis, et omnia uirtutum studia sollicitè ac diligenter insinuans').

The first class is that known to Baethgen as Messianic, and comprises among the first fifty, so far as we can tell from present sources for Theodore, only Ps. ii, viii, xlv. The second class are those which have been called Providential, and include Ps. iv and xviii. The third, of course the largest group, is not here subdivided by Theodore; but among the first fifty Psalms five different objects of prophecy appear, viz. the Exiles, to whom are assigned Ps. v, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxx, xxxix, xli, xlii, l; Hezekiah or his people, Ps. xiii, xiv, xix, xx, xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xl, xlvii; Jeremiah, Ps. xxxiv; the Maccabees, Ps. xliii, xlvi; and King Ahaz, Ps. xlv. The fourth group of Personal or Davidic Psalms include (a) the Penitential, Ps. vi, xii, xxxvii; (b) the Supplicating, Ps. iii, x, xv, xvi, xxi, xxxv, xxxviii; and three others which seem to form a third sub-group, omitted by Theodore, the Thanksgivings, Ps. vii, ix, xvii. The fifth group, to which Theodore tells us belongs the present Psalm, comprises Ps. i, xi, xxxvi, xlviii, xlix.

Asc., which omits the note on classification, and gives a condensed version of the interpretation proper, is here, quite exceptionally, copied by the *Explanatio* as well as the Arg. Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 83) also give the tropological interpretation, of which however they have lost the specific point: 'Vermahnung und Belehrung aller Menschen, nicht in Sünden zu verfallen.'

xxxvii, *Intro.* (DPTM). The Vulgate title is *Psalmus David, in rememoratione Sabbati*. In the construction of both the Davidic and Hezekiah parts, the author of the *Intro.* has eliminated the specific detail of Hezekiah's sickness, so as not to conflict with the facts of David's life (but cf. Ps. vi, above). For the tropological and mystical

parts he may have used the *Explanatio*: 'Some apply this Psalm to the history of the blessed Job; but Jerome thinks it said in the person of every penitent, or mystically in that of the Saviour at the time of his Passion' (Neale, i 588).

Arg. We have here another case of disagreement between Arg. (a) and Theodore, which is due to an obvious and natural misunderstanding. The long Cois. Hypothesis makes the Psalm Davidic, belonging to the penitential group of Davidic Psalms, and of course also tropological. At the end Theodore says that the same occasion is treated in another Psalm, clearly referring either to Ps. vi or xii. Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 92) give only the Davidic explanation from Theodore. But Amb.-Tur. and Asc. here give only Theodore's final note: 'Sicut unum argumentum est sexti psalmi et praesentis psalmi.'¹ Now the author of Arg., as we have seen, had replaced the original Davidic heading of Ps. vi by one of Hezekiah; on looking up the cross-reference of Asc., therefore, he transferred his own substituted interpretation to the present Psalm. The fact that Asc. alone gives the key to the change shews again the close connexion it bears to Arg. (a).

xxxviii, *Introd.* (D T T M D). The Vulgate title, *In finem, pro Idithun, canticum David*, Arg. (a), and Arg. (b) supply the Davidic and first tropological clauses of the *Introd.* The last clause, which curiously continues the Davidic interpretation, perhaps rests on the last sentence of the *Explanatio*: 'Thirdly, he maketh request that his sins may be forgiven, and that his life may be concluded with a happy end' (Neale, ii 1). Verses 8 and 16 of the Psalm are also evidently in the writer's mind.

Arg. The double interpretation of Theodore, Davidic and Tropological, as found in Cois., is faithfully preserved in abbreviated form in Arg. (a), Asc., and Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 93). Arg. (a) is in verbal agreement with Asc., merely omitting some words.

xxxix, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Davidic interpretation is taken from the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, and Arg. (c). The comparison thus instituted with the preceding Psalm is carried through the prophetic, tropological, and mystical clauses by the translator on his own authority; thus finding in Arg. (a) the Exilic interpretation of this Psalm, he supplies a corresponding Exilic interpretation of Ps. xxxviii. For his mystical interpretation he discards Arg. (b), and uses, perhaps, the *Explanatio*: 'He supplicates the help of the Father, that He may overcome the perils brought upon Him by the Jews.'

Arg. Theodore's hypothesis, in Cois. and Migne (with considerable textual variation), makes the Psalm first Exilic and second tropological.

¹ A fuller translation of Theodore's hypothesis to this Psalm is found in the other Turin MS, F. iv 1, fasc. 6.

In Arg. (a), Asc., and Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 95), only the Exilic interpretation is retained. Asc. and Arg. (a) are in substantial, but not verbal, agreement.

xl, *Introd.* (D P T M). Here the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David*, and Arg. (a) are combined in the usual way to give the Davidic clause of the *Introd.*, the definite *infirmis* and *curatio* of Arg. (a) being transformed into a vague **earfoþ** and **fultum** more suitable to David. For the tropological and mystical clauses some suggestion may have been found in Arg. (a), where the translator perhaps read 'Jews' instead of 'Judas'.

Arg. Theodore's Hypothesis, preserved with textual variations in both Cois. and Migne, interprets the Psalm first of Hezekiah in his sickness, and second as tropological, inculcating the duty of almsgiving. Asc. and Arg. (a), which are in almost verbal agreement, and Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 94) preserve only the first of these.

xli, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David, intellectus, filiis Core* (G omits *psalmus David*) and Arg. (a), again combined by the translator, yield him his Davidic and prophetic clauses. His tropological clause perhaps owes something to the *Explanatio*: 'This Psalm fits every Christian. . . . In the second part he speaketh to his soul, and telleth her not to be troubled in the stormy sea of this world' (Neale, ii 55).

Arg. Arg. (a) seems to be a brief abstract of the form in Asc. The Exilic interpretation is found also in Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 95), and in the original Greek of Cois., which adds a note that has not found its way to any of our later forms, dealing with David's method of psalm-composition in such cases. Even more clearly than the passage cited on Ps. xxviii, this reveals the peculiar conception which Theodore had formed of the literary purpose and nature of the Psalms. The Hypothesis may be summarized as follows: 'David speaks in the character of the People in captivity in Babylon. It is not to be wondered if the longing expressed seems almost too intense for those in whose mouth it is put; for the blessed David, foreseeing how they would be cut off from the Promised Land and the Temple, imagined how he himself would feel in like case, and wrote what he himself would have uttered; in this way instructing them what intensity of grief they ought to feel. For David learned only the facts of future events through the Spirit, whereas the words which he composed, though fitted to each case, sprang from his own disposition toward God. Even to-day the just often feel more grief over the misfortunes of the wicked than they do for themselves. David does not predict the words actually to be spoken, but, with an edifying purpose in his mind, gives such words as should be spoken. So the experiences may be credited to those who came to

experience them, and the foresight of them to the Spirit, but the piety of expression to the virtue of the author.'

xlⁱⁱ, *Introd.* (D P T M). With little to guide him in the Vulgate title, *Psalmus David*, or the Arg., the translator follows conventionally the fourfold plan in his *Introd.* By reference to the preceding Psalm, whither he is sent in Arg. (a), he obtained the prophetic clause ; and for his tropological and mystical interpretations he perhaps got some help from the first verse of the Psalm and from the *Explanatio* :—

'David indicat Christum, ad quem ex persona fidelissimi Christiani psalmus hic dngitur. . . . Psalmus iste cuique fidelium congruit.'

Arg. Arg. (a), Asc., Sach., and Barh. (Bthg. v 95), and the original in Cois. all agree in merely noting that this Psalm belongs to the same occasion as the preceding. In the clauses of Arg. (b) for the two Psalms, we have cross-references to their use in connexion with baptism. The preceding Psalm is assigned to the ceremony where the catechumens approach the font, and this Psalm for the same catechumens after baptism. The two Psalms continue to the present day to be used before and after baptism in the Office for Holy Saturday.

xlⁱⁱⁱ, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title, *In finem, filius Core, ad intellectum*, here for the first time fails to mention David, but this does not prevent the translator from composing a long Davidic clause, which is clearly based on the first portion of the Psalm itself. If the prophetic clause is derived from Arg. (a), the translator must have turned to the Book of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii 27) for the proper names, as Bruce suggests (p. 90). These names, however, we now know to have been given in Theodore's original Hypothesis and also in Asc. ; it may therefore be best to explain what is a notable coincidence by assuming, as we have done in other instances (cf. Notes ii, *Introd.*), that the translator had before him a fuller form of the Arg. than that preserved to us. On the other hand, the Rubric might plainly have been derived from the Arg. in its present form ; but the selection of the Rubrics and their insertion into the Paris Psalter was almost certainly an affair of later date, for which a more recent form of Arg. may well have been used. The tropological and mystical clauses are perhaps merely added mechanically ; but it may be noted that the ascription in the Vulgate titles of this and succeeding Psalms (xlⁱⁱⁱ–xl^{viii}) to the 'Sons of Korah' is always used by the *Explanatio* to suggest a mystical and tropological application.

Arg. (a). For Theodore's treatment of this Psalm we have ample evidence. His Hypothesis is preserved in Cois. and also in Anast. (as first published in the article of Mercati, 1898). In its two forms, which

shew very considerable variations of text but substantial agreement, it tells the story of the Maccabean revolt from Antiochus Epiphanes under Mattathias and his sons the Maccabeans, and declares the Psalm composed prophetically by David in their persons. With this agree Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 87, 98 ; vi 273), and Asc., which reads :—

‘Post reditum de Babilone, filii Israhel, inmemores beneficiorum Dei, ad peccandi demum studia sunt reuersi ; ob quae facta meruerunt a Domino relinqui, et in dicionem uenire regis Antiochi ; quo deterrente subditos et profante (profanante ?) consecratos locos, emersit tandem Mathathias, ultor uiolatae legis, Machabeorum pater ; in quorum tempora hoc carmen format, adflictiones eorum enumerans, supplicationesque connectens.’

Baethgen (vi 273) notes also that the Psalm is referred to as Maccabean in the commentary of Sach. for Ps. lxxiii 2 ; cf. Asc. p. 366, for the same passage.

Arg. (b) refers to the use of the Psalm *in exomologesim*, which seems (cf. Ducange) to refer to its use in a litany. The first verse is in fact still so employed in the modern English litany. For the reference to the Epistle of Romans, cf. Rom. viii 36. Cf. the Irish gloss in the *Codex Psalterii Hamptonensis* : ‘*athlirgi*, i.e. confessio cum tristitia.’

xliv, *Introd.* (Dogmatic). For the special form cf. Notes viii, *Introd.* The translator gets little if any aid directly from the Vulgate title, *In finem, pro his qui commutabuntur, filiis Core, ad intellectum, canticum, pro dilecto*, or from the Arg., although the latter agrees in the general Messianic interpretation of this Psalm which was universal in the Middle Ages. More use was evidently made of the *Explanatio*, to which was probably due the phrase ‘*oferdrenct mid þy Hālgan Gāste*’, and two of the three subjects assigned, ‘*ymb Fæder*’, ‘*ymb Sunu*’, and ‘*ymb þā hālgan besamnunga Cristenra manna*’ ; cf. ‘The prophet, replenished with celestial meats, promiseth that he will announce the tidings of the Lord’s incarnation. . . . The first part of this epithalamium contains the praises of the bridegroom, that is of the Lord the Saviour. . . . In the second part, the Bride the Church is praised’ (Neale, ii 95). The twofold division indicated in the *Explanatio* is after v. 10. The writer of the *Introd.* changed this to a threefold division, with an initial part spoken by the Father ; this, as the translation shews, includes vv. 1 and 2. His interpretation of these verses, though not found in any of our usual sources, appears in most of the orthodox commentaries (cf. Neale, ii 96) ; and the use of some such commentary is also manifest throughout the translation of the Psalm, in its unusually large number of expansions.

Arg. The Arg. gives no distinct reflexion of Asc. or of Theodore, and it seems likely that Arg. (a) was omitted here by the compiler as

being substantially represented by Arg. (b). But Theodore himself was more than usually orthodox here. His Hypothesis recovered in Cois. explains the Psalm as Messianic, and adds a bitter polemic against the 'frivolity' of the Jewish interpretation, which made the Psalm refer to Solomon and his bride. That such were his views was already known from the citations of his defender Facundus of Hermiane, and from the enumeration of this as one of his four Messianic Psalms by Leontius of Byzantium and Cosmas Indicopleustes (see Kihn, p. 457 ff, and Lietzmann, p. 337 ff) as well as by the similar headings of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 70) and Asc. The heading of Asc. here is a faithful reproduction of the first part of Theodore's Hypothesis, omitting his polemic against the Jews. Another Syriac confirmation has appeared in the commentary of Isod., from which this Psalm is reported by Diettrich (p. 144). It appears, however, from Isod. that Theodore was inconsistent enough to interpret the Song of Songs, which has always been regarded as closely allied with this Psalm, after the Jewish fashion, making it a secular love-song of Solomon.

xliv, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Davidic feature has no source in the Vulgate title, *In finem, filiis Core, pro arcanis, psalmus*, but is mechanically supplied, as are also the tropological and mystical clauses. The ample prophetic interpretation, however, rests on Arg. (a), but on a fuller form than has come down to us, and a fuller form even than is found in Asc. That this is the case is demonstrated by its inclusion of certain details absent from Arg. (a) but found in the original as recovered in Cois. Cf. the A.-S. '**þæt ys, Jude and Benjamin**' with the clause in Cois.: ἦν δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὴν μὲν ἡ τοῦ Ἰουδα μετὰ μόνης τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος (not in Asc.); and the clause of the A.-S., '**naes þæt . . . gewyrhtum**', with Cois.: οὐ τοῦ Ἀχατς ὄντος δικαίου . . . διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἶναι τὸν ναόν· τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν Δαυεῖδ. Of the two reasons here assigned by Theodore for God's mercy to the Two Tribes, Asc. gives only the first. Another proof that the present Arg. has suffered losses is afforded by the Rubric, which evidently supplies a part of Arg. (b) that has disappeared.

Arg. This is apparently the only Psalm assigned by Theodore in its application to the reign of Ahaz. The interpretation is repeated in Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 94) and in Asc., which reads as follows:—

'Praecinuntur hoc carmine eo tempore quibus Face, filius Rumuliae, et Rasin, rex Siriaie, aduersus Hierusalem et Achaz, regem duarum tribuum, arma commouerant; contra quos, secundum praeceptum Essaiae, qui dixerat, Cognoscite, gentes, et uincemini, quia nobiscum Deus, inruit Assiriorum rex, et, turbatis eorum regionibus, Hierusolimarum obseditionem soluit, non Achaz merito sed loci reuerentia in quo templum erat. Ex persona ergo Duarum Tribuum, pro liberatione tantae uastationis gratias agentium, formatur hic psalmus.'

xlvi, *Introd.* (D P T M). The Vulgate title, *In finem, pro filiis Core, psalmus*, is disregarded, and the Davidic clause is made up mainly from v. 1 of the Psalm: 'Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus; iubilare Deo in uoce exultationis.' It is remarkable that in his translation he has departed from the simpler and more natural interpretation of this verse which was here evidently in his mind. The prophetic clause comes naturally from Arg. (a); the tropological and mystical clauses perhaps were suggested by *Explanatio*: 'Titulus notus est, Christum et Christianos insinuans.'

Arg. For this Psalm all the extant sources have been collected and edited by Lietzmann (p. 342 ff); the complete Hypothesis and commentary on the Psalm from Cois., Greek abstracts of the heading from Vat. and Mon., the Latin abstract from Asc., and the Syriac from Sach. (cf. Bthg. v 98; vi 274). All agree with the Arg. (a) in making the Psalm Maccabean. Theodore gives a lengthy summary of the history of the wars, distinguishing the enemies of the Maccabees into three classes—the generals of Antiochus, the native Jews who sided with the foe, and the neighbouring nations; and his distinction between the native and the foreign foe reached the translator and clearly influenced both his *Introd.* and his version.

The citation in Arg. (b) of the Acts of the Apostles is explained by Neale (ii 129) as referring to the Ascension, the Psalm being considered by common consent as peculiarly an Ascension Psalm.

xlvii, *Introd.* (D T M). The Vulgate title, *Psalmus cantici, filius Core, secunda Sabbati*, especially the last phrase, perhaps suggested the form of the mystical clause; *secunda Sabbati* was interpreted like *prima Sabbati* at Ps. xxiii, which is taken in the *Explanatio* to that Psalm as referring to the resurrection of Christ (see Bruce, p. 92 and Notes, xxiii, *Introd.*). The Davidic and tropological clauses depend clearly on the Psalm itself. No use seems here to have been made of Arg. at all. The translator failed to understand the obscure reference to the days of Hezekiah which is contained in Arg. (a), and omitted his usual prophetic interpretation.

Arg. Theodore's Hypothesis, as recovered in Cois., interprets the Psalm as spoken in the person of those of Hezekiah's time, who are thus exhorted to gratitude for the great victory over the Assyrians. In his commentary on v. 1, he goes on to speak of the effect which the events in the city had on outsiders who knew not God. The Syriac of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 94; vi 273) follows the Hypothesis faithfully; but Asc. and Arg. (a), which are here identical, reproduce rather the comment on the first verse. This fact accounts for their obscurity and the merely apparent disagreement with the Syriac noted by Bruce (pp. 113, 117).

Arg. (b), which is also disregarded by the translator, gives an 'anagogical' view of the Psalm, connecting it with the Revelation of St. John.

xlvi, *Introd.* (D T M). The Vulgate title, *In finem, filiis Core, psalmus*, as interpreted in the *Explanatio*: 'All the words of this title draw us to the Lord, and all who have been redeemed by His blood; through the whole Psalm they are the words of the Omnipotent Son' (Neale, ii 50), suggested the mystical interpretation of the *Introd.* The attribution to David is without special authority here, and the first clause, which is quasi-tropological, is made up from Arg. (a), the *Explanatio*: 'In quarta (sectione psalmi) commonet suos, ne timeant diuites saeculi, qui omnia bona sua cum luce relinquunt', and *vv.* 8, 9, 17 of the Psalm itself.

Arg. Theodore, as given in Cois., classes this among his 'purely moral' Psalms (see Notes xxxvi, *Introd.*), telling us that in it he exhorts all men not to trust in wealth, glory, or worldly power, but to study rather how to avoid sin, and to return fitting thanks for blessings that come to them, *ὡς ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τῶν οὐρανῶν βεβαίως ἐσομένης*.

In Asc., which gives rather a full abstract of the Greek, the translator seems to have been puzzled by the word *ἀπολαύσις*, which he renders *perfussio uel functio*. Arg. (a) further abbreviates Asc., and adopts the worse of his two renderings, *perfusio*, rephrasing it in the clause *easque pro aeterna requie dispensent*, and thus introducing a new idea, not in Theodore or in the Psalm, i.e. the exhortation to benevolence. This new idea is carried over into the *Introd.* The Syriac of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 85) avoids any such modification and reflects Theodore faithfully.

xlvi, *Introd.* (Dogmatic). For the special form cf. Ps. viii, above. The Vulgate title, *Psalmus David* (var. *ipsi David*), is disregarded, and as usual David is credited with the Psalm. The *Introd.* is here clearly dependent on the *Explanatio* :—

'Sciendum plane quod hic psalmus utrumque Domini prophetet aduentum. In prima sectione fidelis Synagoga loquitur, quae nunc est in populis Christianis, de primo et secundo aduentu Domini Christi. In secundo Christus ipse commonet populos, ut, uictimis pecudum derelictis, sacrificium laudis immolent.'

Arg. (a) is also used, but either through misunderstanding or intentionally, the audience addressed in the Psalm, which in the Arg. is limited to the Jews, is in the *Introd.* widened to include '**ealle heora gelican**'.

Arg. Theodore, as found in Cois., classes this also among his 'purely moral' Psalms, but explains that, in contrast to the preceding, this Psalm is addressed to the Jews only. The whole Psalm, he declares,

is thrown by David into a figure (σχηματοποιεῖ τὸ πᾶν), the picture of a tribunal. Asc. gives almost a full translation of the Greek, but with some rearrangement; Arg. (a) reads like an abstract from Asc., the order of which it preserves; and the Syriac of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 85) gives a briefer abstract.

1, *Introd.* (D P M T). The Davidic clause is based on the Vulgate title, *In finem, psalmus David, cum uenit ad eum Nathan propheta cum intrauit ad Bersabe*, expanded in the light of the Scripture story; the prophetic comes from Arg. (a), and the tropological partly from Arg. (b). The curious mystical interpretation of the *Explanatio*: 'David Christum significat, Bersabe, quae "puteus salubritatis" interpretatur, Ecclesiam praefigurat, Urias, qui interpretatur "lux mea Dei", diabolum demonstrat', was disregarded, perhaps out of a dislike for this explanation, with which we can easily sympathize; and for the mystical clause we have for the first time a reference to St Paul instead of to Christ.

Arg. Theodore's Hypothesis as recovered in Cois. is especially interesting here for its open rejection of the Psalm-titles, a rejection which is supported by detailed arguments. 'The title is not David's, though the Psalm evidently is', he begins, and goes on to support his view that the Psalm was composed by David not with reference to himself, but in dramatic assumption of the character of the whole People in Exile, by two distinct lines of reasoning: the apparent references to the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple in vv. 20 and 21, and the applicability to the People rather than to David of vv. 4 and 7, as supported by Paul's use of them in Rom. iii 1-4. He closes the long Hypothesis by a specific statement of his attitude toward the Psalm-titles: 'If it happens that the title is otherwise, no one need be surprised; for it is manifest that nowhere have we been enslaved to the titles, but have accepted only so many as we found accurate. On this head we have said all that was necessary in our Preface before the Commentary proper' (see Lietzmann, p. 338).

The treatment here of Theodore's Hypothesis in Asc. is characteristic. The Latin adapter of Theodore preserved the Exilic interpretation, but omitted all the condemnatory and controversial parts of his original. Instead he began by repeating the Vulgate title, to which he joined a brief reproduction of Theodore's interpretation by the reconciling phrase, 'Sub occasione poenitentiae'; then at the end he added a sentence of ingenious compromise: 'Quamuis titulus non tam curam formandi quam tempus formati carminis signet.' In Arg. (a) we have a much briefer abstract; but that it is derived from the text of Asc., or at least from one closely related, is shewn not only by the similar wording but especially by the retention of the reconciling phrase, 'Sub

occasione poenitentiae'. In contrast to these tendencies, the Syriac of Sach. and Barh. (Bthg. v 95) gives us a brief but unadulterated reflexion of Theodore: 'Gesprochen auf das Volk in Babel, welches seine Sünden bekennt und um Vergebung und Aufhören seiner Verbannung bittet.'

JAMES W. BRIGHT.
ROBERT L. RAMSAY.

NOTES ON COLLECTS.

I

It has been pointed out for some years past that the Western Collect, in a great number of cases, consists of four parts, or some add a fifth, which are these: i. the invocation; ii. a sentence relative to the invocation; iii. the main petition; and iv. the purpose or end for which the petition is made. The fifth part is a pleading of the merits of Christ in those cases in which the collect is addressed to the Eternal Father.

Near thirty years ago¹ I pointed out in a little note a resemblance to this structure of the Western Collect in the prayer of the Apostles before the election of St Matthias. 'Thou, Lord,' is the invocation; 'which knowest the hearts of all *men*,' is the relative sentence; 'shew whether of these two thou hast chosen,' is the main petition; 'that he may take part of this ministry and apostleship, from which Judas by transgression fell, that he might go to his own place' is the purpose or end.

It may be worth while to note that this prayer of the Apostles has been adapted as a collect *pro Ordinandis* at Soissons, thus:

Tu, Domine, qui corda nosti omnium, ostende quos elegeris accipere locum sancti ministerii; et, ut sanctificeris in iis qui appropinquant ad te, abundantes gratiae tuae divitias super eos effunde; Per Dominum.²

It may be asked, Is this kind of prayer only Christian, or is it pre-Christian.

Something with the structure of the Western Collect does appear to have been used by the Jews. There is the prayer of Nehemiah recorded in the first chapter of the second book of the Maccabees³, said during the sacrifice, and it is described as follows:

¹ *Guardian*, May 21, 1884, p. 773: The Western Collect.

² *Missale Suessionense* (F. de FitzJames, eps.), Paris, Coignard, 1745: Feria Quarta Quatuor Temporum Quadragesimae.

³ According to the articles in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, the date of the Maccabees and Wisdom is not commonly thought to be later than A. D. 40. So that for the present purpose we may treat these books as pre-Christian.

And the priests made a prayer whilst the sacrifice was consuming, *I say*, both the priests, and all *the rest*, Jonathan beginning, and the rest answering thereunto, as Neemias did. And the prayer was after this manner (*vv.* 23, 24).

Then the prayer itself follows, which may be conveniently broken up into the four parts of a collect, and the structure may be shewn better if the Vulgate be used rather than the authorized version, for Latin is the native air of the collect.

i. (*Invocation.*) Domine Deus, omnium creator, terribilis et fortis, iustus et misericors, qui solus es bonus rex, solus praestans, solus iustus et omnipotens et aeternus,

ii. (*Ground of Petition.*) qui liberas Israel de omni malo, qui fecisti patres electos, et sanctificasti eos :

iii. (*Petition.*) accipe sacrificium pro universo populo tuo Israel, et custodi partem tuam et sanctifica : congrega dispersionem nostram, libera eos qui serviunt gentibus, et contemptos et abominatos respice :

iv. (*Purpose.*) ut sciant gentes quia tu es Deus noster, afflige opprimentes nos et contumeliam facientes in superbia, constitue populum tuum in loco sancto tuo, sicut dixit Moyses.

The ninth chapter of the book, called the Wisdom of Solomon, has a prayer which shews an approach to the Western Collect, having three of the four parts needful to make a complete collect ; but it is like the prayer of Nehemiah given above, too long when compared with the terseness of the Western Collect, which has, most unjustly, been described as 'casting forth his ice like morsels'. It is the self-restraint, the absence of enthusiasm, and of all appeal to the emotions, which is the charm of the Western Collect, and separates it off from the verbosity and diffuseness of the Ancient-Gallican or Oriental prayer. Yet there is another prayer in the fourth chapter of the first book of the Maccabees in which a tendency to much the same structure may be noticed as in the prayer of Nehemiah.

i. Benedictus es Salvator Israel,

ii. qui contrivisti impetum potentis in manu servi tui David, et tradidisti castra alienigenarum in manu Ionathae filii Saul et armigeri eius :

iii. conclude exercitum istum in manu populi tui Israel, et confundantur in exercitu suo et equitibus : da illis formidinem, et tabefac audaciam virtutis eorum, et commoveantur contritione sua : deice illos gladio diligentium te :

iv. ut collaudent te omnes qui noverunt nomen tuum in hymnis. (*v.* 30—*v.* 33.)

This in all likelihood is not a ritual prayer, though composed after the example of that of Nehemiah. Such private prayers may be found in Christian times. For in the Acts of St Theodora, which claim to be of

A.D. 304, the following prayer, shewing the four parts in structure, may be found :

Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, adiuvā me, et libera me de meritorio hoc, qui adiuuisti Petrum cum esset in carcere ; qui eduxisti eum sine contumelia, educ me sine macula hinc : ut omnes uideant, quoniam tua sum ancilla.¹

Private prayers composed after the same model may be found at the end of each Meditation of John Malder², Bishop of Antwerp, and in Dr Johnson's prayers, scattered here and there, of which perhaps the best example is the prayer that he wrote on beginning the *Rambler*.³

Dr Cowley, with his invariable kindness, has pointed out to me certain Blessings or Praises of God in the Morning Service of the Jewish congregations which contain some elements of the collect such as the invocation and the relative sentence : and, indeed, in one of these there are the four parts of the collect, thus :

- i. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe,
- ii. who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and commanded us to occupy ourselves with the words of the Law.
- iii. Make pleasant, therefore, we beseech thee, O Lord our God, the words of thy Law in our mouth and in the mouth of thy people, the house of Israel,
- iv. so that we with our offspring and the offspring of thy people, the house of Israel, may all know thy Name and learn thy Law. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who teachest the Law to thy people Israel.⁴

Dr Cowley tells me that this part of the service is sometimes considered ancient ; there is another instance of a prayer like a collect in this same book in the *Prayer in the House of Mourning*, which shews all the four parts of a collect as well as its shortness :

- i. O Lord,
- ii. who healest the broken-hearted and bindest up their wounds,
- iii. grant thy consolation unto the mourners : put into their hearts the fear and love of thee ;
- iv. that they may serve thee with a perfect heart, and let their latter end be peace. Amen.⁵

Of the modernness of this service there is no question, for we are told in the preface that 'the Prayer in the House of Mourning' &c. 'are the same that have been in use for some years past, having been drawn up by the late Chief Rabbi'.

¹ *Acta Sanctorum*, Antwerp 1675 : Aprilis t. iii, p. 574, col. i.

² Ioannes Malderus *Meditationes Theologicæ*, Antwerp (typ. Plantin) 1630.

³ Samuel Johnson *Prayers and Meditations*, ed. George Strahan, London, Cadell, 1785, p. 9.

⁴ *The authorized daily prayer book of the United Hebrew congregations of the British Empire*, eighth edition, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1908, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 324.

II

Some years ago the late Bishop of Gibraltar, Dr W. E. Collins, asked me to help him with the service at his enthronization; and I came across in *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* a prayer which reminded me of that at the end of the consecration of Bishops in the Book of Common Prayer, and which has been there since the days of Cranmer. It is an expansion, as I venture to think, of the prayer *Concede quaesumus*¹, which was of course well known to Cranmer, for it is in the Sarum Missal, the collect of a mass *pro episcopo*.² It may be found in other medieval missals, as at Hereford³, and also at Westminster, in a mass for the abbot.⁴

It is my own fault, I have no doubt, but I do not find that the resemblance between these two prayers has been pointed out in our more usual books of instruction on the Common Prayer. This, then, must be my excuse for printing in parallel columns the two prayers. So every one may thus be enabled to form a judgement for himself, whether they be alike or not.

MISSALE SARUM

(ed. Dickinson, col. 816*).

Concede quaesumus Domine
famulo tuo episcopo nostro

ut praedicando et exercendo quae
recta sunt, exemplo bonorum
operum animas suorum instruat
subditorum

[2 Tim. iv 2 : 1 Tim. iv 12]

et aeternae remunerationis mer-
cedem a te piissimo pastore
percipiat.

[2 Tim. iv 7, 8]

EDWARD VI'S FIRST ORDINAL

(Consecration of Bishops).

Most merciful Father, we beseech
thee to send down upon this
thy servant thy heavenly bless-
ing; and so endue him with thy
holy Spirit,

that he preaching thy Word, may
not only be earnest to reprove,
beseech, and rebuke with all
patience and doctrine; but also
may be to such as believe an
wholesome example, in word,
in conversation, in love, in
faith, in chastity, and purity;
that, faithfully fulfilling his course,
at the latter day he may receive
the crown of righteousness laid
up by the Lord the righteous

¹ William Maskell *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, London, Pickering, 1847, vol. iii, p. 288.

² *Missale . . . Sarum*, ed. F. H. Dickinson, Burntisland 1861-83, col. 816*.

³ *Missale . . . Ecclesiae Herefordensis*, ed. W. G. Henderson, Leeds 1874, p. 414.

⁴ *Missale ad usum Ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893, fasc. ii. col. 1152.

Per Dominum nostrum Iesum
Christum Filium tuum qui
tecum vivit et regnat in unitate
Spiritus sancti Deus per omnia
saecula saeculorum. *Amen.*

Judge, who liveth and reigneth
one God with the Father and
Holy Ghost, world without end.
Amen.

III

When I was working in the University Library at Würzburg in May 1909 I came across a collect in the Würzburg Breviary which reminded me of the Christmas collect in the Book of Common Prayer. The same collect is in an *incunabula* edition as well as in that of 1518, and it is said at none on Christmas Day. It appeared afterwards that Dr Neale had come across some prayer of the same kind; for he says 'We have noted something like our own Collect in more than one German Missal: a fact which ought to be known to English liturgical scholars'.¹

It is quite possible that the Würzburg Collect given below may be that which Dr Neale noticed as like to the collect in the Book of Common Prayer. It is indeed to be found in other liturgical books: for instance, at none on Christmas Day in the Eichstädt breviary of 1525 and the Constanx breviary of 1561: also at none on Christmas Day in the breviary of Uzès of 1493; and in the Lyons diurnal of 1738; at sext on Christmas Day in the Pampeluna breviary of 1562; in the list of Christmas collects in the breviary of the canons of St Augustine at Coimbra of 1531.

From its appearance in so many different parts of Europe, it will be gathered that the collect is old; and by the aid of Mr H. A. Wilson's invaluable Index to the Roman Sacramentaries it will be found in the Gelasian Sacramentary as the collect of a mass for Christmas.² It occurs also, as Mr Wilson points out, in a list of collects for use at Christmas in the Gregorian Sacramentary.³

A likeness of the collect in the Gelasian Sacramentary to that in the Prayer Book had been noticed by Mr Henry Bailey as long ago as 1847⁴; but his observation does not seem to have been remarked by many. Cranmer was not likely to have been acquainted with manuscripts of the Gelasian or the Gregorian Sacramentary; whereas it is quite possible that in his expeditions to Germany he may have come across a German breviary with this collect and taken from it the idea of

¹ J. M. Neale *Essays on Liturgiology* &c., London 1863, p. 52.

² L. A. Muratori *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis 1748, t. i, col. 495.

³ *Ibid.* t. ii, col. 11.

⁴ Henry Bailey *Rituale Anglo-Catholicum*, London, J. W. Parker, 1847, p. 113.

'adoption' and 'grace', which he afterwards planted into the latter part of the Edwardine collect. Nor does the early part of the collect seem so dissimilar that it might not have been suggested by the Latin collect. But in this I do not expect to find that all the world agrees with me. It will be enough if I have pointed out a possible source in the German collect for the reference which had escaped Dr Neale, and which possible source he desired should be known to Englishmen.

I will now give the two collects printed side by side :

WÜRZBURG BREVIARY 1518
(ad nonam in die nativitatis
Domini).

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus: qui
hunc diem per incarnationem
Verbi tui et partum beatae
Mariae Virginis consecrasti :

da populis tuis in hac celebritate
consortium : ut qui tua gratia
sunt redempti, tua sunt ado-
ptione securi. Per eundem.

FIRST BOOK OF EDWARD VI
(Christmas Day at the second
communion).

Almighty God which hast given
us thy only-begotten Son to
take our nature upon him and
this day to be born of a pure
Virgin :

Grant that we being regenerate
and made thy children by adop-
tion and grace, may daily be
renewed by thy Holy Spirit.
Through the same, &c.

J. WICKHAM LEGG.

AN EXAMINATION OF SOME OMISSIONS OF THE CODEX SINAITICUS IN ST JOHN'S GOSPEL.

WHILE examining some of the readings of the Codex Sinaiticus for another purpose, I noticed that the two omissions in John iii 20, 21, which are, I think, peculiar to \aleph^* and were practically beyond doubt not omitted in the exemplar from which \aleph was copied—they are restored by \aleph^{ca} —could be much more naturally explained if the lines in this exemplar contained on the average about eleven letters each.¹ This is

¹ Scrivener suggests (*Collation of the Codex Sinaiticus* p. xv) that the Codex Sinaiticus must have been derived from one more ancient, in which the lines were similarly divided—i. e., into lines of 12 to 14 letters (p. xiii; the average is, however, rather over 13, there are sometimes 17 letters in a line). He adds as his reason for this opinion that 'the writer occasionally omits just the number of letters which would suffice to fill a line, and that to the utter ruin of the sense; as if his eye had heedlessly wandered to the line immediately below. Instances of this want of care will be found in Luke xxi 8, xxii 25, perhaps John iv 45, xii 25, where complete lines

easily seen if a restoration of the exemplar is made on this assumption as follows :—

(1) Jn. iii 20, 21 :

	ΠΑΣΓΑΡΟΦΑΥ	
	ΛΑΠΡΑССΩΝ	
	ΜΙΣΕΙΤΟΦΩC	
	[ΚΑΙΟΥΚΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ]	
5	<u>ΠΡΟCΤΟΦΩC</u>	} 22 letters (or 5 + 19)
	ΙΝΑΜΗΛΕΓΧΘΗ	
	<u>ΤΑΕΡΓΑΥΤΟΥ</u>	
	[ΟΔΕΠΟΙΩΝΑΛΗ	
	<u>ΘΕΙΑΝΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ</u>	
10	<u>ΠΡΟCΤΟΦΩC</u>	} 54 letters
	ΙΝΑΦΑΝΕΡΩΘΗ	
	<u>ΤΑΕΡΓΑΥΤΟΥ</u>	
	ΟΤΙΕΝΘΩΕCΤΙ	
	ΕΙΡΓΑCΜΕΝΑ	

τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ in line 12 is not the reading of B but it is of \aleph^a and of L.

In the first omission \aleph^* stands practically alone, in the second apparently quite alone.¹

Before going any further, it is important to note that the measuring of lines by the number of letters they contain, however convenient, may be misleading, especially for those used to the long lines and divided words of a modern prose work. In an ancient prose work the division of the lines, and therefore the number of letters in each line, depended first and chiefly on the horizontal space which the scribe decided to give to his writing—often very little, considering the size of the letters—and then on the way in which the syllable-divisions fell. Thus, if the

are omitted ; John xix 26 ; Heb. xiii 18 (partly corrected) ; Apoc. xviii 16, xix 12, xxii 2, where the copyist passed in the middle of a line to the corresponding portion of the line below'. None of these instances is, however, in the least convincing. In Luke xxii 25 the reading of the exemplar of \aleph is very uncertain ; in John xii 25 we have an omission of 11 or 12 letters (φυλάξει αὐτήν) ; in the passages from the Apocalypse of 17, 17 (or 18), and 26 (or fewer) letters respectively ; while Luke xxi 8, John xix 26, and Heb. xiii 18 (John iv 45 is discussed below) are very puzzling, and rather suggest that causes of more kinds than one have been at work, a possibility which has always to be borne in mind. It is almost needless to add that we must be prepared for variety in the length of line of the original even between gospel and gospel and may even expect it between the various groups of books. Οὐ-κ^{εστιν} (Scribener *op. cit.* p. xiv) is, of course, the natural Greek division of the words—or should we say word—which we write οὐκ ἐστιν and similarly with many elisions.

¹ Here as later the portions omitted by \aleph are indicated by square brackets. Homocoteleuta at the ends of lines, which would help omissions, are underlined. I have used uncials, as I think they help the eye, and the common compendia.

space available was, as I think probable in the instance before us,¹ a trifle over two inches and would contain on the average eleven letters, and if a syllable came to an end, say, at the tenth letter, the scribe might have to choose between ending the line there, leaving perhaps a vacant space, and including in the line the whole of the next syllable, and his choice would depend (1) on the thinness or otherwise of (say) the first ten letters, (2) on the length of the next syllable and the thinness or otherwise of the letters of which it was composed, and (3) on the way in which the division would affect ease of reading, a consideration by no means neglected by good scribes (see *infra*, p. 570). *Caeteris paribus*, a good scribe would prefer to end a line with a word; and some letters (for instance Ι or Λ) occupy less space normally than others or lend themselves more readily to a contracted space (ο, for instance, or the combination αΥ).

The other instances in the Gospel according to St John may be given in the order in which they occur.

(2) Jn. iii 3 :

ΑΠΕΚΡΙΘΗΟΙC
[ΚΕΙΠΕΝΑΥΤΩ]
ΑΜΗΝΑΜΗΝΛΕΓΩ

ℵ* apparently alone omits these 12 letters (or Κ + 9). ℵ^{ca} corrects.

Note ΑΥΤΩ, ΛΕΓΩ.

(3) Jn. iv 5 :

ΔΙΑΤΗC
CΑΜΑΡΙΑC
[ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙΟΥΝ
ΕΙCΠΟΛΙΝΤΗC
CΑΜΑΡΙΑC]
ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗΝ

ℵ* apparently alone omits these 29 (or 28) letters; ℵ^a restores; proper names prefer a line to themselves.

(4) Jn. iv 45 :

ΩCΟΥΝΗΛΘΕΝ
ΕΙCΤΗΝ[ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙ
ΑΝ[ΕΔΕΞΑΝΤΟ
ΑΥΤΟΝΟΙ[ΓΑΛΙΛΑΙ]
ΟΙΕΩΡΑΚΟΤΕC

ℵ* apparently alone attests this omission of 22 (or rather 24) letters; ℵ^{ca} restores apparently with the addition of πάντα after ἑωρακότες. ℵ*

¹ This is on the assumption that the letters in the exemplar were about the size of those of ℵ. In suggesting a reading of the exemplar of ℵ I have been guided mainly by the reading of its later hands or by the reading of manuscripts which often go with it elsewhere.

stands alone in reading *οἱ ἐωρακότες*, which is Greek, but probably not the Greek of the exemplar. Γαλιλαῖος and its cases are words which lend themselves to squeezing, as **℣** itself proves—even *αὐτονοίγαί* would be a short line. Γαλιλαῖαν, moreover, ends a line in **℣**, which would explain the borrowing of the termination from line 3, if after *τήν* it required any explanation. After finishing the word and the line and the clause the scribe's eye went back to the *γαίλαί* of line 4. *ὥς οὖν* begins a new section.

(5) Jn. v 26 :

—ωϣΓΑΡ
ΟΠΗΡΖΩΗΝΕΧΕΙ
[ΕΝΕΑΥΤΩΟΥΤΩC
ΚΑΙΤΩΥΩΕΔΩ
ΚΕΝΖΩΗΝΕΧΕΙ]
ΕΝΕΑΥΤΩ

℣* alone apparently attests this omission of some 33 letters; there is some confusion, but I restore what seems to have been the reading of the first hand of **℣**^{ca}, which reads, however, *εχιν*.

(6) Jn vi 11 :

ΚΑΙ
ΕΔΩΚΕΝΤΟΙC
[ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙCΟΙΔΕ
ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙC]
ΑΝΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΙC

Ἐδωκεν* not *διέδωκεν* is the reading of **℣ with D and Γ and certain cursives. **℣**^{cb} D and Γ with eleven other uncials read the words in brackets. 23 letters are omitted. I very much doubt whether the exemplar contained these words, in any case this example is of a very different character to the rest.

(7) Jn. vi 38, 39 :

ΑΛΛΑ
ΤΟΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΟΥ
ΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΟCΜΕ
[ΤΟΥΤΟΔΕΕCΤΙΝ
ΤΟΘΕΛΗΜΑΤΟΥ
ΠΕΜΨΑΝΤΟCΜΕ]
ΙΝΑΠΑΝΟΔΕΔΩ

℣* is apparently alone in omitting these 33 (or 34) letters; **℣**^{ca} restores. A new section begins with *τοῦτο δέ*, which also begins a line.

(8) Jn. vi 55 :

ΗΓΑΡCΑΡΞΜΟΥ
ΔΗΘΩCΕCΤΙΝ
[ΒΡΩCΙCΚΑΙ

ΤΟΔΙΜΑΜΟΥ
ΔΛΗΘΩΣΕΤΙΝ
 ΠΟΤΟΝ

℣* omits these 29 letters apparently alone. ℣^{ca} restores with perhaps *ἀληθής* in each case for *ἀληθώς*. A new section begins at *ἡ γὰρ σάρξ*.

(9) Jn. x 40:

ΟΜ. ΕΙΣΤΟΝΤΟΠΟΝ

℣* practically alone—10 or 11 letters. ℣^{ca} restores.

(10) Jn. xii 31:

ΤΟΥ
 ΚΟΣΜΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΥ
 [ΝΥΝΟΑΡΧΩΝΤΟΥ
 ΚΟΣΜΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΥ]

℣* apparently alone omits these 24 letters; A restores. A division at the ninth letter in lines 2, 3, and 4 would mean short lines and *τοῦ* occupies but little space.

(11) Jn. xiii 31, 32:

ΟΘC
ΕΔΟΞΑCΘΗΕΝ
 [ΑΥΤΩΕΙΟΘC
ΕΔΟΞΑCΘΗΕΝ]
 ΑΥΤΩΟΘC

℣* stands apparently alone in omitting these 19 letters. ℣^{ca} restores.

(12) Jn. xv 9, 10:

ΥΜΑC
 ΜΕΙΝΑΤΕΕΝΤΗ
 ΑΓΑΠΗΤΗΜΗ
 [ΕΑΝΤΑCΕΝΤΟΛΑC
 5 ΜΟΥΤΗΡΗCΕΤΕ
 ΜΕΝΕΙΤΕΕΝΤΗ
 ΑΓΑΠΗΤΗΜΗ]
 ΚΑΘΩC

℣* stands apparently alone in omitting these 45 letters; ℣^{ca} restores with the spelling *τηρησεται, μενιται*. Line 4 is a long line, but a break at the tenth letter would make the line too short and the word were better finished.

(13) Jn. xvi 14-16:

ΔΟΞΑCΕΙ
ΟΤΙΕΚΤΟΥΕΜΟΥ
ΛΗΜΨΕΤΑΙΚΑΙ
ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΙΥΜΙ
 5 [ΠΑΝΤΑΟCΑΕΧΕΙ
 ΟΠΗΡΕΜΑΕCΤΙ
 ΔΙΑΤΟΥΤΟΕΙΠΟ

ΟΤΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΜΟΥ
 ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙ ΚΑΙ
 ΙΟ ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΙΜΙ
 ΜΙΚΡΟΝ

κ* stands apparently alone in omitting these 70 letters; κ^{ca} restores with the spelling *εχ, λαμβανι, αναγγελι*, which may have been the spelling of the archetype. Both *πάντα* (line 5) and *διὰ τοῦτο* (line 7) begin new sections.

(14) Jn. xvi 17:

ΗΜΙΝ
 ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 [ΟΥΘΕΩΡΕΙΤΕ
 ΜΕΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙΝ]
 ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΥ ΕΣΘΕ ΜΕΚΑΙ

κ* apparently alone attests this omission of 29 letters; κ^{ca} restores with the spelling *ου θεωριται*.

(15) Jn. xvii 17, 18:

ΑΥΤΟΥΣ
 ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ
 [ΟΥ ΟΛΟΓΟΟ
 ΟΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ]
 ΕΣΤΙΝ

κ* apparently alone attests this omission of 20 letters (B, however, and others including C* and L omit *σου*); κ^{ca} restores with the spelling *αληθια*.

(16) Jn. xix 19 ff:

ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΙΣΤΑΖΩΡΑΙ
 ΟΣΘΑΔΙΛΕΥΣ
 ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ
 5 [ΤΟΥΤΟ ΝΟΥΝΤΟΝ
 ΤΙΤΛΟΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ
 ΑΝΕΓΝΩΣΑΝ
 ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ
 ΟΤΙ ΕΓΓΥΧΗΝΟ
 10 ΤΟ ΠΟΣΤΗ ΣΠΟΛ
 ΕΩΣ Ο ΠΟΥ ΕΣΤΡΩ
 ΘΗΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΗΝ
 ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ
 ΕΒΡΑΙΣΤΙ
 15 ΡΩΜΑΙΣΤΙ
 ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙ
 ΕΛΕΓΟΝ ΟΥΝ
 ΤΩ ΠΙΛΑΤΩ

ΟΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΣ
 20 ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ
 ΜΗΓΡΑΦΕ
ΟΒΑΔΙΛΕΥΣ
ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ]
 ΑΛΛΟΤΙΕΚΕΙ
 25 ΝΟΟΕΙΠΕΝΒΑ
 ΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΙΜΙ
 ΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΑΙΩΝ

℣* apparently alone attests this omission of some 190 letters or 19 lines; perhaps, according to the mere number of letters, the eight lines 17-24 (68 letters) should be divided into seven. The division, however, I have given best represents to the eye the sense; there is a proper name in line 18, and lines 22 and 23 ought to stand out. The division of lines 14-16 is justified by the *εβραϊστι ρωμαϊστι ελληνιστι* of ℣^a, which restores the omission with the further abbreviations of *ιουδαῖω* in lines 8 and 23 and of *ς* in line 12. The omission is too short for a column. *Τούτον οὖν τὸν τίτλον* begins a new section.

(17) Jn. xx 5-7:

ΠΑΡΑ
 ΚΥΨΑΣΒΛΕΠΕΙ
 —
ΤΑΘΘΟΝΙΑ
[ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΟΥ
 5 ΜΕΝΤΟΙΕΙΧΛ
 ΘΕΝΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ
 —
 ΟΥΝΚΑΙΣΙΜΩ
 ΠΕΤΡΟΚΑΚΟ
 ΛΟΥΘΩΝΑΥΤΩ
 10 ΚΑΙΕΙΧΛΘΕ
 —
 ΕΙΣΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟ
 ΚΑΙΘΕΩΡΕΙ
ΤΑΘΘΟΝΙΑ]
ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΚΑΙ

℣* apparently alone supports this omission. ℣^{ca} restores with the spellings *μνημιον, θεωρι*. About 100 letters are omitted, an average of 10 to the line. Various slight alterations in lines 3-14 are possible, but the above appears to me most natural and any possible alteration would not affect the general result.¹

¹ It is, perhaps, worth while to notice (1) the omission in ℣* of *καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα* in John xix 23, although ℣* is here supported by *a, b, ff*² and *syr^{sch}*, and it is not certain that the prototype of ℣ had this reading. It is an omission of 12 letters, or of 5+9 letters, which is the reading of ℣^{ca}. If the next two lines were

ΗΝΔΕΟΧΙΤΩΝΑ
 ΡΑΦΟΣ

the omission would be to some extent explained, but the division of *δραφος* does

In practically all the instances given above there is next to no doubt that the omissions are due to the carelessness of the scribe of **Σ**, and there is hardly in any case more doubt as to the reading of the exemplar from which that manuscript was copied.¹ They all, moreover, readily lend themselves to explanation by the cause to which I assigned the omission in the first example, and that without any undue pressing of any considerations which might probably have influenced the scribe of either manuscript. The average number of letters in the line is unusually small, but if, as has been pointed out already (p. 565), the letters were the size of those of **Σ** they would occupy about two inches, which would not make the width of the column without parallel (cf. Kenyon *Palaeography of Greek Papyri* p. 21). The length of line thus chosen would make the manuscript more costly both in material and labour, but it has this advantage that the line frequently ends with the end of a word, a reconstruction of the first fifty lines of **Σ** on this principle giving only four divided words as against twenty-one.

However much this arrangement may have contributed to mistakes in copying, it made for clearness in reading and enabled important words or phrases to be isolated and so made prominent. It would also tend to ease of reference, especially if the first line of a section was indented, as I am inclined to think it was. The tentative colometry, if I may use the phrase, of the method suggests the sort of manuscript which a careful scholar, who knew the value of neat and clear arrangement, might make or have made for himself. Origen would be such a person and, especially with the experience of the Hexapla behind him, might very well have been directly or indirectly responsible for some arrangement of this sort.

An exhaustive examination of the rest of the New Testament from this point of view would carry me far beyond the limits and purpose of this note. Moreover, the Gospel of St John, with its frequent repetition of similar phrases, naturally lends itself to this kind of transcriptional error, and we could not in any case expect the phenomena observed in St John to be repeated with anything like the same frequency elsewhere. A certain amount of caution is, therefore, necessary in making any deductions. An examination, however, of a fair number of passages

not agree with my idea of the prototype of **Σ**; and (2) the omission in John xx 3 of καὶ ἤρχοντο εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον (say 23 letters), which may, perhaps, be explained thus (with **Σ**):

[ΚΑΙΗΡΧΟΝΤΟ
ΕΙΣΤΟΜΗΜΙΟ]
ΚΑΙΕΤΡΕΧΟ.

Both omissions are, however, probably due to other causes.

¹ No. 6 is the possible exception.

in the other three groups of books (Acts—Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles, Apocalypse) yielded practically no example which even suggested a line in their original of eleven letters. In the Synoptic Gospels, which I examined with some care, Mark i 32, iv 37, xii 25, and xv 47 with Luke x 32, xiii 14, and xvi 16, and perhaps one or two other omissions can be explained with more or less plausibility in the same way as the omissions in St John. There are, however, numerous other omissions in the Synoptic Gospels obviously due to a blunder of the scribe of \aleph , and these either admit of no such explanation or suggest a different arrangement of the lines. The instances, indeed, in St John's Gospel are in comparison so convincing and so consistent that it looks as if St John stood by itself; in which case we have confirmation of the opinion which finds behind \aleph not a codex or codices but a series of papyrus rolls.

It is worth while just to point out that in John xvii 15 B omits the thirty letters enclosed below in brackets, and that the verse itself can be arranged as follows:—

ΙΝΑΑΡΗC
 ΑΥΤΟΥCΕΚΤΟΥ
 [ΚΟCΜΟΥΑΛΛ
 ΙΝΑΤΗΡΗCΗC
 ΑΥΤΟΥCΕΚΤΟΥ]
 ΠΟΝΗΡΟΥ.

H. S. CRONIN.

DEUX SERMONS INÉDITS DE BALDWIN, ARCHE- VÊQUE DE CANTERBURY 1184-1190.

Le second successeur de Thomas Becket a été plus étudié dans sa vie que dans ses écrits, et dans ses traités dogmatiques que dans ses œuvres parénétiques.¹—En 1662, Bertrand Tissier² édita 16 sermons, qui furent réimprimés par Migne³ en 1855; le manuscrit utilisé, venant de l'abbaye de Clairvaux, est aujourd'hui à Troyes (n° 876, XIII^e s.); une copie, du XIV^e s., qui donne les mêmes sermons dans le même ordre, est conservée à Londres, à la Lambeth Library (n° 210); ce sont également des textes déjà connus que nous trouvons à Paris (Bibl. nat., lat. 14932, fol. 185, XII^e s.⁴; 1252, fol. 162 et 170 v°, XIII^e s.⁵), à Cambrai

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, nouv. éd., v° Baldwin.

² *Bibliotheca patrum cisterciensium* v 1-74.

³ *Patr. lat.* cciv 403-572.

⁴ Le sermon xvi des éditions.

⁵ Les sermons xvi et iv.

(n° 824, fol. 160, XIII^e s.¹), à Troyes (n° 433, XIII^e s.²), et à Alençon (n° 17, fol. 121 et 186 v°, XIV^e s.³). — Au contraire un ms. de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (lat. 2601 [ancien Colbert 634], fol. 1-75 v°, XII^e s. fin) présente un classement entièrement différent, des additions et des omissions, que nous résumons dans le tableau suivant :—

MS fol.		Tissier, no. XVI, pp. 70-74	Migne, col. 561-572
5	paratum cor . . .	IV 12-17	429-442
10 v°	vetus homo . . .	XI 51-56	517-530
15 v°	sacramentum dominici <i>jusqu'à gracia contemnitur</i>	I (1) 1-5	403-413
19 v°	attendite vobis . . .	XII 56-58	529-536
21 v°	vos o sacerdotes <i>jusqu'à dies mali sunt</i>	I (2) 5-6	413-414
22	ecce quam periculosa . . .	II 6-7	415-418
24	melior est . . .	manque	
30 v°	convenite populi . . .	„	
34	diliges dominum . . .	III 7-12	417-430
38	beati mites <i>jusqu'à</i> quem misisti Iesum christum	IX (2) 39-43	492-500
41 v°	pone me <i>jusqu'à</i> in eternum, amen	X (1) 48-50	511-516
43 v°	vulnerasti cor . . .	VIII 33-36	477-484
46	ave maria gracia plena . . .	VII 29-33	467-478
50	in omnibus requiem . . .	V 17-21	441-452
54	gracia domini . . .	XV 63-70	545-562
61	beati pauperes <i>jusqu'à regnum celorum</i>	IX (1) 36-39	483-492
64 v°	beati qui lugent <i>jusqu'à</i> benedictus in secula, amen	IX (3) 43-47	500-508
68-75 v°	vivus est sermo . . .	VI 22-29	451-468
manque	beati qui esuriunt <i>jusqu'à</i> in secula, amen	IX (4) 47-48	509-512
„	homo per culpam <i>jusqu'à</i> mentis sunt	X (2) 50-51	516-518
„	caritas dei . . .	XIII 58-60	535-540
„	introduxit me . . .	XIV 60-62	539-546

Cet ordre appelle deux remarques. — Le premier sermon a ici pour *incipit* : 'Candidiores nive'; or C. Henriquez,⁴ dressant, avant Tissier, la liste des œuvres de Baldwin, signale : 'Sermonum 33. lib. 1. Candidiores nive'; de plus, dans deux mss. (Cambrai, Paris 14932) ce même sermon est précédé de la rubrique : 'Sermo magistri Balduini abbatis

¹ Le sermon xvi.

² Les sermons xi (mutilé au début), ii à x, xii à xvi; je dois cette communication à l'obligeance de M. L. Morel-Payen, conservateur.

³ Les sermons vii et ix (3^e partie : 'beati qui lugent').

⁴ *Phoenix reviviscens* (1626) 25. Cf. C. De Visch, *Bibliotheca scriptorum ordinis cisterciensis*, nouv. éd. (1656), 30-31.

Fordensis': il se place ainsi au début de la carrière de Baldwin. D'autre part notre division est souvent préférable à celle des autres copies : le n° ix des éditions est la réunion artificielle de quatre sermons distincts dont les *explicit* sont encore visibles ; le n° x comprend deux textes juxtaposés ; la deuxième partie du n° i se rattache moins naturellement à la première partie qu'au début du n° ii. — Il paraît en résulter que, des mss. connus, celui-ci serait le moins remanié, le plus voisin de l'original perdu.

Les deux fragments inédits qu'il contient ont été en 1722 l'objet d'une mention de Casimir Oudin,¹ brève, en partie inexacte (il y joint le morceau : ' vos o sacerdotes ' qu'il croit, à tort, inédit) et restée inaperçue. — Voici, à titre d'exemple, l'analyse du ' De obedientia ', sur le texte ' Melior est obedientia quam victime et ascultare magis quam offerre adipem arietum ' (1 Samuel xv 22). — Toute la nature obéit à Dieu, sauf l'homme : exemple de Jonas, ' erubescere, o Iona, aiunt venti ; erubescere, o Iona, ait mare ; . . . ait sors, . . . ait cetus ' ; même les animaux : ' cognovit bos possessorem ', nous apprend Isaïe (i 3), ' et asinus presepe domini sui ' ; ' turtus et yruno et cyconia ', nous dit Jérémie (viii 7), ' custodierunt tempus adventus sui ' ; l'homme résiste : exemple de Saül épargnant Amalech et encourageant les reproches de Samuel. — C'est aux Saûls de maintenant que cette leçon s'adresse, ' et nunc, reges, intelligite, qui iudicatis terram '. Le roi obéit au peuple, parce qu'il en a peur : ' preelegit non obedire Deo, ut obediret populo, populo autem obedire consentit, quia metuit . . . sive populi murmurationem, sive discessionem, sive vite sive honoris periculum ' ; il se croit quitte envers Dieu par des offrandes. — De même à tous les degrés de la société. La renonciation aux richesses, aux parents, semble un dur joug ' non solum eis qui nichil horum attigerunt,² sed etiam plerisque eorum qui iugum Domini experiri temptaverunt ' ; nul ne renouvellera le sacrifice d'Abraham. Quant à ceux qui ' nummos nummis accumulantes . . . , quid potius agere dicendi sunt quam auguria de futuris captare temporibus ? ' Suit la condamnation des augures et de la divination, ariolari, si répandus dans la société médiévale. — A cette critique succède la prédication morale, interminable et vide : citations, distinctions, définitions, la dernière étant celle de l'obéissance, ' une soumission volontaire et raisonnée ', ' ecce humilitas voluntatis . . . ecce obedientia rationis ', l'un des trois grands sacrifices de l'homme. — Le ' De Sancta cruce ' ('convenite populi')

¹ *Commentarius de scriptoribus ecclesiae antiquis*, II, 1616-1617 : ' Sermones MSS inveniuntur cod. 634 celeberrimae bibliothecae Colbertinae . . . advertat autem lector in manuscripto codice . . . , de quo supra, inveniri tres adhuc homilias huius Balduini, quae impressa non sunt : prima . . . vos o sacerdotes . . . secunda . . . melior est obedientia . . . tertia . . . convenite populi . . . '

² A ceux-là les chants des moines paraissent ' tam importuna murmura ' (fol. 27).

n'est en fait qu'une longue litanie, dont il suffit de citer la fin : 'sicut platanus exaltata . . . iuxta aquam in plateis . . . tu fasciculus myrre . . . tu sicut therebintus extends ramos tuos . . . tibi laus, tibi gloria, o crux bona, crux sancta, crux benedicta, per infinita secula seculorum, amen.' — Ces deux fragments sont d'ailleurs, par le vocabulaire, le style, la prédilection pour certaines citations, en tout semblables aux sermons tenus pour authentiques, et méritent le jugement porté sur ces derniers au xviii^e s. par Claude Fleury¹ : 'Ces ouvrages, comme la plupart de ceux du même tems, sont pleins de lieux communs, de sens figurés de l'Écriture, de discours vagues et insipides, qui n'attirent le lecteur ni par l'utilité, ni par l'agrément.'

Il resterait à expliquer l'absence dans notre ms. des quatre sermons connus par ailleurs. — Le volume est relié aux armes de Jacques-Nicolas Colbert, abbé du Bec (1665-1707) ; or, du milieu du xi^e au milieu du xiii^e siècle, trois illustres abbés du Bec sont devenus archevêques de Canterbury, Lanfranc, Anselme, Thibaut ; un quatrième, Roger, élu en 1174, refusa le périlleux honneur de succéder à Thomas Becket. Il est possible qu'un copiste du Bec ait noté les sermons archiepiscopaux au fur et à mesure de leur divulgation au-delà du détroit ; le manuscrit, dépourvu d'*explicit*, paraît d'ailleurs inachevé ; terminé, il présenterait sans doute les 33 sermons dont parle Henriquez. — De ces 33 sermons existait, en tout cas, dès le xiii^e s., comme on a vu plus haut, une compilation abrégée, artificiellement divisée en seize parties, qui servit de base aux éditions modernes.

P. GUÉBIN.

THE RULE OF TRUTH IN IRENAEUS.

A DANISH author, Mr S. A. Becker, has dedicated a very elaborated study to the problem, what *The Rule of Truth* is to Irenaeus. Through his thorough exegesis I think he has contributed a good deal to bringing to an end the dissension amongst scholars on that point, and readers of the JOURNAL may be glad to have his work brought to their notice. ('Ο κανὼν τῆς Ἀληθείας. *Regula veritatis* eller Sandhedens Regel. Et Bidrag til Belysning af dette Udtryks Forekomst og Betydning hos Irenaeos. Copenhagen, G. E. C. Gad, 1910, 280 pages.)

I do not agree with Becker in all details. Although generally very careful, he has, I think, not been careful enough in interpreting a few passages, which affect the result itself. But instead of giving here

¹ *Histoire ecclésiastique* liv. LXXIV ch. 34 ; nouv. éd., x (1777) 622.

a review of the book, I prefer to point to the problem itself and how it is to be solved according to my opinion. We begin with an analysis of the passages in which the expression *Rule of Truth* is to be found, and a few others of importance for the question. I quote in *Adv. haer.* the chapters according to Massuet, the pages according to Harvey; for the *Epideixis* the edition of Harnack.

I ix 4; Harvey I p. 87 f. The argument of Irenaeus is as follows. Suppose a man to destroy a mosaic image of a king and arrange the stones so as to form the picture of a fox, declaring it to be the same picture (I viii 1; Harvey I p. 67), or to take some verses by Homer and out of them make a new poem (a so-called *Cento*). This is just what the Gnostics do: they take expressions from the Scriptures, especially from the Prologue to the Gospel of St John, and use them in quite another connexion and meaning. But he who knows the true picture of the king will not accept that of the fox; he who knows his Homer will detect the *Cento* to be false. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῇ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰληφε, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν ὀνόματα, καὶ τὰς λέξεις, καὶ τὰς παραβολὰς ἐπιγνώσεται, τὴν δὲ βλάβσφηνον ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν [αὐτῶν] οὐκ ἐπιγνώσεται . . . ἐν ἑκάστον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀποδοὺς τῇ ἰδίᾳ τάξει, καὶ προσαρμόσας τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας σωματίῳ, γυμνώσει καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ἐπιδείξει τὸ πλάσμα αὐτῶν.

Ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας must be something which includes the terms abused by the Gnostics (such as Pater, Charis, Monogenes, Aletheia, Logos, Zoë, Anthropos, Ecclesia). Then it must be either *the Scriptures* or *the main content of the Scriptures*. That it is said to have been received at Baptism cannot overthrow this explanation and lead us to think of a short formulated Creed. But in some way or other there must have been given at the Baptism or at the baptismal instruction some knowledge of the principal content and expressions of Scripture. And then the Christian, who knows these expressions, will again make them harmonize with the *The Body of Truth*, i.e. the principal Christian doctrine, especially contained in Scripture. For shewing that the diminutive form *σωμάτιον* is not to be urged I must refer to Becker, p. 19 ff.

I xxii; Harvey I p. 188 f 'Cum teneamus autem nos regulam veritatis, id est quia sit unus Deus omnipotens, qui omnia condidit per Verbum suum . . . quemadmodum Scriptura dicit . . . Hanc ergo tenentes regulam . . . facile eos deviasse a veritate arguimus'.

The content of *The Rule of Truth* is here: the belief in one God the Creator proclaimed in Scripture.

II xxv 1; Harvey I p. 343. We ought to interpret details in Scripture from its main content. 'Non enim regula ex numeris, sed numeri ex regula.' In a musical composition we ought to catch the

principal theme. So in Scripture we must glorify its compositor (i.e. God) 'nusquam transferentes regulam, neque errantes ab artifice, neque abiicientes fidem quae est in unum Deum qui fecit omnia'.

II xxvii 1; Harvey I p. 347 f. In interpretation of the Scriptures we ought to begin with the clear passages, then we shall be safe, 'et veritatis corpus (the correction of Kunze and Becker instead of the meaningless *a veritate corpus*) integrum . . . perseverat'. If on the other hand we combine uncertain passages with others just as uncertain, 'sic enim apud nullum erit regula veritatis'.

II xxviii 1; Harvey I p. 349 'Habentes itaque regulam ipsam veritatem'.

In these last three passages there can be no doubt of the explanation: *The Rule of Truth* is the main, unambiguous content of the Scriptures. And the last quoted passage shews that at least here the κανὼν is the ἀλήθεια, so that the genitive may be explained as gen. appos.

The first chapters of lib. III are generally taken as a proof that Irenaeus fights against the Gnostics, taking his stand rather on tradition or on the Baptismal Creed than on Scripture. But rightly understood they say just the opposite.

III i 1; Harvey II p. 2 'Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostrae cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc praeconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostrae futurum'.

The proclamation of the first witnesses of Christ is according to the will of God continued and perpetuated in Scripture; *fundamentum . . . futurum* relates not simply to *Evangelium*, but to *Evangelium in Scripturis*.

III ii 1; Harvey II p. 7. The assertion here, that the true tradition is not to be found in the Scriptures themselves, but transmitted *per vivam vocem*—this assertion is not that of Irenaeus himself, but of the Gnostics. And they by means of their secret traditions spoil *The Rule of Truth* (*regulam veritatis depravans*), which also here seems to indicate the true, genuine Christianity.

But then Irenaeus follows the Gnostics on the battle-ground they prefer: tradition outside Scripture. He is sure he shall be able to refute them on that ground. For there is a true Catholic tradition handed down through the Bishops; as examples he quotes Rome and Asia Minor. This tradition, he says III iv 1; Harvey II p. 15 f, is so full and valid that it would be sufficient even if we had no apostolic writings. But this is only an imaginary situation. Very few really depend upon tradition alone, only (a) The Churches outside the Greek-Latin world, who have no translations of the Bible in their tongue;

(b) all Christians in smaller questions (*de aliqua modica quaestione*), probably such as to which Scripture gives no certain evidence.

Now let us see the surroundings of the chapters in question.

II xxxv 3 ; Harvey I p. 387 'Sed ne putemur fugere illam quae ex Scripturis Dominicis est probationem, ipsis Scripturis multo manifestius et clarius hoc ipsam praedicantibus . . . ex Scripturis divinis probationes apponemus in medio omnibus amantibus veritatem'.

So ends lib. II, i. e. in lib. III Irenaeus will give the evidence from the Scriptures.

III v 1 ; Harvey II p. 18 'Traditione igitur quae est ab Apostolis sic se habente in Ecclesia et permanente apud nos, revertamur ad eam quae est ex Scripturis ostensionem . . .'

So Irenaeus says having finished the evidence from tradition. *Ergo*, this passage about tradition is a parenthesis. Before going on to develop his proper subject in lib. III, the evidence from Scriptures, Irenaeus will strengthen his position against an eventual appeal from Scripture to tradition. This parenthesis is surely interesting, but it can by no means be allowed to dominate the understanding of Irenaeus's principal views and methods.

III xi 1 ; Harvey II p. 40 f 'Omnia igitur talia (i. e. the statements of the Gnostics) circumscribere (exclude) volens discipulus Domini et regulam veritatis constituere in Ecclesia, quia est unus Deus omnipotens, qui per Verbum suum omnia fecit . . . sic inchoavit in ea quae est secundum Evangelium doctrina: In principio erat Verbum', &c.

The Rule of Truth here is the belief in God's creation and salvation, and this is proclaimed in the Gospel of St John.

A little later (III xi 7 ; Harvey II p. 46 f ; the Greek text is here to be corrected by the Latin) Irenaeus gives his proof, that there can only be four Gospels as there are four corners of the earth. The pillar of the Church, he says, is (1) the Gospel (i. e. the four Gospels), (2) the Spirit of Life, always breathing eternal life out from the four Gospels. This is a very strong instance that to Irenaeus Scripture is the principal objective basis of the Church.

III xii 6 ; Harvey II p. 59. The Gnostics try to evade the demonstration from the Acts of the Apostles by assuming an accommodation by the Apostles. 'Secundum hunc igitur sermonem apud neminem erit regula veritatis, sed omnes discipuli omnibus imputabunt . . . Superfluous autem et inutilis adventus Domini parebit . . .'

The Rule of Truth is also here the genuine Christianity. A more special meaning (the content of the Acts or of the writings of St Luke) is to be found in III xv 6 ; Harvey II p. 79. The Gnostics reject the statement of the Acts about St Paul ; but God has just arranged it so

that in the Gospel written by the same author there are to be found many necessary details 'ut sequenti testificationi eius, quam habet de actibus et doctrina Apostolorum, omnes sequentes, et regulam veritatis inadulteratam habentes salvari possint'.

IV xxxv 5; Harvey II p. 276 'Nos autem unum et solum verum Deum doctorem sequentes et regulam veritatis habentes eius sermones ...'

In this clearest of all passages *The Rule of Truth* is the Words of God contained in Scripture (A.T. and N.T.).

In the *Epidēixis* we find in c. 1 the expression *Body of Truth*, as in the above-mentioned *Adv. haer.* I ix 4. Twice (c. 3 and 6) we find *The Rule of Faith*. If we may trust the Armenian translator it is not correct then to assume that Irenaeus always uses the expression *Rule of Truth*. *The Rule of Faith* in both places is the main content of Christianity (as an exposition of the belief in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost).

Our result is:—

I. *The Rule of Truth primarily* is not an institution, a formula, or a book; it is Christianity itself, the genuine, apostolic Christianity.

II. That *κανὼν* or *regula* may be used for not a formal rule, but a body of doctrine, we may prove from the Latin translation. For there very often (compare Dr Kunze: *Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss*, 1899, p. 322, and Becker, p. 212 f) *regula* (or *regulae*) is used of the doctrine or the main principles of the Gnostics. Only in one passage (I xx 3; Harvey I p. 180) the Greek text is preserved; there *regula* stands for *ὑπόθεσις*.

III. *The Rule* is *the Truth* itself. The genitive is generally to be taken as gen. appos. as indicated in the above-quoted passage, II xxviii 1 'Habentes itaque regulam ipsam veritatem'. Still we shall perhaps not press such a dilemma too strongly. *Rule of Truth* may perhaps also mean the Rule, which decides what is to be regarded as Truth. In the connexion *Rule of Faith* the gen. may also be taken as gen. appos. (Faith = *fides quae creditur*), but here more probable as gen. obj. = *regula credendi* (this expression is used by Novatian *De trin.* c. xvi).

IV. *The Truth*—which is the Rule—has a central place in the theology of Irenaeus. It comprehends the whole revelation, nay even nature, which also gives testimony to the Creator. Its main points are: the creation—the dispensation and prophecies in the Old Testament—Christ as the second Adam, His supernatural birth, His words, His death, His resurrection and ascension—the Holy Ghost—the Church—the Christian Ethics—the Eschatology. *The Rule of Truth* is something

positive, leading to salvation. It is not—as generally assumed—formed as against the heretics; but of course it excludes heresy just as truth excludes error.

V. This *Truth* is first to be found in Scripture, so that Scripture or some part of it occasionally may be called *The Rule of Truth*. The idea of separating Scripture from the Church never occurs to Irenaeus. But how strongly he insists on Scripture as the basis may be proved from nearly every page he wrote. Characteristic is the passage:—

V xx 1; Harvey II p. 379 'Fugere igitur oportet sententias ipsorum (the heretics) . . . confugere autem ad Ecclesiam, et in eius sinu educari, et dominicis Scripturis enutrir. Plantata est enim Ecclesia Paradisus in hoc mundo. Ab omni ergo ligno Paradisi escas manducabitis, ait Spiritus Dei, id est, ab omni Scriptura dominico manducate . . .'

VI. The same *Truth* can be found outside the Scriptures in the tradition of the Church, for materially tradition coincides with the Scripture. But never does Irenaeus call the tradition *Rule of Truth*, although we should not have been astonished if he had done so.

VII. The question of a formulated Creed by Irenaeus seems to be quite doubtful. In several passages scholars generally have found a creed. Those from *Adv. haer.* have often been collected (comp. Harnack in *Patrum apostolicorum opera*, ed. major. I p. 122 f; Hahn *Bibliothek der Symbole* 3 Aufl. p. 6 f; C. A. Swainson *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*, 1875, p. 28 ff; A. C. McGiffert *The Apostles' Creed*, 1902, p. 48 ff); to be added are Epid. c. 3, 6, 7, 97, 100. It may be that sometimes Irenaeus hints at a Creed, but I do not see that it has been proved, and still less do I see how a reconstruction is possible.

On the question of *The Rule of Faith (Truth)* Caspari called Irenaeus the classical author. It would be interesting to see if the explanation we have found in his case could be justified also in the case of other authors.

I think it is the case with Polykrates of Ephesus. He says (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* V xxiv 6) that the great Christian leaders of Asia Minor kept Easter *according to the Gospel*, and the following *according to the Rule of Faith* probably means the same. I also think it is the case with Novatian (*De cib. jud.* c. VII; *De trinitate*, c. I, IX, XVI, XVII (Moses has put the *regula veritatis* in Gen. I), XXI, XXVI, XXIX). Only it is here more evident that Novatian uses a formulated Creed—not as identical with, but as a means of arranging the description of, *The Rule of Truth*. Cyprian also (Ep. LXVIII 7; Hartel II p. 756) supposes him to use a formulated Creed; and he certainly is right in that, although he may be mistaken in assuming Novatian to use just the African formula (*per sanctam ecclesiam*).

In regard to Hippolytus and Tertullian I have at present formed no judgement. But if originally *The Rule of Truth* is a thing so elastic as we have found, it would be no wonder if later its meaning may have been modified.

In the Danish *Theologisk Tidsskrift* I have tried to prove more in detail the opinion stated shortly here, and I have examined some points of the history of the interpretation of Irenaeus from Erasmus to the present time. As this Danish periodical will be found in few public libraries, I shall be glad to send this article to scholars on application.

VALDEMAR AMMUNDSEN.

THE BOOK OF LIFE.

THE publication in 1903 of Dionysius Bār Ṣalībī's commentary on the Jacobite liturgy¹ brought to light the fact that besides the diptychs of living and dead, recited after the Epiclesis in connexion with the Intercession, certain other diptychs were formerly read in that rite at an earlier point of the service, in connexion with the kiss of peace, and that this document was known in Syriac as the *Book of Life*.

This discovery has, perhaps not unnaturally, raised a question as to the original position of the diptychs in the Liturgy of St James. Thus Mr Brightman writes in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (Jan. 1911, p. 321): 'As to the Greek S. James, it is true that its diptychs are now within the anaphora; but no doubt this is only a Byzantinism, for in the Jacobite rite the *Liber vitae*, when it was in use, was recited before the kiss of peace (Barsalibi *Expositio* 8).'

What follows here is an attempt to account for this feature in the service of the Syrian Jacobites by the aid of fuller evidence. And I must begin by explaining how it is that I come to be in possession of this additional evidence.

Before leaving England in the summer of 1911, to resume his post in the Ceylon Civil Service, Mr H. W. Codrington left in my keeping several manuscript books containing copies made by him of a number of Syriac liturgical documents. These documents relate for the most part to the rites of the Syrian Jacobites, and most of them are contained in MSS of the British Museum. But one or two were copied in the East and are, to say the least, not generally known in Europe. Being unable himself to undertake an edition of any part of them, owing to enforced and prolonged absence from England, Mr Codrington most

¹ H. Labourt *Dionysius Bar Ṣalībī: Expositio Liturgiae*. In *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Scriptores Syri, series secunda, tomus xciii).

generously left them in my hands to make what use I liked of them. In consenting to avail myself of his generosity I made one condition, viz. that in the event of my publishing a selection from his transcripts his name should appear on the title-page as that of joint author. I felt that I could not in any other way make an adequate acknowledgement of his part in the work; for though most of the documents are, as already stated, accessible in the British Museum, the credit of having discovered the special interest of their contents belongs to him; while for purposes of study the advantage of having at hand a careful copy of them is obvious. Such a selection I hope before long to publish; and the present paper was originally written in the form of an appendix to this proposed volume. It has, however, seemed to me advisable to print it separately, that I may have the opinions and criticisms of competent scholars before embodying my conclusions in a book. If the nature of the case now precludes the coupling of Mr Codrington's name with my own—for I am alone responsible for the arguments and views here put forward—yet it is to be understood that all the fresh evidence cited in this paper is drawn from Mr Codrington's transcripts. This said, it is unnecessary to emphasize further how much is due to Mr Codrington of whatever value the paper may possess.

The Syriac writers now known to me who mention the reading of the *Book of Life* are the following:—

1. George bishop of the Arab tribes.¹
2. The author of a commentary entitled *The Breaking of the Eucharist* (ܩܠܒܐ ܕܥܡܕܐ). See below.
3. Moses Bār Kēphā.²
4. Bār Ṣalībī (sacc. xii).
5. Simeon Ignatius, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, who in 1648 gave orders for a copy of the *Book of Life* to be made for the church of Aleppo. A MS of this document exists in the Vatican Library

¹ In a short commentary on the rites of Baptism, the Holy Eucharist and the consecration of the Chrism, Brit. Mus. MS add. 12154. The work bears the title 'Exposition of the Offices of the Church, made by a certain Bishop named George'. It is written in a good estrangela hand of the eighth or ninth century (so Wright *Catalogue* p. 985). Dr Wright, with some probability, assigns the work to George of the Arabs, 'the pupil and friend of Athanasius II and Jacob' [of Edessa], who flourished about 687-724 (Wright *Syriac Literature* p. 156). The Exposition begins on fol. 184 a. The mention of the *Book of Life* occurs at the end of the exposition of the liturgy, fol. 189 a. This passage was extracted by Mr Codrington; the rest of the work I have copied, and hope soon to publish.

² In his exposition of the Liturgy, Brit. Mus. MS add. 21210 (A.D. 1242), fol. 146 b seqq. Bār Kēphā was born about 813, made bishop of Mosul, &c., about 863, died 903. Much of this work is embodied, without acknowledgement, in Bār Ṣalībī's *Exposition*. The whole was copied by Mr Codrington, and I hope to publish it together with the commentary of George of the Arabs.

(cod. xxxix), and is fully described in the Catalogue of S. E. and J. S. Assemani (vol. ii p. 275). Another copy is among the papers left with me by Mr Codrington. This is apparently only a transcript of the Vatican MS, since the folios exactly correspond; though Mr Codrington has left no note to indicate its origin. Its contents will be described presently.

With regard to the second of the five authorities enumerated a few words of explanation are needed, as the document is unpublished, and probably unknown in Europe. A few years ago Mr Codrington paid a visit to Mgr Rahmani in his monastery at Sharfeh on the Lebanon, and he found this work in the library there. Unfortunately he had not time to transcribe the whole of it; but he was able to make an abstract of its contents by copying out the various liturgical citations or points of ritual selected by the author for comment, and a few of the actual comments also. Finding some remarks on the *Book of Life*, and realizing their importance, he transcribed them (with perhaps one small omission) as they stood. This abstract of the *Breaking of the Eucharist* is among the papers left in my hands by Mr Codrington last year. His notes give no indication as to the author's name (the work is probably anonymous), the date of composition, or the age of the MS; but there can be little doubt that the work was composed before Bār Kēphā's Exposition, for while the two documents are sometimes in verbal agreement, the *Breaking of the Eucharist* appears to be a shorter and simpler composition than that of Bār Kēphā, and there are not wanting positive indications that the latter is the borrower. It is to be hoped that Mgr Rahmani will some day give us an edition of this work. As Mr Codrington's extracts were necessarily made in haste, and are in any case merely extracts, it does not appear advisable to publish them as they stand, so long as there is a possibility of the whole work being edited from the MS.

Before proceeding to discuss the relation of the *Book of Life* to the diptychs in the Liturgy of St James, I must now quote in full what the above-mentioned authorities say as to its use, that the reader may have the whole of the available evidence before him. The translations are my own.

1. George of the Arabs (saec. vii?).

'The Book of Life, which is read upon the altar before the consecration of the mysteries, shews a commemoration of the Saints, and their fellowship with Christ, and that their names have been written in the book of life which is in heaven'¹ (fol. 189 a).

2. *The Breaking of the Eucharist* (earlier than the commentary of Bār Kēphā): following immediately upon a comment on the kiss of

¹ Cf. Phil. iv 3.

[illegible]

3 C Kōnik.

۶ C ۱۰۰

• C അമ്ലം.

12 C ~~isak.~~

The first and second of these corrections, viz. **ܪܝܥܐ**, 'time', for **ܪܝܥܐ**, 'feast', and **ܥܠܡܝܢ**, 'we assent', for **ܥܠܡܝܢ**, 'we have completed', are not doubtful, and they restore the original word-play : the 'time' is that of the *Pax* (*shīlāmā*), and by reading the names of the dead at this time 'we assent' (*shālmānan*), &c.

The following is a translation of the passage :—

'The Book of Life which is read at this time of the Peace on feasts of our Lord. Since the feast days are holy, and whenever the eucharist is performed it is full of holiness, they [? the fathers] appointed that they [the names in the Book] should be read on feast days, that they might distinguish the feasts from the rest. They appointed that they should be read at this time [sc. of the Peace], because hereby we teach that we assent to their divine teachings and the lofty *θεωρία* that are therein concerning the incarnation and the rest. But apart from the feasts they appointed that the diptych [=the Greek word] should be read by the deacon ; since in these canons¹ there is a commemoration both of the fathers and of those who have travelled in their footsteps. And therefore when these, both or one,² are read : when the diptych is appointed, the deacon reads only three canons from it ; for both in these and in that there is a declaration concerning the memory of the pious and holy ones, who have piously and holily arrived at the end, that they are living and not dead . . .³ Therefore, when their memory is celebrated here, they enter in with Him : even as they were joined ' (with Him), who in their lives were cleaving to the holy things and were performing service with Jesus, so also after their departure they are with Him ; as He said : "Where I am, there shall my minister also be".'

Further on, in connexion with the diptychs (after the consecration), the author makes clear a point which he has already stated rather obscurely.

'The deacon proclaims the diptychs . . . Now the diptychs are three of the living and three of the dead ; and when the Book of Life is read let not those of the dead be said by the deacon.'

3. Moses Bār Kēphā (saec. ix).

'Concerning the Book of Life which is read upon the altar. The Book of Life is read upon the altar for these reasons. First : because it proclaims before us those who have piously and holily arrived at a holy end. Secondly : that it may shew that they are living and not dead : and this appears from the fact that they are proclaimed with

¹ So the diptychs are sometimes called by the Jacobites.

² Apparently, when there is question of reading both the diptych canons and the *Book of Life*, or only one of the two : the phrase is awkward.

³ These dots in the copy perhaps mark an omission.

⁴ The word is conjectural : see no. 10 in the above *apparatus* to the Syriac text.

Jesus, according to that: "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God." Thirdly: because in their life they cleaved to the holy things, it is right that after their death also they should be proclaimed over the holy things. Fourthly: again, in that they are read upon the altar, it makes known that they are with Jesus always, according to that: "Where I am, there shall my minister also be"; and according to that: ["May they be one in us"].¹ Fifthly: it shews also by this that there is a holy remembrance of them. Sixthly: by proclaiming them it [or he: ? the reader] urges us to imitate their holy conversation and their right faith, that we also may be worthy of their blessed end, and after our decease may be proclaimed upon the altar, as they are proclaimed'² (fol. 154a).

Bār Kēphā, like the author of the *Breaking of the Eucharist*, returns to the subject of the *Book of Life* in speaking of the diptychs (fol. 165a).

'It is right to know that the diptychs which the deacon proclaims are six, three of the living and three of the dead. And whenever the Book of life is not read upon the altar it is not right for him to omit anything from them.'

And again (fol. 165b), having said that the people ought to answer *Kyrie eleison* after the diptychs, and not 'For all and because of all', he continues:—

'But if the Book of Life is read, in which he who reads reckons and recites all the diptychs, appropriately and fittingly the people answer: "For all and because of all".'

4. Bār Ṣalībī (saec. xii) (*op. cit.* p. 40; versio latina p. 60).

'Concerning the Book of Life. Nowadays the reading of it has ceased everywhere. On the Book of Life which is read upon the altar: for these reasons.' [The rest is merely a verbal transcript of Bār Kēphā. The latter's remark on the diptychs is also taken over by Bār Ṣalībī, *ibid.* p. 71, versio latina p. 83.]

5. Simeon Ignatius's copy of the *Book of Life*. [I give an analysis on the lines of that in Assemani's Catalogue vol. ii p. 275.]

Title. 'The Book of Life, according to the custom of the church of the Mother of God which is in the city of Beroea [Aleppo]. The book was written by the command of Mar Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch of Syria, who is Simeon, in the year of the Greeks 1959' [A. D. 1648].

Proem. 'By the power of the holy and adorable Trinity, equal in essence, Father and Son and Holy Spirit, one true God, we begin to write the writing of the Book of the names of the holy (and) just fathers and priests, prophets and apostles and martyrs and confessors

¹ Illegible in the MS, but supplied from Bār Ṣalībī, who incorporates this passage.

² A comparison of this passage with the foregoing one from the *Breaking of the Eucharist* can leave no doubt as to which is the earlier.

and holy fathers and true shepherds and teachers of orthodoxy and priests and heads of churches and heads of monasteries and solitaries and ascetics and priests and deacons and monks and nuns, and the rest of the faithful, lay folk, men and women, great and small, and of all ages and conditions of the sons of the holy catholic and apostolic Church, which is called the Book of Life, and is read on Sundays and feasts of our Lord at the time of the mysteries on the right hand of the table of life by one of the approved priests, in Jerusalem and in the great sees and in the celebrated cities and famous convents, and is also read from time to time at the door of the altar for the good profit and laudable emulation of the true faithful ; and it is to be set on the table of life always, even as God spoke to Moses that he should write the names of the tribes of Israel on tables of stone and set them in the tabernacle of witness for a goodly memorial of piety. And let every believing man or woman whose name is written in this holy book believe without doubting that he is written in the book of life which is above, in the church of the firstborn which is in heaven, if only he shall have been a fulfiller of God's commandment.'

The commemorations. (1) 'First, the commemoration of the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ. We commemorate the memorial of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of all His saving dispensation for us ; and particularly the annunciation of His conception, and His holy birth, and His legal circumcision, and His entry into the temple, when the aged Simeon bare Him upon his arms and besought Him, saying.' [The whole Gospel narrative is gone through in brief, and that of the Acts as far as the account of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. This occupies fully half of the document. It continues :]

'And they cast lots, and (the lot) came up for Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles ; and the number of the twelve apostles was completed. And from hence they made a beginning of fasting. And on the second day (of the week) they built a church ; and on the third day they consecrated the chrism and the altar ; and on the fourth day James the brother of our Lord offered the oblation (*qurbānā*). This is the first *Qurbānā*¹ : and he said that he heard it and learned it from the mouth of our Lord ; and he added not nor did he take away one word from it. And on the fifth day Peter baptized Lazarus, and John the evangelist received him ; and John the evangelist baptized the Mother of God, Mary, and Mary the sister of Lazarus received her ; and again he baptized the sisters of Lazarus, and Mary the Mother of God received them ; and on Friday at the ninth hour Simon and John went up to the temple to pray, and they gave health to

¹ The word here means 'Liturgy', as often.

the paralytic, and he leaped and stood up and entered with them into the temple, and those who saw the miracle which was wrought gave glory to God ; and on that day about five thousand souls believed ; and on the sabbath day each one was sent to the place which was allotted to him, and they began to preach and to teach and to baptize all peoples in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Spirit unto life everlasting, Amen.'

(2) 'And after we have spoken of the saving dispensation of our Lord in the flesh, we add and commemorate the names of the former fathers : first, our father Adam.' [Follows a list of patriarchs, &c., from Adam to the last of the prophets.]

(3) 'Again, we commemorate the names of the priests and levites of the Old Testament' [from Aaron to John the Baptist].

(4) [Names of virtuous kings of Israel and the king of Nineveh.]

(5) [Names of the 12 apostles in the order of St Matthew's Gospel, with Matthias for Iscariot.]

(6) [Names of the four evangelists in the usual order.]

(7) [Names of the 72 disciples : Paul, Addai, Aggai, &c.—the rest mainly collected from the Acts and St Paul's Epistles.]

(8) [Names of 'holy women in order : first, our Lady Mary the Mother of God, her mother Anne, Elizabeth': other names from the N.T., then Sarah, &c., from the O.T.]

(9) [Councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus.]

(10) [Christian kings: Abgar, Constantine, Helena, Jovian, Theodosius the Great, Arcadius, Honorius, Theodosius the younger, Theodora, Zeno, Anastasius.]

(11) [Patriarchs of Antioch from St Peter down to quite late times. The full list is printed by Assemani from this MS in *B.O.* ii p. 325.]

(12) [Names of 'holy fathers and orthodox teachers'. The first name is said by Assemani to be that of Linus of Rome ; but Mr Codrington's copy puts 'Dionysius the Great' first, then 'Nilus (*sic*) of Rome'. The list is very long, and is a chronological jumble of all the well-known pre-Monophysite bishops of all countries, followed in equal disorder by Monophysite ones.]

(13) [Names of monks, solitaries, &c., first St Ephraim, followed by Syrian ascetics ; then the Egyptians, Paul, Antony, &c.]

(14) [Martyrs and confessors.]

(15) [All ecclesiastical orders.] 'Heads of churches, heads of convents, heads of monasteries, chorepiscopi, periodeutae, visitors, presbyters, archdeacons, deacons, subdeacons, readers, psaltae, singers, interpreters, exorcists, monks, nuns : with the rest of the orthodox clergy, from this (place) and every place and city and village and hamlet, of the right faith and orthodox ; and especially those who are of our own right faith, the enviable Syrian Jacobites. May God pardon them all together, and

us by their prayers: Amen and Amen. Remember, Lord, those whom we have mentioned and those whom we have not mentioned, by Thy grace and Thy many mercies: Amen and Amen. Remember, Lord, in Thy mercies those who have been careful and have toiled. May the Lord pardon them.'

Mr Codrington's copy ends here. In the Vatican MS there follows in Carshuni the rescript, or diploma, of the Patriarch Simeon Ignatius, dated Wednesday, March 2, 1648, stating that he had ordered this book to be written out for the church of the Deipara at Aleppo: 'ut in ipso nomina eorum referrentur, qui eidem Ecclesiae quidquam dono dedissent' (Assemani Catal. *loc. cit.*). Then comes a 'commemoration', or list of names, of those who have given books, chalices, patens, crosses, to the said church. Whether there is an actual list of names or only a place left for them, does not appear; the only actual entry given by the Assemanis is the following: 'Commemoratio bona fiat mortuorum Pauli, Hierosolymitana peregrinatione defuncti, eiusque patris et matris, et consanguineorum, qui Evangelium Arabicum argento ornatum legavit Ecclesiae Dominae: ut Deus Dominus istud ab eo Legatum suscipiat, precibus eiusdem Dominae, Amen.' Next comes a calendar: '*Nomina xii Mensium*: ubi in laterculis uniuscuiusque Mensis describuntur praecipua Sanctorum Festa, et Benefactorum nomina': i. e. of those who have undertaken to defray by annual subscriptions the expense of celebrating these feasts in the said church of Aleppo.

Was this document copied by order of the Jacobite Patriarch from an existing manuscript, or does it represent an attempt to restore the *Book of Life*, without the aid of an existing model, from the notices of such earlier writers as have been cited above? A full discussion of this question cannot be entered upon here. The document as it stands is of little use for a historical enquiry into the origin of the *Book of Life*, and accordingly it will not enter into the ensuing discussion.¹ Bār Ṣalībī also may be dismissed, since, apart from his testimony as to the general disuse of the *Book of Life* in the twelfth century, he adds nothing to the witness of Bār Kēphā.

From the evidence now before us two points stand out clearly: (a) that the *Book of Life* was a list of dead persons only; (b) that it was read 'before the consecration of the mysteries', as George of the Arabs

¹ In view of Bār Ṣalībī's assertion, that the *Book of Life* was everywhere obsolete in his day, we need not seriously consider the statement that in the seventeenth century it was in use at Jerusalem, and in fact in all Syrian Jacobite churches. If not a mere rhetorical exaggeration in regard of former usage, the statement is probably to be taken as indicating that steps had recently been taken to revive and bring the *Book of Life* again into general use.

expressly says. And we may safely follow the *Breaking of the Eucharist* and Bār Kēphā in placing it immediately after the kiss of peace, and not before it (as in Bār Šalībī, who wrote when it had already fallen out of use). Further, it was read on the altar, and no doubt (from the nature of the case) by one of the presbyters, if not by the celebrant himself.¹

Comparing the statements of the first three of our authorities, we find that Bār Kēphā has borrowed freely from the *Breaking of the Eucharist*; but that this was not the ultimate source of these comments will at once appear if they are read together with the passage of pseudo-Dionysius which begins in Migne *P. Gr.* iii col. 437 B. In that passage we have not only the source of several of these comments on the *Book of Life*, but also two of the features connected with its use: (a) the diptychs spoken of by the Areopagite are those of the dead only; (b) they are read immediately after the kiss of peace. I shall have to return to the Areopagite later on. Here it is time to approach the main question as to the relation of the *Book of Life* to the Liturgy of St James.

I begin with the statement of a fact, which can be verified by any one who will read the Syriac text and compare it with the Greek, viz. that the 'Syrian Jacobite' rite, or more precisely the Syriac anaphora of St James,² is a translation, and even a pedantically literal translation, of the Greek anaphora of St James. I have made an examination of this point by the aid of the earliest fragments of the Syriac 'St James' in the British Museum, and it appears unnecessary to labour it here. Exactly when the Liturgy of St James was translated into Syriac we do not know. What we do know is that it became the normal rite of the Monophysite Christians owing obedience to the patriarch of Antioch: and as there is no reason to suppose that this liturgy was in use in early times outside Palestine, or at any rate the Province of Syria, it seems certain that its appearance so far east as Edessa, where we find it in the seventh century, was due to dogmatic causes, and not to any local use or tradition.³ In a word the Syriac-speaking Monophysites adopted it because it had become the standard rite of their Greek-speaking co-religionists and neighbours. If this be so, we may surmise that the translation into Syriac took place towards the end of the fifth century;

¹ The *Breaking* and Bār Kēphā several times allude somewhat pointedly to the reading of the diptychs by a deacon, as if in contradistinction to the case of the *Book of Life*.

² I. e. that part of the rite which begins with the prayer before the kiss of peace and extends, at least, to the communion.

³ It is perhaps considerations of this kind that induced Dr Baumstark (see *Oriens Christianus* ii, 1902, p. 94) to say that 'the old Antiochene Liturgy seems in the course of the fifth century to have been ousted [at Antioch] by the Palestinian. For this latter was, when the Syro-Monophysite church came to be formed on Antiochene inspiration, in use in Antioch'.

not at least before the Council of Chalcedon. The extreme literalness of the translation offers in itself a strong argument for dating it not earlier than the latter half of the fifth century. In the first half of that century Syriac translators from the Greek shewed more consideration for their own idiom (as witness the Peshitta version of the Gospels): after the rise of the Christological controversies the desire to reproduce Greek theological language with accuracy led to an unidiomatic literalness which sometimes makes very difficult reading.

It follows that the Syriac 'St James' cannot be regarded as an independent witness to any practice or formula which may be supposed to have dropped out of the corresponding Greek rite before the middle of the fifth century. Any items peculiar to the Syriac will naturally be explained either as additions made from elsewhere after the time of translation, or as survivals from some native rite, current in Syriac-speaking quarters before the establishment of the Monophysite church. This *a priori* argument is capable of being tested to some extent by positive evidence.

St Cyril of Jerusalem (*Myst.* v 8, 9) tells us that in his rite immediately after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit there came a prayer for the peace of the Church and the world, for kings, soldiers, the sick and afflicted; and that this was followed by a commemoration of the dead, of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and then of deceased fathers, bishops, and of all the departed. These two elements correspond sufficiently to the Intercession and diptychs in 'St James', said at the same point in the service; and I can see no sufficient reason to doubt that they represent substantially the same *thing*. Moreover St Cyril says nothing about any other commemoration of the dead, but he chooses this point at which to refute an objection made in his time: What does it profit a soul to be commemorated in the prayer? *τὶ ὠφελεῖται ψυχὴ . . . ἐὰν ἐπὶ τῆς προσευχῆς μνημονεύηται*; so that there would seem to be reasons for supposing, with Mr Edmund Bishop,¹ that he contemplates a recital of names here: but if here, improbably elsewhere also.

Nor can we with any greater show of probability trace the reading of diptychs outside the anaphora to Antioch; for in St Chrysostom's time at Antioch, as at Constantinople, the names of the departed were read out after the consecration.²

There is of course this possible alternative: an alteration in the position of the diptychs in the Liturgy of St James between the time at which St Cyril wrote and the date of its translation into Syriac. We have in this case to suppose the following fluctuations in this rite: about 350 the diptychs (on the supposition that names of the dead were recited) were read

¹ *Texts and Studies* viii, no. 1, p. 101, note 3.

² See *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1911, pp. 400-401.

in their present position, after the Invocation ; then, before (451 ?), they were placed just after the *Pax* ; later on they were restored to their former place, where they still remain. Of these changes no Greek record is to be found. The last must be supposed to have taken place before the middle of the seventh century ; for Jacob of Edessa, who takes special note of the position of the diptychs in the churches of Constantinople and Alexandria and compares it with that of his own rite (the Syriac 'St James'), could scarcely have failed to comment on such a divergence from his own use in the Greek 'St James' as that of reading the diptychs just after the kiss of peace. The difficulties besetting this view are such, and the suppositions it involves are so numerous and complex, that I cannot think it is likely to commend itself ; and we must, I think, look elsewhere than to a lost and unrecorded phase of the Greek Liturgy of St James for the source whence the *Book of Life* was derived by the Syrian Jacobites.

Dismissing then the Greek Liturgy of St James altogether, we may now enquire whether there is reason for believing the practice in vogue among these Jacobites of reciting the *Book of Life* after the *Pax* and before the anaphora is of native, that is of East Syrian origin.

Mr Edmund Bishop¹ has pointed out the close agreement there is as to order between the early part of the service (from the dismissals to the reading of the diptychs) described by Narsai at Nisibis about the end of the fifth century and that described by the Areopagite. As regards the diptychs, however, he notes this difference, that while Narsai tells of the reading of names both of the living and the dead, the diptychs spoken of by the Areopagite are those of the dead only ; and he throws out the suggestion that the presence of the living in Narsai's diptychs was due to borrowing from Antioch.² Such borrowing would from the nature of the case have been easy and natural. The early Nestorians had a close link of connexion with Antioch in the persons of Diodore, Theodore, and Nestorius. They possessed, moreover, at an early time a Greek Liturgy purporting to be that of Nestorius, and probably also another bearing the name of Theodore. Narsai himself, on his own admission, borrowed (or imitated) a formula of Intercession from Nestorius.³ We have in any case an exact agreement as to position between the diptychs of Narsai, those of the Areopagite, and the Jacobite *Book of Life*. In other words this position (different from that in the Greek rites of western Syria) seems native in eastern Syria.

¹ *Texts and Studies* viii, no. 1, pp. 108, 111-112 (cf. pp. 90-91).

² *Ibid.* p. 112.

³ *Ibid.* p. 20 : 'Of all these the priest makes mention, imitating Mar Nestorius in his supplication.'

That Narsai's order for the diptychs (i. e. after the *Pax*) is merely that of the East Syrian Liturgy of Addai and Mari is not only shewn by the mediaeval commentators on that rite (Abraham Bār Līpheh and the so-called George of Arbela) but is also indicated by the modern printed text. The Urmi edition (pp. 11-12) has the following sequence: (1) the deacon says 'Give the peace', (2) a rubric 'and they give the peace to one another and say', (3) the prayer 'and for all the catholici', (4) rubric 'and they read the diptychs, which is the Book of the Living and Dead'. This order is kept in the S. P. C. K. translation, and is found also in the Chaldean (Uniate) text. Thus Mr Brightman's order needs to be corrected, since it places the diptychs before the *Pax*. All this so far is matter of fact.

Let us now consider the origin of the name 'Book of Life' as applied to diptychs of the dead. I have kept the translation 'Book of *Life*', both because it has already acquired a certain currency, and because I think it probable that, as a name for diptychs of the dead, it was originally employed in that sense. Thus George of the Arabs brings it into connexion with the scriptural phrase, and identifies it with the 'book of life which is in heaven'. But the Syriac expression, *sēphar ḥayyē*, as it stands may equally well be translated 'Book of *the Living*', since the Syriac words for 'life' and 'the living' (plur.) coincide exactly in form and pronunciation (*ḥayyē*); and in fact it will be seen that Bār Kēphā and the *Breaking of the Eucharist* appear to have understood it so. It is not perhaps of great interest to determine this point: but what is really of importance is that, as a name for the diptychs, 'Book of Life' appears to be of Syriac origin. Narsai calls the diptychs '*the book of the two (sets of) names, of the living and dead*' (*sephrā . . . dhē-ḥayyē wē-mithē*). Here *sephrā* is the same word as *sēphar*, the difference in form being explained by the fact that Syriac has two ways of expressing the genitive relation. Abraham Bār Līpheh¹ takes us a step farther: he calls the diptychs, in the Liturgy of Addai and Mari, the '*Book of the living and dead*' (*sēphar ḥayyē wē-mithē*)²; and I have no doubt that this is the precise form of the title by which the diptychs in the same rite were known to Narsai also, and that his expansion of it is due merely to the fact that he wrote in metre. Putting now this East-Syrian, or 'Nestorian', title alongside of the Jacobite 'Book of Life' we get the following

¹ The date of this writer is a matter for conjecture. He is frequently cited in the work usually ascribed to George of Arbela (tenth century); but as the ascription of this work to George is more than doubtful the date of both treatises remains uncertain. I am inclined to place the former in the eighth or ninth century and the latter in the eleventh. Both are in course of edition in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.

² Exactly as in the modern Syriac text of Addai and Mari printed at Urmi (1890), p. 12 l. 7, and in the Chaldean text.

result (for the sake of clearness I omit the article, which does not exist in Syriac):—

Jacobite :	<i>səphar</i>	<i>hayyē</i>	
	‘Book-of	living’	
		or ‘life’	
Nestorian :	<i>səphar</i>	<i>hayyē</i>	<i>wē-mithē</i>
	‘Book-of	living	and-dead’

We have seen that *səphar hayyē* can mean either ‘book of life’ or ‘book of living’; and so it needed only the addition of a single Syriac word (*wē-mithē*) to turn the name for diptychs of the *dead*—those whose names were written in the *heavenly* book of life—into a name for diptychs of *living and dead*. And thus the ‘Nestorian’ title for the diptychs is nothing but the Jacobite ‘Book of Life (*or* Living)’ with the addition of ‘and dead’; and, if Mr Bishop’s suggestion is correct—that the reading of the names of the living in the so-called ‘Nestorian’, i. e. the traditional and native East Syrian, rite was borrowed from Antioch—the name for the original diptychs of the dead only was in all probability in this rite also simply ‘Book of Life’. I am not sure indeed that we may not legitimately turn the argument round, and say that as the *names* appear to have been at one time identical, the *things* probably were so too; and that Mr Bishop’s surmise thus receives the support of a very curious and significant piece of evidence. It may be added that *sephrā* (the ‘emphatic’ form of *səphar*) is not the only, or indeed the most common, Syriac word for ‘Book’; and since we have seen that Syriac has also two methods of indicating the genitive, it is clear that ‘book of living (life)’ might have been expressed in several different ways—a consideration which adds point to the exact verbal and grammatical coincidence noted above.

The conclusion to which I am led by the evidence is as follows: in the early part of the fifth century, before the establishment of the Nestorian and Monophysite schismatical churches, there existed, in regions lying to the north and east of the district in which the rite of Antioch prevailed, a common practice as regards the diptychs: they were still diptychs of the dead only; they were read after the kiss of peace; in Syriac-speaking communities they were called the *Book of Life*. A witness to this use in certain Greek-speaking churches lying within that north-eastern region—probably on the southern confines of Armenia—is pseudo-Dionysius. It is probably to this last-named district that Maximus of Constantinople alludes in the seventh century, when he speaks of a practice current (apparently still in his day) ‘in the East’ of reading the diptychs after the *Pax*. He does not refer to the farther-eastern, the Nestorian, churches, since they already had diptychs of the

living as well (so Narsai); and it is improbable that he is thinking merely of the Jacobite *Book of Life*, which did not engage the attention of his younger contemporary Jacob of Edessa. When noting the fact that the diptychs spoken of by the Areopagite were of the dead only (*P. Gr.* iv 145A), and again that they were read after the salutation (the *Pax*) ὡς περ καὶ ἐν Ἀνατολῇ (*P. Gr.* iv 136D), Maximus did not realize that these two points of difference from his own rite admitted of a very easy explanation, viz. that the Areopagite himself wrote 'in the East'.

I had already arrived at these conclusions when the following piece of evidence was brought to my notice. In the 15th chapter of his *Expositio*, in commenting on the diptychs (after the consecration), Bār Šalibī writes thus: 'Sed hic decet sermonem extolli ut vituperet Armenos qui non offerunt sacrificium pro vivis. Si enim in liturgia commemorationes tres priores propter vivos sunt: . . . quare vos inscitia quadam commemorationem vivorum super altare negligitis?'

We have traced the origin of the *Book of Life*, read after the *Pax*, to the borders of Armenia: here we find a practice of commemorating the dead only among the Armenians themselves in the twelfth century.

If it is asked why George of the Arabs (if he is really the author of our first document) mentions the *Book of Life* in the seventh century, while his earlier contemporary Jacob of Edessa had not the practice of reading it in his church, I should seek an explanation in the fact that the diocese of the former lay farther east than Edessa, and was thus less liable to be influenced by the usages of Greek-speaking churches. The same is the case with Bār Kēphā. But even so, it is to be remembered that George mentions the *Book of Life* only at the end of his commentary on the liturgy, as if by an afterthought, and not in its proper place; while the author of the *Breaking of the Eucharist* and Bār Kēphā expressly state that its use was only occasional.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

'WOMAN, WHAT HAVE I TO DO WITH THEE?'

WE must all have listened, at some time or other, to well-meant expositions explaining that the speech of our Lord to His Mother at the Marriage in Cana of Galilee was not as harsh as it sounds in English. I venture to think that the sense of harshness persists, notwithstanding the explanations, and I desire to submit an alternative exegesis of John ii 4. Of course, so far as the vocative γύναι is concerned, the

harshness disappears in Greek; the difficulty is really with *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*;

The phrase is common enough, both in Greek and Aramaic. It gives us three things, viz. 'something' (*τί*), the speaker (*ἐμοί*), and the person spoken to (*σοί*); and further, it asserts the existence of a gap or disconnexion. What, as a matter of fact, the phrase does not tell us is where the gap is. It may be between *me* and *thee*, but it may equally well be between *us* and *the thing*. I venture to suggest that in John ii 4 *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι*; means nothing more than *τί ἡμῶν, γύναι*; we might translate it 'What have I and thou to do with that?'

The nearest linguistic parallel in the N.T. is *τί γάρ μοι τοῦτο ἔξω κρίνειν*; in 1 Cor. v 12. 'What is that to us?' in Matt. xxvii 4 is *τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς*; but I submit that a simple dative might stand there, especially a phrase of more syllables like *ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*. In the Aramaic of the older Syriac versions this linguistic difference disappears.¹

As for the general meaning, that is determined by the context. In fact, this is the case whatever view we may take of the Fourth Gospel from the point of view of history or theology. The Mother of Jesus tells Him that the wine has run short: His answer encourages her to believe that He will act in the matter, for she prepares the servants for an order (*ver.* 5). She was right in this impression, for in what we read next our Lord is telling them to fill the water-pots (*ver.* 7). Obviously, therefore, the answer was in some way favourable. It seems to me difficult to believe that *τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι*; can be intended by the Evangelist to mean anything else than 'Never mind; don't be worried'. A sentence which means literally 'It is not my business' (*mā 'alēsh*) is used by the modern Egyptians, both for 'I beg your pardon!' and 'Never mind!' That is really what is required. The Evangelist adds *οὐπω ἤκει ἡ ὥρα μου*. Doubtless this is intentionally of double meaning: 'the impression left on the reader is that it is not supposed by the Evangelist to have been understood at the time' (*Abbott* 2642). The Christian is supposed to see that it may mean 'My crisis is not yet', while it seemed at the time only to say 'It is not yet the moment to act'. But in neither sense does it convey a rebuke.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ See also Abbott *Johannine Grammar* 2239 ff, 2642 a.

SCOTUS ERIGENA ON GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

DR SOUTER notes in the Critical Apparatus of his N. T. that οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρός is omitted by B* 17* Clem. Eus. Ath. *al.*; he does not mention that the first clause οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκός is omitted by other witnesses (E*, &c.). Both omissions are no doubt mistakes that arose mechanically; see Th. Zahn on the passage (note 70). But nowhere do I find mentioned the statement of Scotus Erigena:—

In antiquis Graecorum exemplaribus solummodo scribitur: Qui non ex sanguinibus, sed ex Deo nati sunt.

Scotus seems to have known MSS (or a MS) in which *both* clauses were omitted. The passage of Erigena is quoted by Franz Overbeck *Das Johannesevangelium* (Tübingen 1911, p. 126) with reference to Ravaisson *Rapports sur les bibliothèques des départements de l'Ouest*, Paris 1846, p. 325. Erigena is not mentioned by Tischendorf among the authors who are important for the text of the Greek Testament. This passage shews that even so late an author deserves the attention of an editor of the Greek Testament.

On i 15 Scotus writes:—

Et clamat, vel sicut in Graeco legitur *et clamavit dicens: Hic erat quem dixi*, vel sicut in Graeco habetur *quem dicebam*, quod multo significantius est. Nam si praeteritum perfectum, quod est *dixi*, poneret, peractum iam praedicationis eius de Christo opus significaret; praeteritum vero imperfectum, quod est *dicebam*, et inchoationem praedicationis Christi ab Ioanne significat, et adhuc in ipsa praedicatione perseverantiam.

For the imperfect ἐλεγον instead of εἶπον Tischendorf quotes only C³. Is there any connexion between Scotus and C³, or did he consider εἶπον as imperfect, or are there any other MSS reading ἐλεγον?

Curious is the remark on i 29:—

Altera die, vel, ut in Graeco significantius scribitur, *alia die videt Ioannes Iesum venientem ad se*. *Alia*, inquit, *die*, hoc est, alia cognitione. Prima enim cognitio fuit, quando . . . Nunc autem veluti secunda notitia, *altera die* vel *alia die*.

In Greek there is no variant for τῇ ἐπαύριον.

On i 18 we read:—

Unigenitus filius, qui est in sinu Patris, vel ut in Graeco scribitur *qui est in sinu Patris vel in sinibus Patris*. In quibusdam codicibus Graecorum singulariter *sinus Patris* dicitur, in quibusdam pluraliter, quasi sinus multos Pater habeat.

How is this statement to be understood? Ought we to read for the Greek 'in sinum' to correspond with εἰς τὸν κόλπον? or, 'in sinus'? But what of the plural? Is it a confusion with Lk. xvi 22, 23?

On iii 3 Scotus calls attention to the difference of 'denuo et ἀνωθεν hoc est *desursum*'; on iii 13 he says that 'ascendit' might be present or perfect, 'sed in Graeco non est ambiguum.'

On iii 27:—

nisi fuerit ei datum de caelo. In quibusdam codicibus Graecorum legitur *nisi fuerit ei datum desursum de caelo.*

For this ἀνωθεν Tischendorf quotes only 13, 69, 129; Wettstein adds the Armenian version. Codex 69 is the famous codex of Leicester, of the origin of which Dr Rendel Harris treated in 1887. Have we here a trace of one of its ancestors?

EB. NESTLE.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE CATACOMB OF S. CALLISTUS.

THAT the opening number of the new *Journal of Roman Studies* should contain an article on the topic about to be discussed is of good omen for the study of Christian archaeology in England. Our country sends forth few workers in this field, which might well occupy the attention of some of those attracted to Rome by the advantages for study offered by the British School of Archaeology.

The last decade has been fruitful of discovery in the catacombs. Readers of the *Journal of Theological Studies* will recollect that excavations in the Catacomb of Priscilla on the Via Salaria have made it possible to determine with some approach to certainty the spot hallowed by tradition as the scene of S. Peter's ministry. The works upon which Miss Barker's article in the *Journal of Roman Studies* are based deal with the group of cemeteries lying on or between the Via Appia and Via Ardeatina, and although they do not carry us back to Apostolic times, they throw much fresh light on the history of the third century and its martyrs. Unfortunately, the interpretation of the remains which have been discovered has led to much diversity of opinion and to a bitter and unedifying controversy between the principal writers on the subject, of which as little as possible will here be said.

The 'queen of roads' and the relatively unimportant highway which led from Rome to Ardea issued from the city by the Porta Capena and Porta Naevia respectively, and when the walls of Aurelian were built, the first passed through the new Porta Appia, whilst a small gateway, the Porta Ardeatina, which was blocked in the middle ages and finally destroyed by Sangallo to make room for his bastion, gave passage to the second. The Via Ardeatina, however, fell into disuse in the Dark

Ages, and the name is now commonly applied to the branch-road which leaves the Via Appia close to the chapel of *Domine quo vadis?* and joins the original line of the Via Ardeatina in the neighbourhood of the estate of Tor Marancia, famous both for the discoveries of classical sculpture made in 1827, and also as the site of the Catacomb of Domitilla, the nucleus of which was formed by the burial-place of those members of the Flavian house who embraced Christianity.

In the triangle formed by the Via Appia, the Via Ardeatina (in the modern sense) and the cross-road known as the Via delle Sette Chiese, is a large group of cemeteries to which the name of S. Callistus is popularly attached. These cemeteries were the scene of the great De Rossi's most famous discoveries, and the three volumes of his *Roma sotterranea* are almost entirely concerned with this region. The continuation of this great work—the publication of which was suspended on the death of De Rossi—has been entrusted to Orazio Marucchi, the indefatigable secretary of the *Commissione di Archeologia sacra*, and a fourth volume, containing the first instalment of a description of the Catacomb of Domitilla, was issued in 1909. But the excavations carried on in 1902–3 and again since 1908 in the so-called Catacomb of S. Callistus have made clear some points which De Rossi was forced to leave in obscurity, and have at the same time raised fresh problems, the solution of which cannot yet be said to have been achieved. Mgr Wilpert, whose work on the paintings of the catacombs is a classic, has summed up the results of the new discoveries in what he announces as the first of a series of essays supplementary to *Roma sotterranea*¹; but his conclusions differ widely from those of Marucchi, who devotes some sections of his own volume to the controversy, which has been in progress for some years past. The region, in fact, in which the monuments in dispute lie, though not directly adjacent to the Catacomb of Domitilla, is also bordered by the Via Ardeatina, and the itineraries of the Middle Ages, upon the interpretation of which much depends, treat the cemeteries of the Via Appia and Via Ardeatina in close connexion.

The Catacomb of S. Callistus takes its name from the deacon who, as we are told by the author of the *Φιλοσοφούμενα*,² was entrusted by S. Zephyrinus (199–217) with the administration of 'the cemetery', and succeeded his patron as Pope (217–222). Neither of these Popes was, however, buried in the 'cemetery of Callistus' properly so-called.³ Callistus himself, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, found his last resting-place in the *coemeterium Calepodii* on the Via Aurelia, while

¹ *Die Papstgräber und die Cäciliengruft*, 1909 (Ital. trans. *La cripta dei Papi*, &c., 1910).

² ix 12 (ἐς τὸ κοιμητήριον κατέστησεν).

³ The predecessors of S. Zephyrinus were all buried beside S. Peter in the Vatican.

Zephyrinus (again according to the *Lib. pont.*) was buried *in cimiterio suo iuxta cimiterium Calisti via Appia*. S. Urban, too (222-230), is stated by the best authorities to have been buried in the cemetery of Praetextatus, which lies to the east of the Via Appia. Of the ten Popes who succeeded him, however, all save one—S. Cornelius, whose burial-place in the *crypta Lucinae* on the Via Appia was discovered by De Rossi in 1849—are said to have been buried *in cimiterio Calisti*; and nearly all, as we shall see, were doubtless laid to rest in the famous Papal crypt which adjoins that of S. Cecilia. The next two Popes, S. Marcellinus (296-308) and S. Marcellus (308-9), were buried in the Catacomb of Priscilla; S. Eusebius, however (309-311), and S. Miltiades (311-314) had their tombs in the cemetery of Callistus. The latter was the last of the Popes to be buried in this cemetery; but we hear that S. Marcus (336-7) built two *basilicae*, in one of which he was buried, and that this was *in cimiterio Balbinae Via Ardeatina*, and also that S. Damasus (366-384), whose poetical epitaphs, inscribed in the unmistakeable characters invented by Furius Dionysius Philocalus, adorned so many tombs of martyrs, likewise erected a *basilica* on the Via Ardeatina, in which he was buried with his mother Laurentia and his sister Irene. All these burial-places, as well as the *basilica* on the Via Ardeatina in which the brothers Marcus and Marcellianus, deacons martyred under Diocletian, were buried *sub magno altare*, were visited by the pilgrims for whose benefit the itineraries were written; and the materials for their identification have been largely increased by recent excavations.

We may take first the discoveries in the Papal crypt itself. To the epitaphs of four¹ Popes—SS. Anteros, Fabianus, Lucius, and Eutychianus—discovered by De Rossi has been added a fifth, that of S. Pontianus, who was exiled to Sardinia by Maximinus Thrax, and died of the ill-treatment he received there. The fragments which compose it were found in the crypt of S. Cecilia amidst a mass of rubbish, one of them almost at the bottom of a deep well; and we see that in the original inscription, as in that of S. Fabianus, who caused the body of S. Pontianus to be brought from Sardinia and buried here, only the name and title *Επισκοπος*, of the Pope were given. At a later date the monogram *MP*, i. e. *μάρτυρ*, was added, as it was also in the epitaph of S. Fabianus. De Rossi explained the addition in the latter case by the supposition that the formal *vindicatio* by which the title of martyr was conferred was postponed owing to the long vacancy which followed the death of Fabianus, and assumed that his successor, S. Cornelius, decreed

¹ We do not include that of 'Urbanus', since it is more than doubtful, for palaeographical reasons, whether it belongs to the Pope of that name.

the addition of the monogram: but the discovery of the epitaph of S. Pontianus has made this theory impossible, and Wilpert has further shewn that in the epitaph of S. Cornelius himself the word MARTYR is a later addition. It is difficult to say when the title was added, but it is at least an attractive conjecture that S. Sixtus II and his attendant deacons were the first to be so honoured. The fragmentary inscription . . . VS MARTYS found by De Rossi in the Catacomb of Praetextatus is generally thought to refer either to Felicissimus or to Agapitus, who were put to death shortly after the Pope himself.

The martyrdom of S. Sixtus has been discussed in a critical spirit by Wilpert, whose opinion finds support in a communication from Mgr Duchesne. The hitherto accepted view, that S. Sixtus was put to death in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, was maintained by De Rossi on very inconclusive grounds. It is true that SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus were buried in that catacomb; but S. Sixtus himself, as well as the four deacons martyred together with him, who are mentioned in a letter written by S. Cyprian¹ on the receipt of the news at Carthage, were buried in or near the Papal crypt. This is in fact evident from the two inscriptions there set up by S. Damasus. The epitaph of the Pope himself (Ihm 13), of which three small fragments exist, was clearly intended to adorn his tomb, and the line

hic positus rector caelestia iussa docebam

is, to say the least, most naturally interpreted as meaning that S. Sixtus was preaching in the crypt itself when arrested; and the second (Ihm 12) which enumerates the saints buried in this region, contains the line

hic comites Xysti, portant qui ex hoste tropaea.

Unfortunately the name of S. Sixtus did not occur in the first of these inscriptions, and the *rector* seems to have been in later times identified with S. Stephen, the predecessor of S. Sixtus. This led to almost inextricable confusion in the legendary accounts of these two saints and their martyrdom: but it may be regarded as certain that S. Sixtus was the Pope to whom the place of honour in the Catacomb of Callistus belonged of right. It is the merit of Wilpert to have placed the matter almost beyond reach of doubt by his partial reconstruction of an inscription, of which a number of small fragments have been found at different times,² several having been recently identified by Wilpert. The characters belong to the fifth century, but the inscription is clearly copied from one originally composed by S. Damasus—probably by order of Vigilius (537-555), who, as we learn from the well-known inscription found in the Catacomb of SS. Petrus and Marcellinus,³ did much to repair the

¹ Ep. 82.

² The fragments identified by De Rossi are given in Ihm 17.

³ De Rossi *Inscr. Crist.* ii 1, 110.

damage wrought by the Goths under Vitiges. Although not a single line can be restored with certainty, Wilpert has made out a strong case for reading the beginning of the poem thus

Dum] populi [re]ct[or] regis p[ra]ecept[a] p[ro]fa[na]

Contemnens d[omi]ni[bus] missis dat no[b]ile corpus,

where *rex* obviously refers to Valerian and *rector* to S. Sixtus. The fragments whose *provenance* is known were found either at the top or the bottom of the stairway by which the catacomb is entered; and it is natural to assume that it marked the spot where S. Sixtus was actually beheaded, which was of course not in the Papal crypt itself where the arrest was made. Now in the neighbourhood of the stairway there is a small triapsidal building conventionally known as the Basilica of SS. Sixtus and Cecilia; and it is tempting to suppose—as Wilpert does—that it marks the site of S. Sixtus's martyrdom. An *oratorium ubi decollatus est S. Xystus* is mentioned in the Itineraries compiled for the use of mediaeval pilgrims; but this was almost certainly on the Via Appia, and much nearer the city than the building mentioned above. It is, however, impossible to discuss Wilpert's view without referring to other discoveries in the neighbouring cemeteries.¹

In the region to the north of the cemetery of Callistus proper, not far from the fork of the roads, two crypts were excavated some years ago which were evidently of more than ordinary importance. The first, which was once lined with marble and had four marble-cased columns at the corners, contained a number of *formae* and *loculi*; and the epitaph of a *lector* named Alexius, who is described as resting 'with the saints', supports the view that the crypt was the burial-place of well-known martyrs. Near to it is a second crypt, which likewise had at one time a marble lining, and has been named the Crypt of the Apostles, from the fact that it contained a fourth-century fresco representing our Lord seated in the midst of His disciples. Amongst the *débris* with which the crypt was choked was found a small fragment of the inscription set up by S. Damasus in honour of his mother Laurentia, as was proved by the discovery of an imprint of almost the whole inscription on the cement adhering to a large block of travertine buried in the rubbish accumulated in a neighbouring *cubiculum* a few yards from the Crypt of the Apostles. This *cubiculum* was lighted by a large *lucernarium*, and it is of course possible that the block had fallen from above; in any

¹ Beneath the Papal crypt there has been discovered a number of galleries, &c., of the third century, excavated in an *arenarium*, and a vast pile of skeletons arranged in layers with earth between them. It seems probable that they had been removed from earlier tombs in order to make room for those who wished to be buried *ad sanctos*. No doubt it is to such *ossuaria* that the itineraries refer when they speak of 'innumerabilis multitudo martyrum', &c.; in this case they speak of *lxxx martyres* who rest *deorsum*, i. e. below the crypt of S. Cecilia.

case, its original destination must remain uncertain, although, as it shews signs of having been used to support a *cancellus*, it might have come from the Crypt of the Apostles. Naturally enough, it was at once suggested that this crypt was the burial-place of S. Damasus, his mother and his sister, to which the *Liber pontificalis* refers. This is the view held by Wilpert, who would also see in the adjoining Crypt of the Columns the shrine of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus (v. *supra*, p. 599). The mediaeval itineraries are in close agreement concerning the shrines to be visited on the Via Ardeatina. Nearest to the city lay the church of S. Marcus (336-337), then those of S. Damasus and SS. Marcus and Marcellianus, and finally the basilica of S. Petronilla and the tombs of SS. Nereus and Achilleas; these last belonged to the catacomb of Domitilla. The *Index coemeteriorum*, again, distinguishes four *coemeteria* on the Via Ardeatina—the *coemeterium Domitillae Nerei et Achillei ad S. Petronillam*, the *coemeterium Balbinae ad S. Marcum et Marcellianum*, the *coemeterium Basilei ad S. Marcum* and the *coemeterium Damasi*.¹ The position of the cemetery of S. Marcus may be regarded as certain. It was not far from the Trappist monastery whose fathers have charge of the Catacomb of Callistus, and the remains of a basilica in this region, discovered in 1640 and described by Fonseca in 1745, but now destroyed, were almost certainly those of that erected by the Pope himself. The two crypts above-mentioned are quite close to this spot, but not so near to the Via Ardeatina. But there are serious difficulties in the way of the proposed identifications. The *Liber pontificalis* uses almost exactly the same expression with reference to S. Marcus and S. Damasus—*fecit duas basilicas, unam via Ardeatina ubi requiescit* of the first, *fecit duas basilicas, . . . alia(m) via Ardeatina ubi requiescit* of the second—and as it is undoubted that the second *basilica* was in each case a church above ground, it seems more than unlikely that such a small crypt as that of the Apostles would receive the same designation. Moreover, as the inscriptions found in the adjacent passages shew, the Crypt of the Apostles was in existence before the pontificate of S. Damasus. As for SS. Marcus and Marcellianus, the *Itinerarium Sarisburiense* distinctly states that their bodies rested *sursum* (i. e. above ground) *sub magno altare*, and their Acts tells us that they were originally buried *ad arenas*—‘by the sand-pits’—an expression which is inapplicable to the Crypt of the Columns, if this, as Wilpert supposes, was their *first* resting-place. This being so, it seems that judgement should at least be suspended until more thorough excavations have been carried out on the line of the Via Ardeatina.

But the question is further complicated by the existence of two

¹ The *Index oleorum* groups the saints of the Via Ardeatina together in a similar order.

triapsidal sanctuaries, one (which has been mentioned already, cf. p. 601) close to the Papal crypt, and a second to the west of it, nearer to the Catacomb of Domitilla. The first of these, as we saw, Wilpert believes to have been sacred to the memory of S. Sixtus; in the second he would see the shrine of S. Zephyrinus, who was buried *in cimiterio suo iuxta cimiterium Calisti*. Together with S. Zephyrinus the pilgrims venerated S. Tarsicius, a deacon or acolyte martyred under Valerian—forty years after the death of S. Zephyrinus—for refusing to give up the Sacred Host; and we read in the *Liber de locis* the words *S. Tarcisius et S. Geferinus in uno tumulo iacent*. Under Wilpert's direction both of these buildings have been excavated, and in that nearest to the Via Ardeatina was found a large *bisomus*, which had evidently contained the remains of martyrs, since there were traces of a *fenestella confessionis*,¹ whilst in that which is adjacent to the Papal crypt no traces of the cult of martyrs were found, though in the central apse there was a deep grave in which were remains of a fourth-century sarcophagus with a representation of S. Peter walking on the waves. Marucchi, however, would see in this latter the shrine of S. Zephyrinus, supposing that the body of S. Tarsicius was buried above that of the Pope, and conjectures that the other is the *basilica* of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus: it would in fact be possible for an altar to have stood over the *bisomus*. The strength of his case lies in the fact that it puts a less forced interpretation on the literary texts. The shrine of S. Zephyrinus would be accurately described as *iuxta cimiterium Calisti*, and the route of the pilgrims, who on leaving the Papal crypt visited, first, the shrine of S. Zephyrinus (*sursum*, i. e. above ground), secondly that of S. Eusebius (*longe in antro*, 'at some distance in a crypt'), and lastly the tomb of S. Cornelius (*longe in antro altero*), is most naturally explained by Marucchi's theory. Whether it is consistent with the remains discovered is a question less easy to settle, and no attempt can here be made to decide the point.

H. STUART JONES.

¹ The burial of the Pope, and the youth put to death a generation after him, in the same grave, may be explained by the supposition that after the havoc wrought by the Goths the body of the second was translated and placed beside that of the first.

REVIEWS

THREE BOOKS ON ST PAUL

The Religious Experience of Saint Paul. By PERCY GARDNER.
(Williams & Norgate, Crown Theological Library, 1911.)

Geschichte der Paulinischen Forschung. Von ALBERT SCHWEITZER.
(J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1911.)

The Earlier Epistles of St Paul, their motive and origin. By KIRSOPP LAKE. (Rivingtons, 1911.)

DURING the last year three most noteworthy books about St Paul and his writings have appeared. Two of them are of great importance, Dr Schweitzer's and Professor Lake's; while the third, less directly instructive for teachers, makes an admirable introduction to the modern study of St Paul for the non-professional English reader.

Professor Percy Gardner's *Religious Experience of Saint Paul* is a most charming book to read. It is just the book to put into the hands of those about to begin the serious study of Paulinism. And even in those parts where the present writer would most differ from Professor Gardner the difference is concerned with matters to which far too little attention has hitherto been paid in England. The book emphasizes the importance of the connexion between Pauline religion and the Greek Mysteries, and in the present state of New Testament study in this country it is more important to have mistaken views about this connexion than to have no views on the subject at all. Professor Gardner holds one view, Dr Schweitzer holds another, a view almost directly opposed to it, and yet I venture to think that the views taken of St Paul's teaching by these two scholars are really more akin than those of the ordinary English student of New Testament religion, to whom the Greek and Graeco-Oriental Mystery-religions mean nothing at all. English students know that Dr Frazer has written a book about Attis and Osiris, but that this really matters to his study of the New Testament they have not realized. Still less do they know of the direct application of the modern study of later Greek religion to New Testament problems by such men as Reitzenstein and Heitmüller, although the question at issue deals with the ideas which lie at the very basis of Christian doctrine and the Christian sacraments.

It is possible to cast this question in a quasi-historical form somewhat as follows. There is first the Religion of Jesus, the original Gospel.

What this was exactly is a highly controversial subject. Some, like Professor Gardner himself, put the emphasis upon the ethical teaching of our Lord, 'spiritual life full of the divine ideas' (p. 239). Dr Schweitzer, on the other hand, is the champion of 'thoroughgoing eschatology': to him the central point of the original Gospel is the expectation that the miraculous kingdom which God will bring in was just upon the point of arriving. In either case it was a Vision conceived with immense enthusiasm, a moment of white heat in human consciousness. On the other hand we see the ancient Catholic Church, a powerful society, knit together by common rules of life and common ceremonies, which were believed to have an almost magical efficiency in ensuring to the Christian who practised them a happy life after death. I do not say that this is an adequate description of Catholicism as it really is, but it is the impression which it may very well make upon an outsider. Between the religion of Jesus and the religion of the Catholic Church stands Paulinism, the doctrine of Paul the Christian missionary. A glance at Paulinism shews us that it is not quite what we might expect, a simple bridge between Galilee and Rome. The ideas which are most elaborated in the letters of St Paul find few echoes in Christian writers of the next two centuries, and much of what most modern thinkers admire in the Gospels finds few echoes in St Paul. There is more quoted of the Sermon on the Mount in Justin Martyr's *Apology*, addressed to a heathen emperor, than in all the Pauline Epistles put together.

So the question arises what sort of thing Paulinism is. Is it a genuine development of primitive Christianity? Or is the Pauline dogma, as it is so often superficially thought of at the present day, a first step away from the simplicity of the Gospel, the first stage in the paganization and Hellenization of the true Christian religion? And in particular, when we find in St Paul's letters many phrases and many ideas which find their obvious illustration not so much in the Synoptic Gospels as in the terminology of Greek Mysteries or private Rites, must we not admit that St Paul's doctrines are derived rather from these heathen sources than from the genuine teachings of our Lord?

Professor Gardner's book is a very good specimen of those which claim a large Greek element in St Paul's thought; Dr Schweitzer's book is largely a protest against this view; Professor Lake's book, while on the whole supporting Dr Schweitzer's conclusions, differs from both the others in this, that he is considering St Paul's converts and the effect of the Pauline teaching upon them rather than the point of view of St Paul himself. As we shall see, Dr Schweitzer's arguments affect some of Professor Gardner's positions rather seriously, while they hardly touch Professor Lake's. Moreover Professor Lake's book is very largely concerned with historical and literary questions connected

with the earlier Epistles of St Paul, into the discussion of which neither of the other books goes.

A word or two may here be said about these questions, all of which are important for our understanding of Paulinism generally, as well as for the exegesis of particular passages in the Acts and Epistles. On pp. 14-60 Lake discusses the Council at Jerusalem and the historicity of the famous Apostolic Decree in Acts xv. On pp. 253-316 he discusses the destination and date of the Epistle to the Galatians. Merely to say that he accepts the historicity of the Council and a very early date for the Epistle, and further that he is a partisan of Ramsay's 'South Galatian' theory, would no doubt leave the English reader unmoved. The special reason why I should commend these sections for careful study is that I believe it is only upon the lines championed in Professor Lake's book that the accuracy and good faith of St Luke and the accuracy and good faith of St Paul can be intelligibly and successfully maintained. Unless the 'South Galatian' theory be accepted, St Paul cannot have written the Epistle to the Galatians before the 'second Missionary Journey', which took place after the Council at Jerusalem; and if the Council at Jerusalem had already taken place it is impossible to explain how St Paul could pass it over in silence. If, on the other hand, Gal. ii be an account of this Council, it is impossible to harmonize St Paul and St Luke, and very difficult to understand St Paul's action with regard to Titus or St Peter's conduct at Antioch. Again, unless the Apostolic Decree (Acts xv 28, 29) enforces Christian Ethics and is *not* a Food Law, it was not a victory for St Paul, but only a compromise which he did not loyally keep.¹ Professor Lake has done a great deal towards proving that 'Galatians' was really written before the Council and that when the Council took place it was a moral and not a ceremonial rule that was enforced upon the Gentile converts by Apostolic authority.

Equally judicious, and more individually original, is Professor Lake's solution of the troublesome questions connected with the text and original destination of the Epistle to the Romans. There existed of this Epistle a longer and a shorter recension. The longer recension is the text familiar to us, the shorter recension omitted the two references to Rome in chap. i and consisted of Rom. i-xiv together with the concluding Doxology. The most popular explanation of the existence of this shorter recension is that it was due to Marcion: this explanation has been accepted by Sanday and Headlam, by P. Corssen and by von Soden, but Lake shews that the arguments which they have used are unsatisfactory: 'the evidence', he says (p. 361), 'points away from the Marcionite hypothesis and in favour of the primitive existence of

¹ See Col. ii 16.

a short recension, which originally belonged to a Catholic Corpus, closed by a doxology, in which it [i.e. "Romans"] was the last of the Epistles to Churches.' The reasons for this conclusion, like those alleged for alternative hypotheses, are minute and complicated, but they are very clearly set forth by Professor Lake, and any one who in the future expounds the Epistle to the Romans will need to master his argument before he earns the right to adopt a different conclusion.¹

When the religion of a great religious leader is expressed, as St Paul's was, rather in occasional letters than in formal treatises, it is necessary to face accidental literary and historical problems of this kind, in order to clear the ground for an unfettered discussion of more fundamental questions. In the case of St Paul the fundamental problems are the two that we should naturally expect. Because St Paul was a member of the Catholic Church his doctrine is dominated by a doctrine of the Sacraments; because St Paul was a primitive Christian his doctrine is dominated by 'Eschatology'. And before leaving Professor Lake's book I shall venture to quote a page in which I believe he has pointed out the relative importance of these two problems. He says (p. 436):—

' . . . that the Parousia of the Messiah was imminent was one of the most fundamental parts of early Christianity. The critics who deny that this view was that of Jesus may possibly be right, but at all events the Synoptic Gospels were largely written to prove the opposite, and whether we trust the Evangelists or not as to their report of Jesus' teaching, they are absolutely contemporary evidence as to the view of the first Christians, and the indirect testimony of the Epistles supports them.

'It is quite certain that the first Christians expected the immediate coming of the Kingdom, and they believed that Jesus would be the anointed King, the representative of God, in that Kingdom. This is what was meant by saying that Jesus was the Messiah. So far there is probably no dispute among students of the New Testament. Nor is it disputed that this belief is found in the Pauline Epistles; the point which is seriously doubted is whether it is central or peripheral. That it was absolutely central to the average Gentile Christian in, for instance, Corinth, I do not believe; for the centre of Christianity for him was the Sacraments rather than the expectation of the Parousia, even though the latter was a very prominent part of his creed. On the other hand, for a Jewish Christian, the expectation of the Parousia was probably quite central. I believe that it was so for St Paul himself, and the reason why there is comparatively so little in the Epistles on the subject is because it was not a subject for controversy among Christians, but an undisputed hope, which all cherished.'

¹ The same must be said of Lake's explanation how Apollos could 'teach carefully the things concerning Jesus knowing only the baptism of John' (Acts xviii 25, Lake, 108, 109). It is practically the explanation given by J. H. A. Hart in the *J.T.S.* for October 1905.

Professor Gardner's view of the beginnings of the Gospel is very different from this. For him, 'in the teaching of Jesus there is no doctrine' (p. 139), and 'the impending reign of the saints on earth took the place in imagination and belief of the overlying and underlying spiritual world which had been to Jesus the great reality of existence' (p. 291). A *spiritual* world—I am not quite sure that Professor Gardner means by 'spiritual' quite what I think the New Testament writers mean by that term. Professor Lake very pertinently asks what the New Testament Greek would be for 'such a man has the spirit of St Paul'.¹ Here I would recall the weighty words of Dr Hatch in his *Essays in Biblical Greek* p. 126, where he is saying that πνεῦμα is the underlying cause that gives to the several forms of ψυχή not their capacity but their energy. He then adds: 'The conception of πνεῦμα may be regarded as being closely analogous to the modern conception of "force", and especially to that form of the conception which makes no distinction of essence between "mind-force" and other kinds of force, such as light or electricity. It is analogous but not identical: for force is conceived to be immaterial, whereas πνεῦμα, however subtle, is still material.' To quote Lake once more: 'We are apt to use "spiritual" and "spirit" in the sense of a "frame of mind" (*Stimmung*) which pays no special attention to carnal or material objects, and is busy with ideals. That is not what πνευματικός meant in the first century; it meant a man who was obsessed by a πνεῦμα which was not his own, but had come into him from without.' The sky and the air are more material to us than they were to the ancients, for to us they are made of the same sort of stuff as the solid earth. But the spirit of man, if we believe in its existence at all, is less material to us than it was to them. Professor Gardner is too learned and too sympathetic towards the ancient world to treat it with overmuch of what Dr Schweitzer calls *psychologisieren*, but when he paraphrases Aristotle's dictum about those who partook of the Mysteries (οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν) by saying they 'did not learn anything, but were put in a frame of mind' (p. 62), I cannot help thinking that he has 'psychologized' what was thought of as real sacramental grace.

Dr Schweitzer's history of the study of St Paul during the last hundred years follows the same general plan as his *Quest of the Historical Jesus* and, like that book, is most instructive to the English reader. We all know the immense influence that German theological works have had in England; Dr Schweitzer's books tell us plainly that English theological works have had very little influence in Germany. Till lately English New Testament investigation has been secondary, it has accepted or rejected the solutions to the problems which the

¹ Lake, p. 213, note.

Germans have disclosed. And to a great extent this is still the case; certainly it is so with regard to the question of the Greek Mystery-religions and their relation to the early Christian doctrine of the Sacraments.

English scholars have done their part in the new study of the Mystery-religions. I need only mention the names of Frazer and Miss Harrison, not to speak of Professor Gardner himself. But meanwhile in Germany there have been a series of writers who carry on the investigation from the point of view of those who are most interested not in Greek religion but in the Christian religion. Heathen mysteries and Christian rites present some striking similarities. This is no new discovery: it was a fact familiar to Justin Martyr, who could only suppose that the evil Demons had taught the worshippers of Mithra to imitate Christian ceremonies. Now the theory is held the other way. This and that in Christian rite and Pauline doctrine is claimed as an element imported into Christianity from the Mysteries. And in particular we are told that the idea of a Saviour-God who dies and rises again stands in the middle of the cult of 'many oriental religions'.¹ Further, the Christian sacramental meal and the grace thereby secured to the worshipper is said to be of Greek and pagan origin. As in the Mysteries, the Christian comes through Baptism to new birth, and through the Eucharist he is nourished with the 'drug of immortality'. Moreover, 'the Mysteries were a representation of what the Godhead had experienced, and set forth the idea that this representation somehow worked a corresponding reality in those who took part. It was a symbolism which had actual effects, a drama that became a reality'.²

It is not surprising that a number of persons have drawn out the analogies between pagan and Christian rituals. Nor again is it surprising that such analogies can be drawn. To a great extent the persons who joined the Mysteries and the persons who became Christians were the same sort of persons, persons belonging to the same culture and civilization and unsatisfied with it. But Christianity is a historical religion, a religion which began at a certain time and country and under certain historical conditions, and when we ask the much narrower question as to the relation between the Mysteries and Christianity as understood by St Paul, something more definite and precise than vague analogies is required.

To begin with, there are questions about dates. I understand that these questions are beginning to agitate the world of classical scholars also, and that it is being recognized that Comparative Religion regarded

¹ See the writers quoted by Schweitzer, p. 151, note.

² Schweitzer, p. 154.

as a branch of History may need to keep apart what Comparative Religion regarded as a branch of Anthropological Science legitimately puts together. Plutarch and Pausanias can tell us what was thought about ritual and religion in the second century A.D., but it may very well be that the theories then current are as different from those of classical times as modern Anglican theory differs from mediaeval theory. And when it comes to a question of St Paul's ideas it is quite necessary to scrutinize very closely the date and provenance of the alleged heathen parallel.

But there is more than this. There are differences of principle, as well as similarities. One of these is quite fundamental, and it is one of the great merits of Professor Gardner's book that he recognizes it as well as does Dr Schweitzer. He points out as a feature wholly wanting in the heathen festivals 'the apocalyptic element as given in the phrase "until he come"'. For the heathen did not expect a reappearance on earth of deceased ancestor or tribal deity'.¹

Moreover, 'salvation' to the heathen Mystic meant simply an individual blessedness after death: to the Christian it meant escape from the Wrath to come. 'It should be noted', says Schweitzer (p. 169), 'how the eschatological element in Paul's Sacraments everywhere makes its presence felt. These Sacraments effect not New Birth but Resurrection. Something, which in the immediate future will be obvious reality, they make invisibly real beforehand even now. The Greek Mysteries are independent of time. They profess to come from extreme antiquity and their efficacy belongs to all generations. With Paul valid sacraments belong to a particular age. The sacred Rites have only lately been in existence and their use belongs only to this last generation. Their power is derived from what has happened lately, in this last age of the world: they make the faithful like to the Lord in this, that they cause them to rise again like Him during this short interim, before the time, though the process is still invisible to the world.' Christianity may have become very like one of these Mystery-religions, but in so far as it has retained an expectation of Christ coming to judge the quick and the dead it is alien from them in spirit and in intention.

It is not that Greek religious thought was less or more 'ethical' than Christian thought. 'Ethics' and 'Eschatology' are not opposed to one another. Only they were not conjoined by Greek thought, while they were, as a matter of history, conjoined by late-Jewish and early-Christian thought. 'Greek piety (*Religiosität*) occupied itself with the future of the individual after death: it could not entertain the conception of a Coming World, such as dominated the Jews and early Christians,

¹ Gardner, p. 122.

because its 'Eschatology' had not been formed by the ethico-historical ideas and aspirations of a succession of Prophets.¹

Schweitzer's point, that St Paul's doctrine is not a doctrine of Re-birth,² is worthy of special attention. We read *καινή κτίσις*, he says, and we translate it by *παλιγγενεσία*. He means that 'transubstantiation' would be more appropriate. In other Christian writers (e.g. 1 Pet. i 23) the notion of being 'born again' is met with, but not in St Paul. The Sacraments to St Paul are wholly miraculous, not acts of natural magic, such as nearly all the heathen Mysteries were. This point is not only interesting and important in itself: it shews how little St Paul had to do with the institution of the Christian rites. He assumes them and enlarges upon the invisible realities which he understands them to confer, but he does nothing to make them 'rational' in themselves. To quote Aristotle (or Synesius) once again, *ἡ ἐπιτηδείότης ἄλογος*.³ This was hardly true of the rites of Isis and Osiris.

Very different and much more akin to the heathen Mysteries is the doctrine set forth in the Fourth Gospel. I cannot close this review better than by quoting the remarkable paragraphs in which Dr Schweitzer expounds his reading of it. He says (p. 159):—

'The naïve and unhistorical view that Jesus had instituted the Sacraments is not part of the Gnosis of the Johannine theology. According to this theology He did not institute them, but He created them and prophesied them.

'Through His Incarnation came the possibility of the combination of human nature and spirit (*πνεῦμα*), the combination upon which the working of the Sacraments rests. By His actions with food and drink at the Feeding of the Five Thousand and by the words He used in connexion with those actions He indicated a Mystery which was to be manifested when the appropriate materials were ready: through Death, Resurrection and Apotheosis He exalted His earthly nature, and set the Spirit free for the new method of operation, by virtue of which it was able to prepare men for resurrection. So Jesus came into the world to inaugurate the era of Effectual Sacraments. In virtue of this He is the Saviour.

'The Johannine theology thus rests on the two dogmas (1) that the Spirit can only act on men in conjunction with matter, and (2) that this being the case it is only available on the ground of the Incarnation and even then not until the glorification of the Lord had taken place. Whoever has once recognized these presuppositions will never attempt to search the Fourth Gospel for primitive elements which are to be explained from natural religions. But on the other hand it is clear that from this point of view Christianity exhibits itself as the most perfect Greek Mystery-religion that it is possible to conceive.'

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ Schweitzer, p. 178, note.

² See p. 164.

³ Aristotle quoted by Synesius (*Migr.* lxvi 1136 init.).

MIRACLES AND CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Miracles*. Papers and sermons contributed to the *Guardian* by W. LOCK, D.D., W. SANDAY, D.D., H. SCOTT HOLLAND, D.D., H. H. WILLIAMS, M.A., A. C. HEADLAM, D.D. (Longmans, 1911.)
2. *Miracles and Christianity*. By JOHANNES WENDLAND, D.Theol., translated by H. R. MACINTOSH, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1911.)

A BOOK written to controvert another book is notoriously difficult to judge fairly, apart from the object of its attack, and a review of the first volume on our list must assume some previous acquaintance with Mr J. M. Thompson's *Miracles in the New Testament*, from which the writers of the little symposium profoundly dissent. Dr Sanday indeed applauds the transparent sincerity of the author and expresses himself not sorry that a book should have been written which aims at answering a plain 'yes' or 'no' to certain plain questions. But he is too experienced a theologian to allow that all questions can be or should be thus answered, and he deprecates a too positive and peremptory tone in handling them. His unfailing generosity and largeness of mind lead him to look for points of agreement rather than for points of difference; but behind the sympathy and commendation there seems to sound the senior's grave warning to the young man in a hurry:—

'Magna petis, Phaethon, et quae non viribus istis
conveniant.'

Dr Sanday tells us that he wrote most of his sermon before reading Mr Thompson's book, and while he predicts with singular accuracy both the line of argument and the conclusions, he devotes a bare quarter of his remarks to the book itself.

Dr Lock, again, in his brief but valuable paper on 'the literary criticism of the Gospels in relation to miracles' only alludes indirectly to Mr Thompson. He deals with two current contentions, (a) that the miraculous element in the New Testament increases proportionately to the lateness of the documents, and (b) that on the analogy of Old Testament writings we may regard New Testament miracle stories as invented or elaborated for purposes of edification. The first of these arguments, which is the corner-stone of Mr Thompson's building, is met by the very reasonable suggestion that the movement of the later documents is not to more distant points in the periphery, but from the surface to the centre, marking an advance from incompleteness to completeness in the portraiture of the Lord. The second argument

which Mr Thompson mentions with approval though he does not develop it at length, is shewn to be unjust to the evangelists, who clearly knew the difference between fact and fiction, and to be a solvent too potent for its purpose, since under its general application all the recorded events of the Gospel might easily evaporate, works of healing with nature miracles, Crucifixion with Resurrection, and the rest.

The other contributors are more pointed in their attack. Thus Dr Headlam, taking Professor Kirsopp Lake on the way, has little difficulty in demonstrating the *à priori* character of Mr Thompson's critical method and appreciation of evidence. Professor Scott Holland, in his chapter 'The conditions of Gospel criticism', indicates the identity of the Gospel Christology with that of the after Creed; and Mr Williams criticizes the philosophical and scientific equipment of the book, discloses the bias of its argumentation, and sketches some results of the 'unlimited supernaturalism without miracle' to which Mr Thompson looks forward with complacency.

Two eloquent sermons by Professor Scott Holland go to make up the volume, which is well worth reading for their sake alone. Yet we cannot but feel that although Mr Thompson comes out of his ordeal with marks of severe usage, the root from which his book springs has hardly been reached. The late Professor John Mayor was wont to deprecate with some vehemence piecemeal resistance to opinion with which he disagreed. 'Do not give it the advertisement of an answer', he would say; 'write a good constructive book on the same subject.' Any one of the writers, who in these papers and sermons have probed the joints of Mr Thompson's harness, is competent and more than competent to profit by that shrewd advice and undertake the larger task. We wish we could hope for its speedy accomplishment. Meanwhile it must be confessed that, formidable as is the artillery employed on this occasion, it has not found the range. When the smoke clears away, the flag is still seen flying bravely on the opposite fort. The truth is that whereas *Miracles in the New Testament* is modern of the moderns, the collective reply to it seems written, not indeed from the knowledge, but in the accents of thirty years ago, and many of the arguments are rather calculated to confirm the faith of those who resent attacks upon old-fashioned orthodoxy than to convert those who are touched with the new ideas. The Archbishop of Albi wrote the other day: 'A l'heure présente et pour beaucoup d'esprits, les miracles sont plutôt un obstacle à croire qu'un moyen de croire. L'intelligence moderne, façonnée dans le moule soi-disant scientifique, devenue très exigeante en fait de démonstration, se trouve plutôt mal à l'aise en face d'un miracle. Chez ceux-là même que le surnaturel n'effraie pas, on devine une gêne, une hésitation, une incertitude, un pourquoi, un peut-être.' There are

indeed hundreds of young men who after reading *Miracles* will still asking, 'Are we really to believe that devils spoke, and entered into swine, that loaves were actually multiplied in the hands of disciples, that the law of gravitation was suspended, etc.?' To such enquirers we cannot too strongly recommend the volume which, under the title of *Miracles and Christianity*, comes to us from Båle.

Professor Wendland is, as his translator Dr H. R. Macintosh says, at once modern, relevant, and positive. He has a firm grasp of essential principles, he knows what religion is, and he gives a far better idea of miracle than is conveyed by the dictionary definition upon which Mr Thompson takes his stand. 'Miracles are acts of God', writes Wendland, 'bringing a new condition of things to pass which was not implicit in the existing state of the world.' To this he adds as corollary that miracles must have a religious significance, i. e. have reference to man's salvation, 'since God can only be known in religious experience.' This brings miracles within the region of reality and posits the constant and unwearied activity of God, who is at once transcendent and immanent (chapter i).

Starting with this idea, Wendland proceeds to shew that the Biblical belief in miracle answers to it. According to the Scriptures of either covenant, miracles are mighty works which reveal the character of God's working in the world (chapter ii).

Chapter iii deals at some length with the conception of miracle in Christian history. The use of miracle as external evidence was unknown till Augustine, who distinguished events arising from causes inherent in the world from events derivable from *semina occulta*, causes hidden in God. This distinction, which tends unduly to separate the acts of God immanent from those of God transcendent, paved the way for the unfortunate scholastic difference between *miracula* (which God alone can do) and *mirabilia* (which demons and magicians can do). Luther felt it impossible to frame a conceptual definition of miracle, and left it to religious feeling to decide what is and what is not miracle, outside the Bible, the literal authority of which was not yet impugned. The variations in the conception of miracle which scientific criticism has brought about, in Germany at least, are carefully followed, down to Schleiermacher, who set thought in the right path when he said, 'Miracle is only the religious name for an event.' But Schleiermacher, while tracing everything back to God, denied the possibility of a new influx of divine life from a transcendent sphere. Wendland indicates the deistic danger (from which Schleiermacher was saved by his personal piety) of reducing the divine government of the world to a mechanical process (the *chiquenaude* of Descartes) and describes the attempts to avoid the pitfall on the part of later German theologians (chapter iii).

Then in chapters iv and v he boldly claims that a new and original element was added to the sum of things by the advent of our Lord, whose redeeming action brings about the greatest of all miracles, viz. the spiritual, 'which is so much a fact of experience in religious life that to deny it would be equivalent to the denial of religion.'

In chapter vi the relation of miracle to providence is discussed. Faith in providence, which implies that every event with power to touch us inwardly is of God's appointment, begins with personal experience and broadens out into a general view of things, for no sharp line can be drawn between the inner and the outward life of man. This leads naturally to the question of prayer, which is treated with a tenderness and patience that contrast agreeably with Mr Thompson's curt dismissal of a modern prayer story ('comment is unnecessary'). Prayer is the true *differentia* between Christianity and Stoicism. The Christian must believe that prayer has power to change the course of things. God's hearing of prayer is a miracle (chapter vii).

In chapter viii Wendland shews that miracles as defined by him, viz. events with a religious content, defy the dogmatism of Hume and all his school. Events indeed which contradict all the analogies of possible human experience are inconceivable, and apologetic attempts to justify them are doomed to failure. Here Wendland seems to join hands with Mr Thompson. But he introduces a *caveat*: (1) *Religious* experience must not be left out of account; (2) the unique revelation vouchsafed in Jesus Christ may be held to justify a belief in occurrences which transcend the analogies of human experience. Only, adds Wendland, the analogy of Christ's general action renders it improbable that He would on isolated occasions break through the natural order to which His life conformed. With regard to the Resurrection, 'the foundation stone on which the Christian church is fixed', Wendland says, 'the Christian must believe that the appearances of Christ represent a real intrusion of the ... living Christ risen from the dead ... the modes and ways in which it was possible for Jesus to manifest Himself ... must remain dark, for what is supersensible escapes ... from the tests of scientific enquiry.' However, the idea of a bodily resurrection of the Lord is not the only possible form our faith 'may take'.

The last and most difficult chapter (ix) deals with miracle in relation to causality and natural law. Various false views of cause are examined, such as that which regards cause as necessarily equivalent to effect, or that cause is the sum of all relevant conditions. Cause is rather the liberating energy in nature; everything that happens is not unequivocally determined, nor is every process the inevitable outcome of the existing phase in the cosmos. There is a possibility of new beginnings, of a creative action of God, i.e. of miracle. God's rule is not

mechanical ; though it is orderly, it cannot be finally expressed in any law or system of laws. The laws of nature are merely surveys of the universe from particular points of view ; it is grossly anthropomorphic to conceive of them as entities governing the world. The 'coming event' is never unalterably fixed by empirical connexions or uniformities ; hence faith in providence, prayer, and free moral action are all possible.

Now, whatever the reader may think of Professor Wendland's conclusions on points of detail, it will be clear from the foregoing imperfect but I hope not unfair summary, that his book is likely to have a stimulating and bracing effect on drooping spirits. His reminder that miracle does not violate immutable laws, since these are a figment born of imperfect knowledge, will correct hasty judgement ; his trust in the objective power of prayer has a practical present value ; above all, his teaching that faith in miracle is faith in a living God gives help at the point where the debate begins between belief and disbelief.

There is little to criticize in his presentment of his case. Perhaps some English readers will grow weary under his review of Protestant German theology ; and it is certain that his zeal for Luther has allowed him to be less than just to Augustine. For Luther was not the first to put spiritual miracles in their proper place above external miracles of sense. His famous sermon for Ascensiontide is at least foreshadowed in the words : *Ecce maiora fecit praedicatus a credentibus quam locutus audientibus . . . intelligat qui potest, iudicet qui potest, utrum maius sit iustos creare quam impios iustificare* (Aug. *Tr. in Joh.* lxxii).

The translation has been well done, although the German cast of sentence persists, and it is not always clear, as it would be in the original and as a judicious use of inverted commas would render it in English, whether the author is speaking or making a quotation.

H. F. STEWART.

CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS.

A History of Creeds and Confessions of Faith. By W. A. CURTIS, B.D., D.Litt. (Edin.), Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen. (T. & T. Clark, 1911.)

A PART of this book has already appeared as an article on Confessions in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and was commended as an excellent summary of the teaching of many denominations. We welcome its reappearance in this handy volume with its stores of information so

well classified. Professor Curtis adds a concise history of the great creeds and the *Te Deum*, with important chapters on 'Problems of Retention and Revision', 'Subscription and its Ethics', and 'The Ideal Creed'. Here he challenges criticism. He thinks that the present age is more reverent to the great creeds, and himself does homage to the Apostles' Creed as 'next to Holy Writ, the most venerable bond of unity and symbol of harmonious faith'.¹ But he has doubts about 'its non-contentious character', under the influence of Dr McGiffert, who in this respect is at variance with Dr Kattenbusch, and he does not make plain the difference between the original form, which was certainly drawn up for the use of catechists, and later forms which bear the scars of conflict. Since he attaches so much importance to it, as in a sense the 'Creed of Creeds', it seems a pity that he has not discussed at greater length the problem of the relation of the Roman Creed to the early Eastern Creeds of the same type. His tables and appendices are admirable and illustrate the evolution of the Apostles' Creed in an attractive form. He accepts Professor Hort's theory on the history of the Constantinopolitan Creed as a revision of the Creed of Jerusalem.²

He is prepared to date the *Quicumque vult* 450 A.D., and allows its 'real merits'.³ But he does not seem to have examined the evidence that it was written to meet the heresy of Priscillian, and his grudging appreciation is cancelled by the following sentence: 'Like its contemporary, the Creed of Chalcedon, it savours of mysteries profaned, of dogma run riot, of overweening arrogance, and of the pedantic withal.' Apart from the question of the warning clauses, this is hard on a writer, who distinctly begins with an invitation to worship in the presence of mysteries, and is most emphatic on the danger of Tritheism, which is dogma run riot indeed. We may well differ on the question of arrogance in definition, but the accusation of pedantry is absurd if we may trace the *Quicumque* to the School of Lerins at the period when it was still intellectually alive.

These details of criticism are not so important as the questions raised in the later chapters. I welcome the outspoken declaration that 'If men are to enter pulpits they must know in whom they have believed'. Dr Curtis finds it difficult to lay down lines for revision of creeds. He quotes Dr Rainy to the effect that: 'Probably it would be better to be without any confession than to be always rebuilding them.' This suggests the argument that we should do better to ascertain the funda-

¹ p. 63.

² I hope he will revise the suggestion (p. 405) that the addition *Filioque* was sanctioned by the Council of Toledo in 589 in view of the evidence of the Spanish MSS which I published in this JOURNAL, January 1908.

³ p. 86.

mental facts of Christian experience, analysed in the Apostles' Creed, as a bed-rock of Christian faith upon which the changing structure of theology may be raised.

Finally Dr Curtis discusses the possibility of 'The Ideal Creed', quoting the proposals of Mr J. Watson, Prof. Denny, and Dr Flint, and coming back to the confessions of S. Peter 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God', and 'Thou knowest that I love Thee', as by themselves sufficient. Such a creed sufficed in the first age of the Church, but the fact remains and must always remain that when questions have been asked on wrong lines some enlargement of teaching is necessary. We need the theological teaching of the Nicene Creed, the only Creed in the fullest sense oecumenical, as a statement of corporate belief. But loyalty to it need in no degree detract from admiration of the earnestness and sincerity with which Dr Curtis has expressed another opinion.¹

A. E. BURN.

Baptist Confessions of Faith, edited by W. J. MCGLOTHLIN. (American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia.)

It is now over fifty years since Dr Underhill published the *Confessions of Faith of Seventeenth Century English Baptists*. The book may still be met with in second-hand catalogues, but a modern edition would be welcome. Dr McGlothlin's book supplements the earlier work, but does not altogether provide what is wanted. The range of the American collection is wider. It is not confined either to English Baptists or to the seventeenth century. It opens with Anabaptist and Mennonite confessions, includes a section on American Baptists, and ends with the confessions adopted in the nineteenth century by Baptists in Germany and France. These additional documents are of value, and are given in convenient form.

The book is, however, somewhat disappointing because the editing is at times at fault. Dr McGlothlin does not always give us the best texts. Thus in the Orthodox Confession of 1678 Dr McGlothlin reprints Crosby's text instead of Dr Underhill's. But in the one or two places where the texts differ, generally in punctuation, the latter is clearly preferable. The very first document in the book is the set of seven articles drawn up by some Swiss and Swabian Anabaptists in 1527. Here Dr McGlothlin translates Zwingli's Latin version and

¹ There are a few misprints, e.g. p. 40, for Prof. Seeberg of Berlin, read Prof. A. Seeberg of Dorpat.

makes no use of the more trustworthy German text edited by Dr Böhmer for Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* series. Dr McGlothlin also runs the titles of the fourth and fifth articles into one, giving us 'avoidance of abominable pastors in the church', instead of (4) 'of avoidance of abominations, (5) of pastors in the church'. In other places the translation is at fault.

The commentary on the documents presented in this book is sometimes slipshod and inadequate. Thus on p. 109 we read 'the standard confession of the English General Baptists was drawn up in March 1660 in the midst of the calumnies and persecutions of the Restoration': on p. 122 we learn that Charles II received this confession very graciously. Dr McGlothlin's second thoughts are best. In 1677 the Calvinist Baptists published a document, which in substance reproduced the Westminster Confession. Dr McGlothlin notes this general connexion, but he does not furnish the detailed comparison between the two confessions, which would have made his edition more serviceable.

The choice of documents might have been improved. Thus, ten pages are devoted to the articles to which the Mennonites asked the Arminian Baptists in Holland to subscribe, though these articles do little more than reproduce a Mennonite document which Dr McGlothlin has previously printed *in extenso*. On the other hand, John Smith's short draft of twenty articles, and a similar confession drawn up by Thomas Helwys, are mentioned but not printed, though both are more important than this Mennonite document.

The wider range of Dr McGlothlin's book will make it of service to students, and it is well worth while to reprint such an original confession as that of 1651, which is not easily obtainable. The Arminian Confessions are the most distinctive utterances. They reveal an independent outlook. The strength and persistence of Calvinism is well evidenced in the doctrinal position of the Particular Baptists. Perhaps the main general impressions which such a volume leaves are the close connexion between controversy and confessions, and the consequent inadequacy of confessions to express the actual life of the communities adopting them. Valuable though these documents are, they do not form the most interesting line of approach to Baptist history.

H. G. WOOD.

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

The Religion of the Ancient Celts, by the Rev. J. A. MACCULLOCH, D.D.
(T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911.)

MANY have essayed to write an account of the religious beliefs of the Ancient Celts, but such an undertaking is attended with manifold difficulties. We possess little definite information concerning the pantheon of the Gauls, and the Insular Celts were officially converted to Christianity several centuries earlier than the Teutonic peoples. The task is rendered still more unsatisfactory by the fact that most of our records of Welsh or Irish heathendom are preserved in MSS not older than the beginning of the twelfth century. The scantiness of the material naturally opens the door to speculation, and the tendency with previous writers on the subject has been to find solar or culture heroes *ad nauseam* in the surprising wealth of saga literature. Aware of such pitfalls, Dr MacCulloch has presented us with a very valuable handbook which contains much sane criticism of his predecessors, and gives in a convenient compass a variety of information never before collected in a single volume. The latter half of the work dealing with the Cult of the Dead, Nature- and Animal-Worship, and Magic, seems to me to be greatly superior to the earlier portion. However the general attitude towards these questions may change, time is hardly likely to add much to the information contained in these chapters. In the sections devoted to the Gods of Gaul, the Tuatha Dé Danann, and the Gods of the Brythons, the writer appears to fall too easily into the error which vitiates so much of the work of his predecessors. Chap. vii contains some drastic criticism of those scholars who regard Cuchulainn as a solar hero, but in the preceding chapter we find it stated that 'Taliesin was probably an old god of poetic inspiration' (p. 117), and again that 'we may postulate a local Arthur saga fusing an old Brythonic god with the historic sixth-century Arthur' (p. 119). Is this necessary? In default of better material than the Mabinogion it is almost vain to speculate on British mythology. In the case of Ireland the situation is somewhat different. But here history, mythology, and the synchronizing mania have produced a curious medley which still awaits a critical investigator. It seems to me unfortunate that Dr MacCulloch inclines to accept most features of Irish story as primitive. This leads him to make such statements as the following: 'They (the Fomorians) were probably beneficent gods of the aborigines, whom the Celtic conquerors regarded as generally evil' (p. 56). I very much doubt if at the time of the introduction of Christianity it would have been possible to distinguish between the gods of the Celts and those of the peoples they subdued. What is

then to be expected of the sources we possess, watered down as they must have been by successive generations of copyists? The author is, moreover, apt to be dogmatic as regards points on which there is as yet no general agreement, as when he states that 'the loss of *p* in Celtic must have occurred before 1000 B.C.' (p. 14).

A few details may be pointed out for correction in future editions.

On p. 14 there is a curious contradiction: 'The folk of a Celtic type . . . exhibit the same old Celtic characteristics—vanity, loquacity, excitability, *fickleness*, imagination, love of the romantic, *fidelity*.' On p. 28 we read: 'Neton, a war-god of the Accetani, has a name connected with Irish *nia*, warrior.' This is taken from Holder, but is improbable, as *nia* counts as a disyllable in early Irish poetry. On p. 32 Cernunnos is explained as 'the horned' from *cerna*. The author's authority, Holder, gives *cernu-*. The etymology of the name Cassiterides given on p. 39 is extremely doubtful, and should not be quoted as if it were well established. It is surely preposterous to state that 'the numerous Avons are named from Abnoba, goddess of the sources of the Danube' (p. 43), when Welsh *afon* and Irish *abann* are the ordinary term for river. In a footnote on p. 50 the euhemerizing process is represented as first appearing in the poems of Eochaidh hua Floinn (d. 1003), whereas it is found in verses by Maelmura (d. 887), and probably began still earlier. Dea Domnu (p. 59) is styled 'a Fomorian goddess of the deep, i. e. of the underworld and probably also of fertility' on the strength of an uncertain etymology. The equation of Irish Artigan with Gaulish Artigenos (p. 213) is philologically impossible. P. 244: it was hardly to be expected that so learned a writer would be led astray by such absurd popular etymologies as Eilean mo Righ, Eilean a Mhor Righ, to explain Eilean Maree (= Maelrubha).

The author's spelling of Welsh names is often at fault. Kulhwych (pp. 97, 107, 109, &c.) should everywhere be Kulhwch. Similarly on p. 98 Matholwych appears in place of the correct Matholwch. Yspadden (p. 97) for Yspaddaden. In *amæth* on p. 107, and in a number of similar words, *æ* is printed instead of the regular diphthong. The extraordinary form Maeloeohlen on p. 202 should be spelt either Mael-sechlainn or Malachy.

However, in spite of all these imperfections, Dr MacCulloch is greatly to be congratulated on producing a valuable work, for which Celtic scholars and students in other fields of learning will be very grateful.

E. C. QUIGGIN.

Animisme, Préanimisme, Religion. By FRÉDÉRIC BOUVIER. (Bureaux des 'Recherches de Science Religieuse', Paris.)

OF late years, after the domination of Sir E. B. Tylor's brilliant theory of animism so admirably described and illustrated from all quarters in his classic *Primitive Culture*, it has been felt that there may have been earlier stages in the growth of religion. These 'pre-animistic' stages (to borrow a word invented by Mr Marett) are the main subject of M. Bouvier's pamphlet, reprinted from the *Recherches de Science religieuse*. But he offers as a preliminary some valuable criticisms of the 'suggestions tyloriennes', both as taught by their author and as emphasized by Count Goblet d'Alviella, and denies the assertion of the latter that animism predominates at the origin of all historic forms of cult. There is an animistic influence, that is all. This is a wise criticism, illustrated by suitable examples. To these may be added the wellnigh universal cult of Mother-Earth, which does not suggest an animistic origin. The Earth as producer and sustainer could be regarded as alive, on the analogy of the fruitful woman—hence 'Mother-Earth', without any suggestion of its being animated by a spirit.

M. Bouvier has read all the recent works and articles dealing with pre-animism, and he gives a lucid and critical account of Mr Marett's¹ theory, which is based on the researches of the latter into the Melanesian *mana*, the Siouan *wakan*, the *orenda* of other American tribes, and cognate forms of impersonal power believed in elsewhere; of the collective theory of M. Levy-Bruhl; and of Count Goblet d'Alviella's theory of personification of natural powers, preceding actual animism. Of these the second, in my opinion, has far less *vraisemblance* than either of the others. The collective origin of religious ideas is at present a popular theory with a certain school of students of religion. But it is far from obvious why the rise of ideas should be more possible to men collectively than to man individually. At lower levels, where men's mental powers are probably more uniform than at higher levels, it was easy for pre-animistic or animistic ideas to be evolved simultaneously in isolated individual minds. Later, these ideas, all much the same, became part of the collective or common consciousness, but did not originate from it. Did 'primitive' men live in collective groups? This is more than doubtful.

The last and final section of this pamphlet is devoted to a long and interesting *résumé* of the theories of Mr A. Lang regarding what may be called a primitive theism or 'All-Fatherism', and the further

¹ Mr. Marett is described as an 'incorrigible rieur'.

researches of Father Schmidt, who has adopted Mr Lang's theories with certain reservations. To these theories M. Bouvier attaches himself. They are mainly based on a close study of the beliefs of Australian and kindred peoples, among whom Mr Lang sees the belief in an All-Father. Where that belief exists, there is little belief in either animism or *mana*.

M. Bouvier's pamphlet is a serviceable account of current theories which should be useful to students. But with regard to some of these current theories, there is a tendency, by way of explaining savage beliefs, to envelope them in a haze of modern philosophical terms and ideas, which only seem ludicrous in connexion with the subject. How clear and unclouded in comparison are the theories and the writings of Mr Lang!

Jésus-Christ et l'Étude comparée des Religions. Conférences données aux Facultés catholiques de Lyon. Par ALBERT VALENSIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de Lyon. (Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie., Paris, 1912.)

PROFESSOR VALENSIN rightly claims that the Christian student of Comparative Religion, who comes to that subject already prepossessed in favour of his own religion, is quite as scientific in his method as those members of the evolutionary school, who approach their study with an anti-Christian bias which is opposed to scientific detachment. By insisting upon an effective historical criticism, upon contrast as well as likeness, and upon a strict attention to what is known, not what is surmised, of other faiths, Prof. Valensin sets himself to refute, in particular, the theories of those who derive Christianity from ultimate Babylonian sources, or from Buddhist or Mithraic influences. His success would have been greater if he had paid more attention to details and if he had been less rhetorical. Space might have been gained for this purpose by omitting the fourth *Conférence* on 'Le Messianisme d'Israël'. But his work is on the right lines, and again and again he lays his finger on weak places in the evolutionary theory. Thus he points to the absurdity of claiming influence from the side of Buddhism, when the totally different character of its genius compared with that of Christianity is considered. He also rightly ridicules the assumption that the influences from the pagan side could have been so intense and so swift as to produce the Christian verity as found in the Gospels and Epistles in so short a time. This line of argument becomes more effective when it is remembered that purely naturalistic beliefs and mythical fancies are assumed as the originating forces of a *spiritual*

faith within this short period. Another fact, unexplained, is the violent antipathy of Christianity to the religions and beliefs which, *ex hypothesi*, produced it, and its entire supplanting of them. These religions should have lived on side by side with the eclectic faith which borrowed so largely from them. But they died out, as did Mithraism, to which Prof. Valensin devotes an excellent chapter. Mithraism failed because 'le Dieu des chrétiens, Jésus, est une réalité ; celui des mystes, Mithra, n'est qu'un symbole cosmique', and because 'il fallait, pour conquérir les âmes, un Rédempteur historique et, dans la réalité de sa rédemption, l'efficacité d'une vertu divine.' No one quite knows what Mithraism was, though some, like M. Reinach, boldly reconstruct it and then assert that Christianity borrowed some of its most vital beliefs from it. This process is heightened by an illegitimate application of Christian terms and formulae to pagan beliefs or customs, which are then assumed to contain what the former connote.

Prof. Valensin's little book should do something to check the bold assertions and assumptions of the rationalistic school, or, at least, to shew that there is still something to be said for the other side. He frequently throws a critical dart at M. Reinach's *Orpheus*, a work which is unworthy of its author and sometimes grotesque in its generalizations and assumptions ; though his more serious works are often marred by the same faults.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE MONOGRAPHS.

The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul, by LOUISE DUDLEY ; and *The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its connection with the Grail*, by ROSE JEFFRIES PEEBLES. Bryn Mawr College Monographs VIII and IX, one dollar each.

BOTH these studies owe their inception to Professor Carleton Brown, whose English School at Bryn Mawr has achieved a well-merited recognition. In this place attention will naturally be called rather to the theological interest of the enquiries pursued than to their literary side.

The influence of Egyptian mythology and eschatology on Christian ideas of the adventures of the soul after death has long been recognized ; but there does not seem to have been any careful enquiry, such as Miss Dudley's present work, into the precise line of descent. M. Batiouchkof

has written on the subject, but most of his articles are in Russian, and therefore not very accessible to the ordinary student: Miss Dudley, working on his lines, does not altogether endorse his conclusions.

She is able to shew without any difficulty that the Christian Egyptians took over from their heathen ancestors almost the complete machinery of the manner of the soul's departure from the body; and she makes it clear that these Christian Egyptian ideas early found their way into the theological writings of the West, although the exact mode of transference seems to be still uncertain. It must have taken place before the Council of Chalcedon, and St Jerome and Cassianus are the names which immediately occur to any one considering the subject. A closer investigation of the *Collationes* and the *De institutis coenobiorum* of the latter might well afford some valuable clues.

Dealing with the literature of Christian Egypt, Miss Dudley does not seem to have ignored any Coptic texts which have been translated¹: she would perhaps have been better advised to adhere to C. Schmidt's rendering of the *Pistis Sophia* than to those of Amélineau and Mead, which were definitely superseded by Schmidt's work: a lack of familiarity with Greek has once or twice led her astray in her quotations, and we should have desired a discussion of the *κοσμοκράτορες* who received the heathen's soul in the story of Pisentius of Keft; their rôle is well developed in Gnostic literature, and clearly they are ultimately derived from Eph. vi 12.

But this should be far from an occasion of cavilling: it is really wonderful how much Miss Dudley has been able to do without a first-hand acquaintance with Greek and Oriental languages, and her work is not likely to be superseded until the very improbable event occurs of the subject being taken up by one who combines the qualifications of an Egyptologist, an expert in the languages of the Christian East, and a profound student of early and mediaeval Latin theological literature.

Miss Peebles's book has on the whole less theological and more purely literary interest. She traces the story of Longinus through its various appearances in apocryphal writings, and comes fairly soon to its use in English literature and the Grail-story. It is noticeable that in the earliest times he was nothing more than the final executioner of Christ, the perpetrator of a 'scelestum et execrandum facinus'. Later comes the sequel, that he was converted and martyred for his new faith, and later

¹ In a note on p. 27 Miss Dudley expresses some doubt as to whether the Coptic *Apophthegmata Patrum* contains the story of the riders on black horses, holding staves of fire, who came to fetch the soul of a sinner. The passage is to be found in Zoega, p. 335, or, more conveniently, among the *Lesestücke* (p. 13*) at the end of Steindorff's *Koptische Grammatik*. The corresponding Syriac is translated by Budge on p. 155 of vol. ii of his *editio minor* of Palladius.

still the story that he was blind when he delivered the fatal thrust but was healed by the blood and water which flowed from the sacred wound. Miss Peebles is undoubtedly right in accepting the derivation of his name from λόγχη, the lance which he bore and used ; and it is curious that while she quotes the name of Petronius for the centurion at the sepulchre, she does not seem to have observed how exact the parallel is—that Petronius was derived from πέτρα, the great stone with which he was particularly associated, exactly as Longinus was invented from λόγχη.

The latter part of the book is occupied with a discussion of the Grail stories. Miss Peebles believes that the Bleeding Lance, so important a feature in them, may be connected with the Longinus story, and is chiefly occupied in combating the views of Professor A. C. L. Brown, who gives for this (and for many other features in the same stories) a heathen Celtic source.

In conclusion, there is one point alone in which criticism may be made with any severity on these two most interesting monographs : to investigators in all the many fields which they touch their value would be nearly doubled if they were provided with an index.

S. GASELEE.

THE CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

The Cambridge Medieval History ; vol. i, *The Christian Empire*.
 Edited by H. M. GWATKIN, M.A., and J. P. WHITNEY, B.D.
 (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1911.)

THE plan of this work is 'to cover the entire field of European medieval history' and to commit 'every chapter' to 'a specialist' who is to 'sum up recent research upon the subject'. It is a plan with which we are all, by this time, familiar ; and one which, within its limits, can be made to work well. We have no taste nowadays for the scornful solidity of Gibbon, nor for the sonorous pomp of Milman. These things are good enough in their way. But they are not held to be history : only its decorations. And we want the facts without the colour. For it is an age not of art but of photography. As photographers therefore, contributors to these co-operative and 'scientific' histories do the best that can be done. We must not expect them to give us that which they do not set out to provide. Unreasonable demands like that should only be made, as we well understand, of writers of Gospels.

In *The Christian Empire*, the plan is applied to the two centuries from Constantine to Justinian. There is a unity about these years. They were, from the social and political point of view, 'years of respite'

(p. ix): and, so far as the East is concerned, of partial re-consolidation. From the point of view of the history of the Christian religion, they were the centuries of maturity that followed the ages of planting. The Church in the heathen Empire then became, with Constantine, the Church of the Christian Empire. And there was no ruin of the Empire till, by the time of Theodosius, the Church was well enough rooted to cope with the barbarians who overran it. The editors could scarcely have better chosen the limits of their first volume.

And they could hardly have got it handled by more representative authorities. Chapters i-iv cover the main course from Constantine to Julian. There is some overlapping: but we may pardon it in the case of an Emperor so entitled to our consideration as Julian. The authors give us two views of him. Mr Norman Baynes—who, by the way, should not call the sacraments ‘magical’ (p. 236) without explaining that this is an outsider’s, and not a Christian’s, view of them—brings out Julian’s impatience: he was ‘a young man in a hurry’ (p. 79). And this is a true view of him, but not so sympathetic as Dr Lindsay’s picture. Julian was a ‘puritan pagan’ (p. 98): ‘puritan’, he ought to have added, in morals, but not in his attitude towards art and ceremonial. Indeed it was the Church that, up till that date, had been puritan in all that appeals to the eye and the ear. She could not help it, so long as ceremonial and art were unredeemed. But had she developed by Julian’s time a worship which could have enlisted the senses on its side, such as in the fifth century made its appearance, if we may generalize from ‘the crowd of richly dressed ministers, the lights, the incense, the waving fans, the genuflexions and the bowings’ described in the *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, then possibly the Church might have kept Julian—save for the bad Christians by whom he had been drilled into Christianity when a boy, and, best or worst of them, Constantius.

Two doctrinal chapters, v and xvii, may next be taken together; the one on ‘Arianism’ by Prof. Gwatkin, and the other on ‘Religious disunion in the fifth century’ by Miss Alice Gardner. Prof. Gwatkin begins by rightly pointing out that Arianism was an attempt to find ‘a *via media* between a Christian and a Unitarian interpretation of the Gospel’ (p. 119). One wonders how, after this warning, men have ever defended that most infelicitous way of missing the truth on either hand as the surest road to it. Is Prof. Gwatkin so right in ranking Athanasius—only a deacon at the Council—among the protagonists of Nicaea (pp. 120 sq.)? And would he not have done better to discard, at length, the epithet ‘conservative’ as a misleading description of the ‘centre party’ (p. 121), certainly when contrasted, as on p. 124, with the Nicenes? The centre was indeed conservative of the language of

Scripture. But 'the sense of Scripture is Scripture',¹ and the Nicenes would have claimed to be the real conservatives of that. We owe much to Prof. Gwatkin for bringing to light the existence of a mass of central opinion in favour of a Bible-and-a-Bible-only religion. That was his great contribution, thirty years ago, to the elucidation of the history of Arianism, specially when he went on to shew what skilful use the intriguers made of this central churchmanship. But it was not conservative of more than phrase. Miss Alice Gardner's chapter is somewhat marred by want of precise familiarity with the terms of theology and liturgy. All the personal and political side is excellent, the course of intrigue and the guiding lines of policy. These are the professional historian's playthings. But they do not touch the heart of what was in dispute between Cyril and Nestorius, or between Leo and Eutyches. The question to be fought out was a simple and a practical one. As with Arius it was 'May we Christians worship Jesus?' so with Nestorianism it was 'Is the body that we receive in the Eucharist God's body?' and therefore life-giving?' and with the Eutychians, 'Is it permanently 'body and so still available for our spiritual sustenance who are in the body now?' With an eye on the religious interests of the soul at stake, Miss Gardner could have dealt more successfully with the theological question. She would not have lost patience with it. She would have found her way to the accurate use of terms. She would scarcely have written that the Alexandrines stood for 'an entire union of divine and human in the nature of Christ' (p. 496); nor would she have translated *ἑνωσις φυσικὴ* by 'physical union' (p. 499); nor would she have allowed herself to say that peace was made between John of Antioch by 'an acknowledgment of two natures united into one' (p. 502). This does not really represent the original. So it would be difficult, after a course of the Tome of St Leo, to describe him as 'a great diplomatic theologian who could mark out a permanent *via media* between opposite dogmatic tendencies' (p. 503). It is a small thing, in comparison, to find liturgical inaccuracies. Thus to describe the diptychs as 'tablets on which the names of lawful bishops were inscribed' (p. 494) might lead one to think that they were something like the lists of their predecessors which incumbents sometimes hang up in the church porch. And the *Trisagion* is confused with the *Tersanctus*. 'Peter the Fuller', we are told, 'introduced into the *Trisagion* "Holy,

¹ Waterland *Works* iii 652.

² Cyril AL. *adv. Nest.* iv 6, Migne *P.G.* lxxvi 201 c.

³ For this argument against Eutyches, from the Eucharist to the permanence of our Lord's Human Nature, see Leo *Sermo* xcvi § 1 (*Op.* i 373: Migne *P.L.* liv 466 B); *Sermo* xci § 2 (*Op.* i 356: Migne *P.L.* 451 B), and *Ep.* lix § 2 (*Op.* i 977: Migne *P.L.* liv 868).

Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts", the phrase "who was crucified for us" (p. 514). The hymn in question, as Peter altered it, runs:—

'Holy art thou, O God: Holy, O mighty: Holy, O immortal
Who wast crucified for us: have mercy upon us.'

There is some allowance to be made: but what were the editors doing?

The ordinary student can but take much of chapters ix–xiii on trust. They deal with by-ways of barbarian migrations and with Roman Britain. In chapters xiv–xvi we follow, once more, the main track: but no chapter in the book which deals with it strikes the reader as so lucid and thorough as that of Mr Ernest Barker on 'Italy and the West, 410–476'. It is an equal pleasure to read yet another account of Monasticism in chapter xviii by the Abbot of Downside, in addition to that in his preface to the *Lausiac History of Palladius*. He knows it from the inside. It is life, and therefore the better history, to him. And he is detached enough, too: witness some excellent advice about being sensible in the practice of fasting (p. 538). Chapters on the economics, the thought, and the art of the later Empire come at the end of the volume (chapters xix–xxi). They are technical in places: but ably and clearly set out, and quite interesting.

Most interesting of all—at any rate, to readers of this JOURNAL—is Mr C. H. Turner's chapter (No. vi) on 'The organization of the Church'. It is indeed already a classic. There are, perhaps, one or two places where the balance of statement might be slightly redressed. Are 'the proto-types of the diaconate', for instance, who 'are to be found in the Seven of the Acts', to be described without qualification as concerned with 'relief and charity' (p. 148) when 'Philip who was one of the seven' is called 'Philip the evangelist' (Acts xxi 8)? And why must we assume that 'the absent' to whom the deacons, according to Justin, were 'deputed to take the Eucharist' were 'the absent sick' (p. 149)? Mr Turner seems to think that 'only at the end of the fourth century' was 'a definite place accorded to the clergy in the theory of episcopal appointments' (p. 153). This is a characteristically careful statement; and any correction of it can only be a question of emphasis. But Cyprian, in accepting Cornelius as bishop of Rome, seems to class the approval of the clergy¹ as one among the recognized factors. And if the presbyterate had not already acquired elsewhere this definite status in episcopal appointments, is it so likely that the college of presbyters in Alexandria could have successfully asserted for themselves such rights, peculiar in some sense for all that, as Jerome attributes to them? Of course, there is the noted 'turbulence' of Alexandrine mobs to

¹ *Ep.* lv 8: Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi eius iudicio, de clericorum paene omnium testimonio, de plebis quae tunc adfuit suffragio, de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum uirorum collegio.

account for the transmutation there of popular into presbyteral powers (p. 161). But, as Mr Turner observes, election by the laity was pretty generally 'tumultuous' (p. 154). One can readily believe, therefore, that in episcopal appointments comprovincials, presbyters and people each had their part, and that this may well represent the practice of ante-Nicene times.¹ But to return, in conclusion, to the already high reputation of the chapter—'When we have explained how the supreme powers of the general ministry were made to devolve on an individual who belonged to the local ministry, we have explained the origin of episcopacy' (p. 145). True: and if we compare the absence of the bishop and the prominence of the prophet in the Apocalypse with the prominence of the bishop or the local ministry and the absence of the Christian prophet or the general ministry, ten or fifteen years later, in Ignatius, the contrast is striking: and it looks as if the nexus is to be sought there. We do not refuse to accept a succession in the evolutionary series because of a link missing, even at a vital point. Why then in the ministerial series?

B. J. KIDD.

THE GOSPELS AND ESCHATOLOGY.

The Kingdom and the Messiah. By E. F. SCOTT, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911.)

THIS, whatever else may be said of it, is a stimulating piece of work. In respect of grasp, penetration, candour, freshness and lucidity of style, it equals its immediate predecessor, while it testifies by its very felicity of reproduction to width and depth of research. The author, saturated with, yet master of, his authorities, makes them speak in his own words and sometimes disclose their identity without formal introduction.

'Criticism is gradually settling towards the conviction that the apocalyptic element is not merely accidental to our Lord's teaching, but is all-pervading and determinative.' Thus Dr Scott in his preface; to add that he himself, refusing to go the lengths of 'thorough-going' Eschatologists, writes from the point of view of one of the convinced is at once to indicate the nature, scope, and drift of his welcome contribution, and absolves me from the necessity of detailing its contents. As might be expected, well-worn ground is traversed in many of its pages; but racy in delineation, Dr Scott has a keen eye for outstanding features and compels our attention to important points. He is throughout alive to vital issues; the real problems, succinctly stated, are resolutely faced; the discussion of them, as a rule exhaustive, is none the less

¹ So Dr Bright thought: see *Some aspects of primitive Church Life* p. 77 n. 2.

fearless because tempered with restraint. It will be felt, no doubt, by some readers that he moves somewhat freely in the region of speculation, and that his conjectures, however tempting, are occasionally strained; the impression is, I think, hard to avoid that, his ingenious handling of the difficult saying Mt. x 23 notwithstanding, the *crux* remains. But he rarely fails to be suggestive, not to say illuminating; and I at once fasten on an instance of that genuine insight which is conspicuous in his book. He pertinently asks: 'What efficacy did Jesus ascribe to His suffering that He should see in it the very goal and purpose of His Messianic vocation?'; in his threefold answer he dwells on the recorded saying Lk. xii 50 and finds it impressively significant of conscious limitation. Jesus, 'straitened' precisely because 'subject as yet to conditions that fetter and imprison Him', looks forward 'with passionate eagerness to His Baptism (of Death) as to the great event which will mark the beginning of His true activity and finally invest Him with the Messianic attributes'. Here Dr Scott is nothing short of admirable, and, perhaps, original; he is, I think, less persuasive when, with shrewd analysis, he works up to the perplexing passage Mt. xi 12, 13, and extracts from a conjectured original utterance an emphatic statement on the part of Jesus that the divine purposes, not wholly fixed and unalterable, yield to an insistent faith. If, on the one hand, Jesus adhered to the prevailing conception of a future Kingdom to be brought in by the will of God, so, on the other hand, He repudiated the idea that 'nothing remained for men but to stand by and wait'. The days might, after all, be shortened by the wrestling of human effort in united fervent prayer:—'God Himself was willing to be thus entreated. He desired as His servants "men of violence"—so earnest in their passion for His Kingdom that they sought to compel its coming, before the appointed time.'

It may be so. Much that is advanced by Dr Scott in preliminary appeal to pregnant narratives goes far to establish the belief that it is so. Doubt nevertheless arises whether this particular passage actually lends itself to the interpretation contended for; and there is the further objection—it has equal cogency in respect of the other saying so luminously explained—that we are without certainty as to the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. And here I must animadvert on the astounding assertion met with on p. 103: 'The characteristic word employed by Jesus for the advent of the Kingdom is ἀναφαίνεσθαι—a word expressly chosen in order to fix attention on the startling nature of the manifestation.' Did, then, Jesus really speak in Greek? But further, the 'characteristic word'—scarcely susceptible, indeed, of the meaning read into it—occurs once and once only in the Gospel narrative. Nor is this all; when it does so occur (Lk. xix 11) it is not 'employed by Jesus' at all.

I gladly turn from such a lapse on the part of the author to his closing pages. In his careful summing-up Dr Scott is, on the whole, excellent; and for the sake of those who, deprecating his premisses, may be inclined to reject his conclusions in advance, I would here observe that he dwells with all the emphasis of conviction on the unique originality of Jesus. Constrained to the assertion that the message of Jesus—His new teaching of the absolute morality, the true relation to God, the supreme worth of His own life and Person—was ‘delivered under categories of thought which had begun to lose their meaning even before our Gospels were written’, he insists that the permanent validity of the message is not one whit impaired by the manner of its necessary embodiment in the forms of apocalyptic Judaism. Nor will he have those vivid and imaginative forms discarded as empty and superfluous; they have, he urges, ‘a real and abiding value for Christian thought’. Bold to say of Jesus: ‘His own hope for the world’s future fell to the ground, and was replaced by another, with which it had nothing in common’, he is quick to add: ‘But when we look deeper, we can recognize that it was Jesus Himself who inspired the activities of His Church.’

As was said at the outset, the book, generally speaking, is no unworthy successor to its author’s fine treatise on the Fourth Gospel. That it does not exactly speak last decisive words on an exceedingly complicated subject Dr Scott would, I am sure, frankly admit; a veritable treasure-house of good things, its readers will rise from its perusal with gratitude and appreciation. When preparing a second edition it would be desirable to subject the footnote references to revision and correction.

The Eschatological Question in the Gospels and other studies in New Testament Criticism. By CYRIL W. EMMET. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1911.)

INASMUCH as this volume consists largely of reprinted papers there is room for the complaint that it scarcely fulfils the promise of its naturally enticing main title. I hasten to say that, if Mr Emmet’s essay on ‘the most live issue in New Testament criticism at the present day’ extends over relatively few pages, it is certainly instinct with life, and is by no means deficient in the qualities of force and penetration, while the downright earnestness of its author reveals itself in his occasionally slashing sentences. Its interest is enhanced by the personal note struck by him in the preface; attracted in the first instance by the ‘newer School’ he had hoped great things from it; disillusionment followed as he came to close quarters with its protagonists; he now avows the preference of conviction for the ‘reduced Christianity’ of Harnack and Bousset as compared with what appear to him the unwarrantable

presuppositions and repellent theories of 'thorough-going' Eschatologists. The picture drawn by Schweitzer (who is subjected to not altogether unappreciative if often mordant criticism) is, he asserts, 'not one-sided it is a caricature'; 'if the more brutal touches be omitted' in Tyrrell's *Christ of Eschatology* the portrait therein presented is 'but little more attractive' than that of Schweitzer. 'Tone down the harsher colours as we will, it seems impossible to believe that a Jesus dominated by an error and living for an illusion can ever retain the reverence of the world.' It is, I think, quite possible to go a long way with Mr Emmet and yet to confess to doubt whether every difficulty is surmounted with his 'three qualifying considerations'; some at all events will not be easily persuaded that our Lord's assumed use of the conventional language of His day was in the main symbolical, or that the Eschatological element is quite a secondary feature, altogether in the background, of the Gospel narrative. There is, however, so much in the essay that, good in itself, is tersely stated that I would express the hope that, with further investigation, Mr Emmet will again employ his pen on the same topic. Of his 'other studies', numerous as they are and varied in range of subject, it must suffice to say that they are entitled to a second reading.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

Primitive Christian Eschatology. By E. C. DEWICK, M.A. (University Press, Cambridge, 1912.)

PROBABLY few Hulsean Prize Essays have covered so wide a field of study so successfully as Mr Dewick's. His Essay is a large book of over four hundred pages divided into six parts, in the first of which, on Old Testament eschatology, he surveys primitive beliefs, early Hebrew eschatology, the doctrine of the prophets, and the eschatology of the post-exilic Jews. The second part deals with the apocalyptic literature of later Judaism, its general characteristics, and the special features of the apocalypses which are respectively assigned to the times of the Maccabees, the Pharisees, the fall of Jerusalem, and the Jews of the Dispersion. About a quarter of the book is thus devoted to 'introduction' to the actual subject of investigation. Mr Dewick was well advised to give himself plenty of 'elbow-room' in a study of this kind, and he seems to me to have produced a survey of a very difficult and complicated subject which is of real value. 'Christ's Eschatology' is the title of the third part of the book; and then we have 'the eschatology of the Apostles', 'eschatology in the sub-apostolic Church', and 'the evidential value of primitive Christian eschatology', with appendices on the eschatology of the religions of Babylonia, Egypt, and Persia.

Mr Dewick writes throughout from what is commonly called the

moderate critical position, with regard to the study of the Gospels. So he often uses, as our Lord's own words, sayings which others will regard as the product of the evangelist's reconstruction of scenes and incidents. He is meritoriously anxious to cover the whole ground, and sometimes in doing so he treats problems of interpretation a little cavalierly. He is alive to the problem of our Lord's consciousness as man, yet he says that from the beginning of the ministry our Lord accepted the title 'Son of God', and that 'from the beginning He foresaw the end'. His explanations of the sayings Mt x 23, Mk ix 1-Lk ix 22-Mt xvi 28 are not satisfying; but none will be till we may recognize that at an early stage in His ministry our Lord entertained hopes of the early coming of the kingdom which later experience led Him to modify—till we enter more fully than has been usual with Christians into the spirit of the writer to the Hebrews and his saying that our Lord learnt by experience. But I should convey a wrong impression of Mr Dewick's work if I laid stress on points such as these. What is most characteristic of it is his wide outlook, his grasp of the essential problems of the subject, the knowledge and sound judgement shewn in his pages, and the attractive style and temper in which he has presented the results of patient and exacting labour. It seems to me to be an excellent book on the subject as a whole, and the only one I know that alike embraces the background of Jewish thought and attempts to trace the causes of the supersession of the original Christian conceptions.

THE third edition of Lic. A. Huck's Synopsis of the Gospels at once superseded the earlier editions and was itself exhausted in the short space of four years. We have now a fourth edition (*Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1910), which is likely to remain standard for a longer time. It follows the principles first adopted in the third edition. The whole contents of each of the three Gospels are printed in large type in the order in which they stand, and where the order of the three is not the same parallel passages and verses which occur in one of the Gospels in a different connexion are also printed, whenever it is necessary, in smaller type indented, side by side with the passage in each particular Gospel to which they correspond, references being given to the sections and pages where they stand in their proper place. Blank spacing, too, is judiciously used in the parallel columns to call attention to omissions or additions. This method of presenting the problems of the subject is far more useful to the majority of students than the minute arrangements into fragments of sentences which some prefer. The method adopted is carried out a little more precisely in this edition than before, and there are nine more sections. The text itself, that of Tischendorf, remains unaltered; but a careful selection of

variants is given at the foot of each page, and the *Prolegomena* include a concise statement of the materials available for the determination of the text and of the present state of knowledge with regard to them. There is also in the *Prolegomena* a catena of the ancient witnesses to the authorship of the Gospels from Papias to Jerome, and a valuable summary of what is known of the apocryphal gospels and *agrapha*. The narratives in these, and the sayings, which illustrate passages in the Gospels, are given as footnotes to those passages. No labour has been spared to make the synopsis as complete and useful as possible, and as regards the first three Gospels it could scarcely be surpassed.

But there are students of the literary and historical problems which study of the Gospels raises who are not content to follow the modern fashion of excluding the Fourth Gospel from any share in the solution of them, and Dr W. Larfeld's *Griechische Synopse der vier neutestamentlichen Evangelien* (by the same publisher, 1911) will be welcome because it includes the Fourth Gospel. Dr Larfeld acknowledges his great indebtedness to 'Huck's excellent synopsis', to which his own, he says, is a kind of complement. He does not, however, adopt Huck's method. Accepting Mark as the oldest Gospel, he takes its order as the framework of his synopsis, and inserts the non-Markan material of the other Gospels into this framework in what he judges to be its historical order and sequence. Passages in other Gospels parallel with Mark (or with Matthew, where Mark fails) are printed only in column with the corresponding passage of Mark (or Matthew), and so this synopsis is not easily available for the continuous reading of each Gospel for which Herr Huck provides. Dr Larfeld does not give any extra-canonical parallels, but he adds conveniently a few passages from St Paul and the Acts of the Apostles. The text is Nestle's, with an *apparatus* of the chief variants at the foot of the page; and words which are common to two or more Gospels are printed in heavier type. There is an introduction with an account of the authorities for the text, and an excellent statement of the present position of the science of textual criticism with special reference to von Soden's work.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

Jésus et les Apôtres. By C. PIEPENBRING, docteur en théologie. (Émile Nourry, Paris, 1911.)

THIS book is divided into two parts—the first dealing with Jewish Christianity, and the second with Paulinism. Both these systems are contrasted with the 'Primitive Gospel', found by the author in 'The Logia', which he regards as having been put together in Galilee, and as free from Jewish-Christian or Pauline influences. He rules out of the teaching of Jesus anything which he regards as 'Pauline'; it is not

...arguing that he arrives at the conclusion that the resultant is different from Paulinism.

...statement of Jewish Christianity is open to some criticism. For instance, when he identifies St James with the extreme Judaizers, he makes an unjust use of the argument from silence, and he assumes that the 'Christ-party' at Corinth, which he believes to be referred to in the Epistle to the Romans, was more legalistic than the party of Peter, neglecting the possibility that it may have been exactly the opposite.

In his discussion of Paulinism he points out forcibly that we must not expect to find a self-consistent scheme of doctrine in St Paul's writings. But, in spite of an eloquent appreciation of the real greatness of St Paul, he hardly seems to do justice to his ability as a thinker. His criticisms of the doctrine of justification by Faith seem rather superficial, and his denial that St Paul's view allowed for the possibility of growth and development in the Christian life is hardly in accordance with the facts. He finds great fault with St Paul because he is led by his belief in the supernatural character of Christianity and the Church to speak sometimes as though the Kingdom of God were already present in the new life given to believers in the Church, and he thinks it probable that the modern world will find it easier to accept the simple ethical teaching of Jesus. He has already said that the main point of that teaching was the imminence of the Kingdom, to be realized on earth, and to be entered on condition of repentance. It may be thought that this teaching, for all its simplicity, is not without difficulty for the modern world, which perhaps might find more affinities with St Paul than Dr Piepenbring thinks likely.

Occasionally he falls below the dignity of his subject. For instance, on p. 292, the discussion of the Sacrament of Holy Communion might surely be carried on without reference to fear of microbes!

G. H. CLAYTON.

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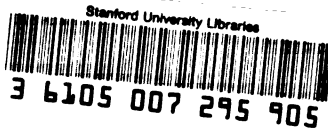
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